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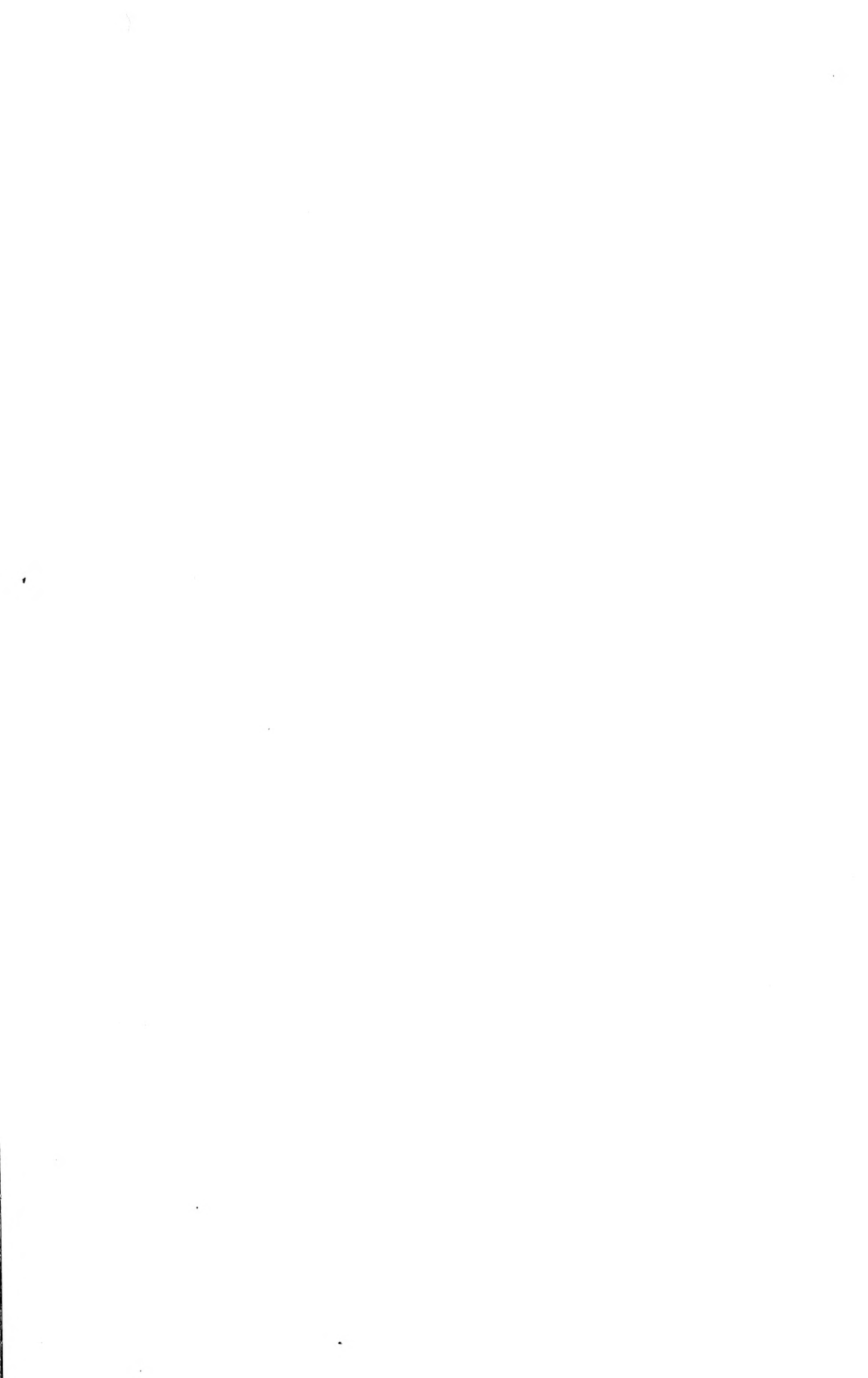
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The City Club Bulletin

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Volume III

Wednesday, July 7, 1909

Number 1

THE GRAFT PROSECUTION IN SAN FRANCISCO

On Wednesday, June 30, Prof. George H. Boke, professor of law in the University of California and manager of the Citizens' League of Justice of San Francisco, spoke informally before the City Club on the "Graft Situation in San Francisco from the Citizen's Point of View." He dealt particularly with the methods used to influence and steer public sentiment against the graft prosecutions and with the citizens' campaign to meet these methods.

The League of Justice was formed about a year ago, with the special purpose of giving tone and vigor to public sentiment respecting civic affairs, and particularly to counter the commercial tendency to decry the graft prosecutions as harmful to business. As appears in Professor Boke's talk, it was at first necessary to keep secret the names of the supporters of this organization, aside from the executive officers. The League publishes a weekly bulletin called *The Liberator* and Professor John Graham Brooks closed a six months' lecturing tour on the Pacific Coast recently by delivering before the League an address on "The Nature and Price of Reform," which has since been reprinted in *La Follette's Weekly*. Similar leagues have also been formed at Leland Stanford University and at the University of California.

The meeting of the Club at which Professor Boke spoke was hastily arranged following a small luncheon party brought together the previous day to meet him on his arrival from the East. He had traveled from one seaboard to the other to consult a few people, particularly in Boston, New York and Chicago, concerning civic matters. The Club dining room was filled and a considerable group prolonged questions and

answers after the close of his forty-minute talk.

Professor Boke was introduced by Mr. George C. Sikes, who occupied the chair. His address was as follows:

Professor George H. Boke

"It was a part of my observation as I passed through the East rather rapidly that it is very difficult for persons in the East to get any fair understanding of our situation in San Francisco. The Associated Press dispatches, so far as I have been able to read them, have not given you a true impression. I have seen the twist in them right along. In San Francisco, of course, we appreciate that the graft defendants have a publicity organization which has been very successful in disseminating misinformation. It has a paper started for that purpose called the 'San Francisco Globe.' It has subsidized a number of weekly papers. It has sent out marked copies of one of the graft defendants, the 'San Francisco Argonaut,' a paper which has in the past stood in a very high position, all over the United States. The 'Argonaut' is written in a very subtle way to create the impression that the people are against the present graft prosecutions there. I was told by men in Chicago, in New York and in Boston that they had received marked copies of that paper. The publicity organization has two daily papers there that have constantly, for one reason or another, fought the graft prosecutions. It is not at all unnatural, therefore, that you here in the East should hear a very distorted voice coming from San Francisco as the result of this publicity.

"I joined a group of citizens about a year ago in organizing a citizens' movement to assist the officers of the law in

remedying this situation. We felt that the time had come when our American citizenship was challenged and that the different efforts being made to impede justice (which included not merely the subtle attempts to affect public opinion by corrupting the press, but also the far rarer thing of dynamiting the state's witnesses, bribing jurors and kidnapping witnesses) should be checked. So we organized a committee of fifty, harking back to the times of our fathers who had organized the vigilance committee of 1856. We got together a group of fifty representative men, organized this committee, and gradually drew around us a larger membership. Later we took in a large body of the women. We call it the Citizens' League of Justice, and we started out not only to support the graft prosecution movement but to stand up for law and justice in San Francisco. We felt that shame must remain on our cheeks if we had to look back after the course of several years and see that we had suffered these things to be without at least a protest. We have represented in our organization both labor and capital, professional men and laymen, the church and the law.

"Now, a part of the campaign that is being made out there to affect public opinion is the same sort of thing that is done in every city where you have entrenched special interests who, once cornered and brought to bay, fight for their lives, ruthlessly using any means that they can lay their hands upon. In a talk with Governor Folk, he told me something of the story of St. Louis. He told me that exactly the same things were done there that have been done in San Francisco. Governor Folk reminded me that the men who were subject to his indictments had started a paper in St. Louis simply to divert the force of public opinion, and that one of the things this paper did was to come out day after day, charging Folk with grave crimes. For instance, one day he was charged with bribery and after a column or two of exclamation points they got down to the fact that he had been bribed by accepting, to influence his judgment, a loving cup from a group of citizens who thought he was doing his duty as a prosecuting attorney. And that is about

the same kind of bribery for which Francis J. Heney is now being attacked by Mr. Calhoun in San Francisco.

"Mr. Heney was foolish enough to set out to do a public service without reward, and I think that business men would probably say that he was foolish in undertaking to do that. Nevertheless, he did it, and there is evidence that that is the case. For two years it has been charged in San Francisco and has been believed by a very large number of people that Mr. Heney was receiving large sums of money from Mr. Spreckles for his personal account and getting rich by it. I do not know any reason why he should not have received a fee from some source for his work, if he had agreed to do so, but, as a matter of fact, he did not. He did not receive anything from the city of San Francisco. The money attached to his office, \$200 a month, he turned over of his own accord to a man who was put in his place to keep up the work of the district attorney's office. The charge was reiterated month after month, week after week, and day after day, that Heney, for private greed and gain, was trying to get after the man who had sought to ruin Mr. Spreckles, and that therefore the graft prosecution represented not a people's movement, not a movement of the state of California or of the city of San Francisco, but a movement simply for personal revenge. Many of us, when we started the League of Justice, said, 'If that is true, it makes no difference. A crime is a crime, and the city is to be protected, no matter what were the motives of the men who got into this thing. Whether Mr. Heney is a horse thief and Mr. Spreckles is trying to wreak personal revenge upon Mr. Calhoun has nothing to do with the situation. It is the cause of the people; it is the cause really, of the freedom of the city and we have got to stand by it.' We went out on that basis, although we knew that an investigation of the facts would remove the other reason also.

"Mr. Heney, as assistant district attorney, occupies a private house. As you know, the San Francisco fire wiped out our office buildings and after the earthquake it was necessary to engage a private house for the use of the office

force. The district attorney's office is in a new building. They could not house the graft prosecution offices so a complete two-story house was rented for them, a library was equipped and assistants, stenographers and so forth were hired. The sworn testimony in the recent Calhoun trial disclosed that Mr. Spreckles had paid the expenses of this office and of everything connected with it for two and a half years, amounting to \$23,000, but not a cent of that money had gone to Mr. Heney personally. But the report which circulates in San Francisco is that Mr. Heney has received \$23,000. The charge that Mr. Heney had been getting the money as a fee is not true. It is true that \$23,000 for two and a half years' service would not be such a tremendously big fee for any lawyer who is worth his salt, but nevertheless that is the way it was made to appear. Similarly, it was said in an editorial of the New York Sun that the community had received such a shock that it had lost confidence in the graft prosecution by its having been shown on the witness stand that a conspiracy had existed to get at Mr. Calhoun. That statement is not true; it is, in fact, the reverse of the truth.

"The trolley franchise deal, in which Mr. Calhoun was supposed to figure, took place in May, 1906. At that time \$200,000 was supposed to have passed from the United Railways to Ruef and Schmitz and the supervisors have testified that they received sums varying from \$4,000 to \$8,000 apiece for their vote in the matter of the trolley franchise. Ex-Supervisor Gallagher testified that he took that money from Ruef and gave it to them. This took place in May, 1906. In December, 1905, Heney in Washington was called upon by Fremont Older, the editor of the San Francisco Bulletin, and asked if he would come out to San Francisco and carry on a fight against the grafting administration, the Schmitz-Ruef administration. Heney said, 'Yes, if I can have Burns, the federal detective there, and if you will get money enough to carry the thing through.' Older said he thought he could do this. So he called upon Spreckles and Spreckles went about for a couple of weeks, thinking that he could get

men enough to put up \$5,000 apiece to make up \$100,000. But he could not do it, so he guaranteed the fund himself, and Heney came out and met him in January, 1906. Notice now that this was about four or five months before the trolley deal came off. So that as a matter of logic it is rather difficult to make the motive of starting the graft prosecution the desire to get at Mr. Calhoun, either out of business rivalry or to convict him of the crime of bribing the supervisors, which did not take place until some four months later.

"The Municipal Railway proposition, which was supposed to be at the basis of the graft prosecution, grew out of the desire of some of the property holders to keep the trolleys off of their streets. An association of citizens was formed, not by Mr. Spreckles, but by a member of a certain firm of attorneys. The United Railways Company said, 'We will not put a trolley on your fashionable Pacific avenue, but we will put it elsewhere.' Mr. Spreckles said, 'No, that is not fair to the rest of the city. You should try an underground conduit system and, when you are going to change from cable to electric, begin with the better form.' This they declared to be impossible because the inadequate drainage in places would result in a deflection of the current. Mr. Spreckles went to an engineer and asked, 'Can these places be drained?' Receiving an affirmative answer, Mr. Spreckles went back to the president of the United Railways and asked, 'Is that your only reason?' He replied, 'Yes.' Then Spreckles said, 'I will agree to pay for a year for the installation and maintenance of the drainage of these places to prove that you can have a successful conduit system. If you cannot, I will bear the loss. If you can, you are to repay me the cost of draining these places and of maintaining them for a year.' When they refused that proposition Spreckles said, 'You are not in good faith,' and with others set about organizing a railway company to put in an underground electric conduit system to make a demonstration. His proposition included an offer to turn the system over to the city at the end of ten years if it proved a success and if the city wanted it. That is,

in a few words, the Municipal Railway proposition, which is supposed to be the beginning of the graft prosecutions. However, these things took place in the spring of 1906, a couple of months after the beginning of the graft prosecutions. The logic is again a little hard to follow.

"Charges of the bad faith of the graft prosecution and of a conspiracy to wreak revenge upon Mr. Calhoun have been constantly made, and I think those two charges more than anything else have been supposed to break down public faith in the prosecution. Our League of Justice, when it was organized, said, 'It does not make any difference what your motives were, but there is certainly here something that is worse even than the greatest bribery. That is, the present system of terrorizing this community, manufacturing false public opinion, and punishing every man who raises his hand for the people's rights in this community.' It is a matter of absolute fact that man after man out there who has declared for the prosecution of men, rich or poor, whoever they may be, on an equal basis, and who has stood out against bribery and corruption, has been punished whenever he has declared himself. I could tell you many instances of men who have telephoned to me and said, 'Don't ask me to come out in the open now, because I cannot stand it. They will throw me out of my position.' Or the manager of a great business, such as one I now have in mind, would say: 'They will knock out my customers. They will succeed in getting my credit withdrawn at the bank.' I remember one man who said that an acquaintance of his called him up by telephone one night and said, 'If you do not stop talking for this damned graft prosecution your credit will be taken away at the bank.' Two workmen told me when I spoke before a meeting in the Mission in San Francisco that if they should join the League of Justice they would be discharged the next day, and, were it known that they were at the meeting that night merely to listen, they would be discharged. One woman came into our organization place and said: 'My two sons are clerks in different houses in this city. They had been talking about the League of Justice and they were in-

formed that if they joined it they would be discharged at once.' Well, we said that worse even than bribing supervisors and worse than business men giving bribes is this intimidation of an American citizen; that if there is one thing that an American citizen should not stand for it is that sort of thing and that if he has not enough red blood to accept that challenge and stand up and fight, he had better move out of the country.

"And yet we had sufficient sense not to destroy ourselves at once by giving out the names of the list of the committee of fifty. Our men could have been so punished had we made public the names of all that we would have been destroyed in the beginning. So we put on the firing line only the names of the members of the executive committee, the names of the men who thought that they could stand the punishment if it should come.

"Moreover, we felt we needed a fighting fund. A few pledged \$10 to \$25 a month, and a thousand citizens, not all at once, but in the course of two or three months, pledged themselves to pay \$1 a month for this fight. Thus we started in with a campaign fund with which we could do something.

"One of the things we started out to do was to change the atmosphere of the court room. The graft defendant papers said: 'They are going to intimidate the jury.' But we were trying to reverse that process. The juries had been intimidated or influenced by low-browed men who were paid so much a day to go down to the court room with guns in their pockets and who sat there sneering at the officers of the law, calling them vile names as they passed by and trying to create upon the jury the impression that the citizens of San Francisco had no use for the officers of the law engaged in the graft prosecution. We said that it was time for us to do something right there. So we adopted a little blue button, which has been called, out there, 'The Blue Circle Button.' It has on it the motto, 'Let Justice Rule,' and the name, 'Citizens' League of Justice.' These little buttons began to appear until twenty thousand were worn in the city.

"The women now came into the League. Three women of the League went up to the Ruef trial and when they sat down Abraham Ruef, who sat there day after day chewing a large wad of gum, apparently utterly unconcerned with the affair, since he knew he had bought his men, got up with his hands in his pockets, strolled down and stood in front of these women, looked in their faces and sneered. They found their only defense was to put a newspaper in front of their faces. The police officers were not particularly interested. The whole atmosphere seemed to be dominated by Henry Ach, Ruef's attorney, and by Ruef. The way the man on trial dominated the situation was one of the most remarkable facts that I know anything about in all the annals of American criminal jurisprudence. When talesmen were brought in to be questioned as to their eligibility to sit upon the jury he would walk up to them and attempt to shake hands with them as they came in so as to give them a favorable impression of himself. Some of them received a very unfavorable impression of him as a result.

"The Women's Branch of the League of Justice became of great significance. At first it was a very small group, for some time a hundred at the utmost, but it kept gradually growing in numbers until it reached about two thousand. The women of the League were representative. There were women from the laboring classes, women from what you would call the middle class, and a very few women from what you would call the society side of life. The women who had belonged to the intellectual and fashionable society of the city found that having joined the Citizens' League of Justice they were now ostracized, that their friends would cut them on the street, and that they were not invited any more to the gatherings to which they had formerly been invited.

"The president of the Women's League of Justice out there, to illustrate the type of woman I am speaking of, is Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, whose husband (now dead) was formerly president of our Bohemian Club. The sentiment of the Bohemian Club as a whole is against the graft prosecution. This is

true of our clubs generally. If you knew the state of mind of the people you would find very little of the club sentiment in favor of the graft prosecution. What is called society in San Francisco is almost solidly against the graft prosecution. Charles S. Wheeler, an attorney, said that the way to social favor in San Francisco is to become plastered over with indictments, and it has been so.

"As time passed on, the women of whom I have spoken came down and went to work. They had made it appear that at least a group of women had the same spirit which moved the women of our heroic generation. But what did our gutter weeklies say about them? You remember that in the French revolution there was a group of peasant women who used to take their knitting and knit under the guillotine, watching the heads of the aristocrats fall, and that they were called the 'knitters.' So the gutter weeklies in San Francisco began to call our women 'the knitters who were in the court room, watching for the heads of the aristocrats to fall.'

"I believe that the least important thing of all is the acquittal or the conviction of any of the defendants. The thing of most importance is that the ugly skeleton of the game has been laid bare, clear down to the little bones, and that the great rank and file of our people have seen the game as it is played, have seen public opinion manufactured, have seen American citizenship intimidated, have seen beyond the doors and behind the curtains. They have seen how wily corruption rules, although with shame to themselves, they will have to confess later on that many of them have not stood out against this subjugation. I believe we are having a great civic awakening, not merely in San Francisco but all over the state of California, not only along political but along all social lines, and that we are going to have a larger and cleaner type of citizenship as the outgrowth of the graft prosecutions." (Prolonged applause.)

CHAIRMAN SIKES: "I would like to have Mr. Boke explain the change in the labor situation, how a man was elected mayor by the labor element, and how that man was supported by the vote in the fashionable district."

MR. BOKE: "I think it has been accepted that labor is as strongly organized in San Francisco as in any city in the United States. Schmitz, the boodling mayor, was for three terms elected mayor by the labor vote, under what was called the Union Labor Party. The third time it was very well known he was corrupt, although the actual proof had not been brought forward at that time. It was believed to have been the labor vote alone which had elected Schmitz, but when the returns came in it was found that on Pacific avenue, the most fashionable part of our city, the proportion of the vote for Smith was greater than in many of the labor districts. It was a very great surprise to us.

"We have in our community two men, Walter McArthur and John W. Sweeny, who are two of the best labor men in America. They went out and fought against the corruption in the labor party two years ago. They said, 'You have tried politics and it was bad. Your man betrayed you. Now,' they said, 'stand up simply for good government. Don't try to stand up for a man who will betray you under the guise of representing labor.' Labor did stand up for the graft prosecutions and for good government. The present administration could not have been elected without the aid of labor.

"The man who tried to defeat the work of the graft prosecutions and who tried to betray labor was a labor boss named McCarthy. It is charged by Sweeny that McCarthy is in alliance with Herrin, the political boss of the state for the Southern Pacific Railroad. Of course, they work behind the scenes. You cannot tell all that goes on behind the scenes. In our coming election it is going to be a very interesting test of labor as to how far the rank and file will swing with these rotten leaders. They have been deceived by rotten leaders, but for all that the rotten leaders have the greater credit with them. It is a very curious thing that in any community there is ever some doubt about the man who is fighting for the community and great belief in the man who is betraying it.

"In the last election, after the graft

prosecution had eliminated the rotten administration and had temporarily put in a good board of supervisors and mayor (the dean of the law school being made mayor), a good board of supervisors and a good mayor were chosen. We have had an honest administration. It has had some weaknesses, of course, but we have had an honest administration. Now the forces are gathering for another election for this coming two years. There will be this situation—an alliance of the rotten bosses of labor and the corrupt political machine with the allied graft defendant forces. One of the judges said to me the other day that he thought San Francisco was the best organized city, criminally, of any city in America, referring thereby to the upper as well as the lower criminal strata. It will be that organization, plus the political machine, plus the rotten labor element, against the people. The people as a whole at the elections heretofore have stood up for the graft prosecution, but this election will require a hard fight. It is for this reason that Heney has decided that he will run for district attorney. At first he refused the position when it was offered to him. He said, 'I cannot afford it. I am over fifty years old, I have given nearly three years of my life to complete service of the people and must now earn something for my family.' But his friends replied, 'We cannot find another man whom we can trust. You must take it.' And although the position pays only \$3,600 or \$4,000 a year, he said, 'Rather than see this work go down, I will go into the fight.' Those are the motives which actuate him. I know that to be a fact, although the graft defendants say it is his ambition which actuates him—rather a small ambition when a man has done what he has done."

MR. LESSING ROSENTHAL: "How do you account for the fact of the court permitting the defendant, Ruef, to shake hands with the talesmen?"

MR. BOKE: "It has always been a mystery to me why the court should have permitted such conduct from Ruef. Judge Lawler is an honest man, but Henry Ach, attorney for Ruef, dominated that court in a very remarkable way. The judge was afraid that our Appellate

or Supreme Court would reverse him as they had previously reversed Schmitz-Ruef decisions. It was said that he stood up so straight that he leaned over backward in the endeavor not to do anything which would prejudice the case. He overlooked insult after insult both to himself and to the prosecuting attorney. He paid absolutely no attention to the defendant and the defendant did as he pleased."

MR. ROSENTHAL: "Can you tell us a little about the various papers there? Which are the papers that the people have confidence in?"

PROFESSOR BOKE: "Three papers have been standing up straight on the right side. One is the San Francisco Call, which is owned not by Rudolph Spreckels, but by his bitter enemy, his brother, John D. Spreckels, who is now contesting his father's will with him. That is a very interesting little story in itself, because when Spreckels began the graft prosecution he went to the Call and said, 'My brother, who owns this paper, is my enemy, but I come here as a citizen and ask that the Call do this thing for the citizenship of San Francisco.' And the Call agreed.

"The San Francisco Bulletin has made the bravest fight of all the papers. Fremont Older, the editor of the Bulletin, began the attack on Schmitz and Ruef and in retaliation Schmitz and Ruef did everything they could to break him up. They mobbed him, slugged Mr. Carothers, the proprietor of the paper, and nearly killed him. They stopped the sale of the papers on the street, Ruef being able, of course, to control that. The Bulletin had a hard fight, but stood firm. When Ruef threatened to bring libel suits against the paper, Older went to Washington to get Heney to defend the libel suits. Heney said, 'Don't be scared. Ruef is not at all anxious to bring any libel suit against you.' 'But,' he continued, 'If you want me to and if you can make the arrangements, I will go out there and prosecute him.' And that was how the graft prosecution began.

"Another paper that has been standing up on the right side is the Daily News. The Daily News, which is a paper for labor, with a circulation of about 30,000,

has stood straight all the time. The News is one of the Scripps papers, a series of papers which includes the Denver News, a number of papers in California and a large number in Ohio.

Against our fight has been the San Francisco Chronicle. This paper has been very subtle and very dangerous, because in reading it from a distance you would think that what is says is true. It has a way of poisoning its news and featuring it in a very subtle way. It seldom does anything editorially except to raise a question. It is very clever in injecting its poison.

"The Hearst paper, the Examiner, came out at first for the prosecution, then suddenly it changed and became its bitter antagonist. It attacked Heney day after day in every possible way. So bitter was the attack that, when Hearst came out there and gave an address during the presidential campaign, he was hissed off the stage because of what he said about Heney. When Heney was shot, the people were so indignant about it that at a mass meeting which was held under the auspices of the League of Justice, when the people saw an Examiner reporter down in front they started for him. It was only with the utmost difficulty that we got their attention diverted. Otherwise they would have demolished that Examiner reporter. The Examiner was so frightened that it barricaded its doors. Its force stood all night expecting an assault, but fortunately nothing came of it.

"Both the Examiner and the Chronicle lost very heavily, and I understand that the Argonaut lost a large part of its circulation. That, however, was well made up by its friends on the graft defendants' side, who used to send in a check for \$500 and say, 'Send 125 subscriptions to the Argonaut to some friends of mine in the cement works.' So the Argonaut has not lost anything by supporting the graft defendants.

"Unfortunately, some of the religious papers and some of our leading fashionable clergy have stood so high upon the fence that their assistance has been on the wrong side. (Laughter.) The bishop of the Episcopal Church said he did not know which side was lying. So

you can imagine that his assistance for the right was not very valuable when he could not discover where the right was.

"Unfortunately, the members of the Jewish Church got off wrong on the question and have been against the graft prosecution. I had a talk with Rabbi Wise in New York when I was there and he told me it had been the greatest temptation he had had in his life to come out there and fight for the right, because he saw the true situation. But that is unfortunately not the case with some of his brethren.

"The rank and file of the Protestant

clergy have been all right and many of them came in and fought. We organized a clergy league, a branch of the League of Justice, but in the beginning a good many of the ministers had to be shown. It was only by getting them around a table and by calling upon Heney to answer questions that they would become convinced and go back and fight in our behalf. It has been a great test of moral leadership there and the men who were previously the most representative citizens, the leaders, are not the leaders in San Francisco at present. There has been a complete reversal of the situation."

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VOLUME III

WEDNESDAY, JULY 28, 1909

NUMBER 2

THE RELATION OF RAPID TRANSIT TO THE GROWTH OF NEW YORK INTO A ROUND CITY

The City Club has at different times heretofore had the privilege of listening to Hon. Thomas M. Osbourne, Chairman of the Public Service Commission for New York State outside of New York City, Hon. William R. Willcox, Chairman, and Dr. Milo R. Maltbie, member of the Public Service Commission of New York City, Prof. B. H. Meyer, of the Public Service Commission of Wisconsin and Hon. Franklin K. Lane, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, concerning the work of these important administrative commissions. On the 14th instant Hon. Edward M. Bassett, of the New York City Public Service Commission, the sixth in this series of speakers, addressed the Club on a somewhat new aspect of the transportation question, namely, "The Relation of Rapid Transit to the Growth of New York into a Round City." Mr. Bassett, who has lived for many years in Brooklyn and sat in Congress one term from there, was spending a week in studying the transportation equipment of Chicago, making his headquarters at Mr. B. J. Arnold's office. From Chicago he went northwestward to pursue similar inquiries in other cities. Last summer he put in his vacation period studying transportation systems on the continent of Europe and he is now planning a like trip to Great Britain for next summer.

His address, dealing as it did with the broad aspects of the problem of urban rapid transit and its relation to the general form of a city, had a special timely interest in view of the recent appearance of the Commercial Club's "Plan for Chicago."

Mr. Bassett was introduced by Judge

Julian W. Mack, chairman for the occasion, and spoke as follows:

Hon. Edward M. Bassett

"The natural form that any great city will assume if placed on a plane is that of a round city, because a round city will embrace the greatest area with the shortest distances from all parts to the center, and every city tends to grow into a round city. Chicago is an example of a semi-circular city, following the same tendency, where a city is against a body of water.

"Every great city has its problems in conforming its growth and its transportation to its own peculiar needs. Chicago has its problems that are different from those of every other great city. Its problems appear to me to be those that relate to a single business center, caused, I presume, by the fact that the city has grown so newly and so rapidly. Improvements in methods of transportation and the ability to put up great buildings have proceeded so simultaneously that it has been possible for this single center to embrace all kinds of business, something that never could have happened without the ability and permission to erect high buildings and without quick transportation from the growing periphery of the city to the center. Nevertheless, that very fact has made Chicago the possessor of a great problem because, as the city grows, the possible height of buildings and the possible quickness of transportation will reach their limit and this will cause a greater differentiation of business localities. Now is the time to plan the future.

"The growth of Boston has many remarkable likenesses to that of Chicago. It may be classed as a semi-circular city with the problem of a single business

center, caused, however, more by environment than by the operation of the causes that I have mentioned.

"London is a round city, as a great city on a small river always is. Slow transportation and low buildings long ago helped to develop many traffic centers. Although admirably adapted for economical transportation it has had a great problem because the city consists of many municipalities, each differing in its ideas of what sort of transportation it would sanction. The London County Council is fast becoming a unifying force in the installation of its municipal works.

"Berlin has its problems although it is also a round city developing into one of the most beautiful and convenient cities of the world. Besides the problem of London, that of separate municipalities with different ideas of what should be allowed upstairs and downstairs in the way of rapid transit, it also has the problem of the 'Ringbahn' or circular railroad, to some extent circumscribing the development of the city along natural lines. Sometimes these artificial barriers intended for convenience turn out to be an embarrassment. They always do if they are built on a plan that does not presuppose that the city will keep growing.

"Paris, that wonderful city of ingenious and practical men, has its own problem, but, as in all round cities, it is a self-imposed problem, not created by geography as in Boston and New York. Its problem is that of a municipality within walls. A population outside the walls nearly as great as the population inside is developing. All passengers change cars from that almost perfect triangulated system of subways within the walls, to the surface lines without the walls, making inconvenience, delay and two fares. Nevertheless, Paris has worked out the problem of through routing by a system of subways, each a separate entity, every one of which goes from a residence district through a business center and out to another residence district on the other side or else from traffic center to traffic center.

"New York City has an entirely different problem. It is imposed by the waterways which intersect Greater New York making Manhattan a long narrow

island extending north and south. The Boroughs of the Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn, and Richmond surround Manhattan on the north, east and south. New York has been forced into growth as a long city and a long city is from a transportation point of view a congested and uneconomical city. How to lessen the north and south congestion and how to surmount the natural obstacles interposed by these great estuaries, constitute the transportation problem of New York.

"Growth began in the southern part of Manhattan Island, constricted by the parallel boundaries of these two north and south rivers. Population tended to grow toward the north. There was no other natural way of growing, because the ferries were slow transit and people would only go across the ferries when they were induced by low rents. Therefore New York City grew north until the street cars became over-crowded and failed to carry the people and the elevated railroads were built. The elevated railroads, four in number, proceeding north in parallel lines, became unable to carry the people, over-crowded as they were, although they operated seven-car trains as near together as safety would allow. Then came the absolute necessity for a subway and the subway now is crowded beyond its intended capacity and the city is resorting to every device to increase the capacity of that great four-track line.

"How has this northerly progress of upbuilding worked? It produced bad housing conditions, exemplified on the east side where the population is denser than anywhere else in the world, where there are six-story buildings, dark rooms, tuberculosis, sweat shops, concentrated house manufacturing, all the ills that come with great city congestion, intensification of the police problem and of the necessity of care for the poor and incompetent. Throughout Manhattan the erection of single homes has ceased. The great apartment house from six to ten stories high prevails. So the northerly march continued to the Harlem River and, leaping that narrow obstacle, proceeded north into the Bronx. Now you go above the Battery at least sixteen miles, and every mile of the way you are going in front of build-

ings from six to eight stories high, whereas, if you go to the east about four miles, there will be two or three story buildings for residence such as you have here in Chicago.

"Land values have so greatly appreciated to the north that small buildings cannot be erected and still render a fair return on the investment. The strong trend of both population and land values has been along a narrow line to the north. As business creeps further north population lessens but values increase. Great congested centers of population remain like eddies in a river. To multiply north and south rapid transit lines is not enough. A spreading out of the population is needed. The city should not be made longer but rounder.

"Rapid transit by bridges and tunnels over and under the East River is today rapidly changing the form of the city. Each new bridge and tunnel allows the city to push out along the lines of least resistance, and as it grows to be a round city, it will be a city of better housing, of better health, of better conveniences, of greater beauty and of greater economy.

"A round city on a plane, with its transportation afforded by surface cars until it grows so large that the surface cars cannot carry the people quickly enough from the growing periphery of the city to the business centers, will feel the need of rapid transit. It builds a rapid transit line, let us say a subway in the center and elevated roads at the ends. This line will proceed along a single diameter of the city and somewhat into the sparsely settled districts at both ends. What is the effect? It begins to make the city a long city. When it is used to its capacity, where should the next rapid transit line go, the next subway? The tendency, if left to the demand, will be to go where the people are. The people will be in the same axis as the present subway, because the present subway has tended to make the city an oval, to lengthen it out in those two directions. There will be the real estate people who will insist on more rapid transit. Thus if left to the natural demand the next rapid transit line will be a parallel line to the first one. The next one would be a third parallel

line tending to draw the city out into a long city, until it would be stopped by a natural cause, which would be the long haul. Pretty soon the city would find that, at a five cent fare, it would be unprofitable to carry the people further at the two ends and then would come the insistence for lines running at right angles to the former ones. That would begin again to make the city a round city. In other words, the limitation of the five cent fare would tend sooner or later to make the city a round city. And that is what is at work in the City of New York. The northern movement caused originally by the geographical necessities has brought about the limit of transportation at a five cent fare.

"Seventeen miles north the subway extends from its southern terminus. Your great engineer, Mr. Arnold, who has been retained to assist us in working out some of these problems in New York City, has estimated, in a valuable series of reports which have been printed by our commission, that every passenger who rides more than five miles is carried at a loss, which loss is made up by those who ride less than five miles. In other words, those two northly branches of the subway for the Bronx, if they should cause the city to build up solidly so that a large part of the city would live there, would cause an increase of the subway fare, because the more people that were carried the longer distance, the greater the loss would be to the subway operators. A five cent fare, under these conditions, would be impossible unless indeed new centers of business and transportation should be developed to increase the short haul business all along the line. The long haul is now at the point of preventing the northern growth of New York City at a five cent fare. That means that it must now grow east and west. It means that the State of New Jersey and the great boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens across the East River are to be overflowed with a tide of increased population. Every bridge that goes across the East River, every tunnel that goes under it is carrying out this natural trend.

"There are now four great bridges across the East River, one of them not

yet completed. There are now the subway, Steinway and Pennsylvania tunnels under the East River and the Pennsylvania and McAdoo tunnels under the Hudson River, all co-operating to spread out the metropolis. For several years past the Boroughs of the Bronx, Queens and Brooklyn have been gaining in population more rapidly than Manhattan. The movement is well under way. The barrier of the East River is being broken down.

The Queensboro Bridge, that great new cantilever structure that has just been completed and put in operation, rests at one end—the Manhattan side—in a district the population of which exceeds three hundred people to the acre and at the other side—that is in the County of Queens—in a district that does not exceed sixteen people to the acre. This bridge will be one of the means of spreading out that population and bringing about the leveling of the forces which I have tried to outline to you.

Those of you who are familiar with New York will realize that the northern parts of the city will always have an advantage over the boroughs across the East River. The business of Manhattan is stratified. A family living in Harlem or The Bronx can send its various members, without change of cars and for one fare, to the different business localities. The eastern boroughs are at a disadvantage in that changes of cars and two fares are more often necessary. The more complete spreading out of the city will involve either through routing between Manhattan and the eastern boroughs or the carrying of the Brooklyn and Queens lines to the Hudson River with an interchange by transfers.

"Any rapid transit line in a great city if it extends out into the distant portions, must depend, for the support of the distant portions, upon the remunerative traffic of the interior. The short hauls must support the long hauls. Subways cost twice as much as elevated lines. As a general rule subways are not suited for taking people home and back. A one-way traffic will not adequately support the investment. Subways are meant for the carrying of an all-day traffic both ways

between crowded centers of business. The elevated railroads, especially if they can be on boulevards or on other than the main streets, are the right means of rapid transit for carrying the people of the suburbs to their business. Recently New York was subway mad. No other form of rapid transit would be considered. We are gradually discovering that subways cannot be run in all directions to the confines of the city because it imposes too great a burden upon the operation and we must in the main have a five cent fare because the growth of the city and the needs of the people demand it. That means that depressed roads or elevated roads, possibly some day mono-rail roads, will be the main method of bringing rapid transit to the outlying districts.

"I want to speak a word concerning the progress which New York City is making in obtaining these absolutely necessary rapid transit lines. We understand in our state by a rapid transit line, a line that does not stop for passengers and wagons in the streets, but stops at stations and runs at full speed between the stations, quite regardless of whether it is over, under or on the surface. We have laws that relate entirely to city rapid transit lines.

"Prior to 1894, rapid transit lines could be built in New York City by private capital and operated by private companies alone. Under those laws the present elevated railroads, which have performed such a useful function in the building up of the boroughs of that city, were built.

"Then the city went to the other extreme. By the rapid transit law passed in 1894, followed by a referendum, it was determined that only municipal money should build rapid transit lines and that a contract for operation should be made whereby the operator would be compelled to pay interest and an amortization installment on the entire cost before looking for his profit. Under that law the present subway with its extensions was built. The city owns it.

"Then came the popular belief that the subway operators, who obtained long term operating contracts, had found a gold mine and the people, with their de-

sire reflected in the legislature, went to work to see that it should not happen again. The Elsberg Law was passed, reducing the operating term of a municipally constructed subway to twenty years, thus not giving time to amortise the cost of the equipment and power stations which the operator would furnish at his own expense. Since that law was passed in 1906, not a foot of rapid transit road has been contracted for construction and operation. In other words, rapid transit building, both above ground and below ground, came to a standstill, because of the strictness of the terms under which the roads should be built. A man might go to New York City with a million dollars and ask to invest it in a subway or an elevated line, but he would be told: 'No, it is only by the city's issuing bonds and spending the proceeds for rapid transit lines that they can be created here.'

"For several sessions of the legislature endeavors have been made to lessen the strictness of that law, and at the session of this spring a new law was passed. The new rapid transit law was framed by the Public Service Commission, assisted largely by Governor Hughes in various recommendations that he had made to the legislature, by the Chamber of Commerce, by the City Club of the City of New York and by other civic organizations. This law makes it possible for a private corporation to construct and operate, for the municipality to construct and let a private corporation operate, for the municipality to operate or for the municipality to own the subway and use private capital to build it, the private capital looking to an indeterminate operating contract for its remuneration. Each of these different methods is safeguarded so that the blocking ability that goes with a long term contract or a perpetual franchise is prevented. This is sought to be accomplished by making it in every case possible for the city to buy, at any time after ten years, at a price not exceeding cost plus fifteen per cent. In each case, equipment is to be taken by the city at an arbitrated figure. The term, whether of franchise or operating contract, is based upon the fair period of amortization. At the end of that pe-

riod the city becomes the owner of the property, other than equipment, without payment. The earnings go first for operation, then for maintenance and replacements, then for amortization and after that a fair return on the capital invested is allowed. This return, not greater than six per cent, goes to the investor before the city takes any part of the gross earnings other than the regular taxes. Thereafter, somewhat on the plan of your street railway reorganization, there is an equal division of the profits between the city and the operating company or between the city and the owner of the line. You observe that it recognizes the principle that the demands of the city treasury should not make good service impossible.

"A feature was also introduced in the new law which is most important when one considers the remarkable pressure that owners of vacant land exert upon the authorities for development lines where municipal construction is possible. This was the power to assess all or part of the cost of a rapid transit line upon the land benefited. The purpose was not to use this method for trunk lines or self-supporting lines in the interior of the city but only for development lines. Thus the land which increases three and four fold in value by reason of rapid transit being brought to it at municipal expense may be made to participate in the cost. If a locality does not want a line, all it has to do is to say so and some other locality, perhaps, will want one on such terms. You see that it makes a more attractive proposition for the operator. Within the built up locality the operator will pay interest and sinking fund charges on the money the city has spent but in the outlying portion, if built by assessment, the operator will be relieved of the interest and sinking fund charges, thereby being able to project the five cent fare farther into the growing city and yet to make both ends meet. Many of the details of this new law I am sure would be interesting but it is quite possible for those of you who are particularly interested in this subject to obtain the law.

"The great City of New York and the

great City of Chicago are working shoulder to shoulder in the solution of these peculiar and vital problems. It is only by constant study of the rapid transit problems that these cities can continue to house their people conveniently and to foster their business successfully. Chicago is a great inland city, growing at the head of our wonderful lake system, yet protruded into the center of the industries of the nation, and as it grows to be perhaps the Rome of

this country, New York City will become the modern Venice of the world. Instead of the canals of that ancient city, New York will have those magnificent waterways, separating the boroughs and yet all bound together by a network of bridges and tunnels, until in the course of time these two cities will grow to be, one the convenient and beautiful metropolis of the inland, and the other, the convenient and beautiful metropolis of the Atlantic Coast." (Applause.)

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DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

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THE GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC

The first special luncheon of the season 1909-10 was held in the club dining room on Tuesday, October 5, 1909, the speaker for the occasion being Mr. William R. George, founder and head of the George Junior Republic at Freeville, N. Y. This interesting and unique institution was the outgrowth of an annual series of fresh air excursions from New York City which Mr. George, then in business in New York, conducted for several years previous to the establishment of the Republic in 1905. The idea which inspired the transformation of these little summer colonies into a permanent self-governing community was that the children should be given training for the responsibilities of later life and that the most efficient means of realizing this aim and of developing at the same time qualities of thrift, independence and respect for law would be to surround the children with the political, industrial and social conditions which in the future they would be called upon to face.

The government of the community was, therefore, placed largely in the hands of its members and provision was made for legislative, executive and judicial machinery similar to that of the great Republic. Public officers were selected both from and by the

citizens. Even the office of president, which Mr. George originally held, has been taken over by the young people, Mr. George retaining, however, the power of veto over official acts. The community is equipped with court, jail and police force for the effective administration of the laws.

The political phase of life in the Junior Republic is not, however, the only unique feature, for it is an industrial as well as a political community. The citizens buy and sell and perform the tasks of the ordinary commercial and industrial village. They have a currency of their own, a bank, stores and shops. Each person must pay his own way, for nothing is to be obtained except by purchase and purchasing power depends upon the earnings of labor. The principal occupations for the boys are farming, carpentry and printing; for the girls, dressmaking and domestic service. Habits of industry, therefore, as well as political responsibility, are taught to the citizens of the George Junior Republic.

A third phase of the work of the Junior commonwealth is education. Besides its school, the community has other cultural agencies, such as a newspaper, library and church.

The Junior Republic Association now controls about three hundred

acres of land and about thirty buildings. The citizens number about two hundred, coming from all parts of New York and a few even from abroad. Similar communities have been established in various parts of the country and many demands have been made for a further extension of the work.

Mr. George gave an interesting account of the inception of the Republic and of its development from a reformatory institution for bad boys to a self-governing community where no distinctions of character or social position are made prerequisites of admission. Later in the afternoon Mr. George spoke before the Woman's Club and in the evening was tendered a reception at Hull House.

Before introducing the speaker, the chairman, Dr. Graham Taylor, called upon Mr. George C. Sikes for a report on the Peoria conference on the commission form of government, which Mr. Sikes, as a representative of the City Club, had attended on September 29. Mr. Sikes spoke as follows:

Mr. George C. Sikes

"The people of the cities of Illinois outside of Chicago are very much interested in the commission form of government. During the last session of the legislature, a delegation, made up of newspaper men and of other representatives of these cities, got together, framed a bill and presented it to the general assembly. It passed the Senate by a nearly unanimous vote, but it was killed in the House. It was throttled and suppressed in a way they have of treating unpopular bills in the legislature by a committee of which Representative Erickson of Chicago was chairman. Dissatisfied with this situation, the men from these cities assembled at Peoria last week at the call of the Retail Merchants' Association of Illinois, George E. Greene of Peoria, secretary, to ask the governor to include the subject of commission legislation in his call for a special session of the general assembly. Thirty-five or forty delegates, representing some fifteen cities, were present. It was a real live convention. The men were very much interested in what they were after. They passed resolutions

asking the governor to include the subject of commission government in his call. They also passed resolutions condemning Representative Erickson and asking the people of Chicago not to send him back to the legislature.

"The directors of the City Club last season appointed a committee to report on the advisability of calling a conference of Illinois cities for the consideration of matters of mutual interest and it was on that account thought best to have a representative at the Peoria meeting, even though the people of Chicago are not directly interested in the commission form of government. I was therefore asked by the board of directors to go to Peoria, although I was not given any special authority to speak on the subject matter of the conference.

"A permanent organization was formed at Peoria and it was decided to hold another conference at a later time, perhaps this winter. It seems to me that this is a matter of great interest to Chicago and it is on this account that I make this report. In the work that we have been doing in Chicago we have lost touch with the people of the state. We have been dealing with our own problems, but we do not know what is being done in Peoria and Springfield and in other cities of this state. We go down to the legislature with our own measures and if the bosses do not like them, they kill them or get the country members to do so. The people from the country are having a similar experience. When they go to Springfield for legislation which is of interest to them, their bosses either kill it or get the Chicago men to kill it. It seems to me that it is time for the people of the cities of this state to get together for the purpose of reaching a better understanding and that, therefore, this meeting at Peoria is a very hopeful sign. When another conference is called, Chicago should be represented by a large delegation to meet the representatives of the down-state cities and to talk over with them matters of mutual interest. I believe that this movement is fraught with very great possibilities for good and that we ought to get in touch with

the other cities. This furnishes the opportunity for action. Whenever this later meeting is held, we should have a large delegation present to represent us." (Applause.)

Following the report by Mr. Sikes, the chairman introduced the principal speaker, Mr. William R. George, in these words:

CHAIRMAN TAYLOR: "In Freeville they call the man who is to speak to us today 'Daddy,' but without feeling that he is just a boy and that he will probably never be anything else. He is an 'awfully' good fellow, as all of the 'kids' down there think, and as all of those out on the

the 'Junior Republic' in the magazines, have occasionally seen references to it in the newspapers, and at educational conventions, conferences of charities and in other places you have possibly heard people refer to it. You have, no doubt, had a general idea that it is a sort of big play house and that quite likely it is anything but the real thing.

"I want to dispel that idea, if you have any such hallucination, for the Junior Republic is the real thing. There are men in this room who have seen it in operation and will swear to that statement. There is nothing of play about it. It is the 'simon pure' bona fide article. It is a miniature re-

General View, George Junior Republic, Freeville, N. Y.



periphery of the enlarging circle of this Republic will swear. I am glad to say that Freeville, New York, is no longer to have exclusive possession of the George Junior Republic, but that on the Pacific coast and at several places in the interior there are little Republics springing up, to some extent owing allegiance to the mother Republic at Freeville.

"I do not wish to take a moment from the time which he will fill to fascination, but I wish to present to you 'Daddy George.'" (Applause.)

Mr. William R. George

"You have possibly read accounts of

public with no strange 'isms' about it. The only 'ism' connected with it is unadulterated Americanism. It is a village of young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one conducted just exactly *the same*—note the emphasis—as any other village in any of our states. The only difference is the fact that these young people reach their voting age when they are sixteen instead of twenty-one. The Junior Republic is a frank acceptance of the conditions which the boys and girls will be obliged to face when they get out into the larger Republic. It is a government of the boys and girls, for the

boys and girls and by the boys and girls. Within this village, naturally, the laws of New York state, plus the laws enacted by the citizens themselves, are the laws of the Junior Republic.

"That gives you a general idea of what the Republic consists. You must forget, in thinking of the Republic, of any public school, boarding school or institution of any sort and of every place where groups of boys and girls are together, for you cannot compare the Republic to any of these. The only thing to which you can compare the Junior Republic is the great big Republic, because it is just the same. Go away from this place today with this phrase ringing in your mind: 'The Junior Republic is just the same as the great big Republic. The only difference is that its citizens reach their voting age when they are sixteen instead of when they are twenty-one.'

"The Republic was started as a fresh air scheme. I took boys and girls to the country for a two weeks' outing, provisions being generously supplied for us. I took a group of boys and girls whom the societies had rejected, not because of their poverty, but because of their general badness. Particularly was this the case among the boys. We got together a particularly 'tough' tribe, took them to the country and kept them in a building by themselves, the people, as I said before, generously furnishing the provisions.

"It did not take me very long to discover, however, that these boys and girls were being injured instead of benefited, because they were claiming charity as a right. I found out that they were in the country for what they could get out of it and that they estimated the good time they had by the amount of provisions and clothing which they took back to the city on their return. I was about to give up the work, but, finally, owing to the fact that their needs were so great, I determined to try another season with this self-same material and to do some radical experimenting. This time I required them to render an equivalent

in labor for the property which they received.

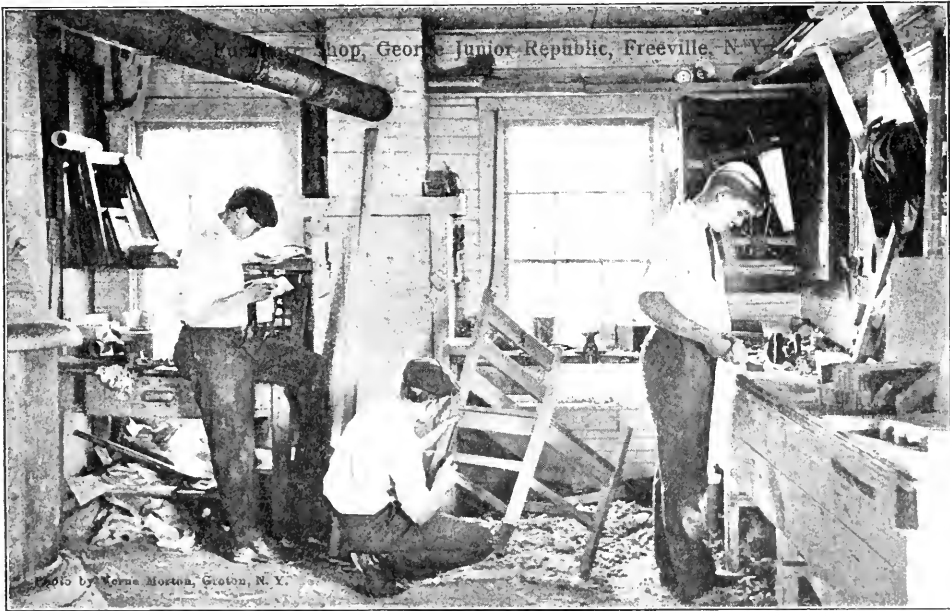
"Previous to that time, I had been obliged to make rules and regulations for the government of this little community and naturally I felt that I was a great lawmaker. The boys and girls, however, took no interest in the laws and I was obliged to enforce them. But just as quickly as a percentage of those young people came into possession of the things for which they were working, that element of the little community came to me and suggested new rules and regulations, generally relating to the protection of property. They had earned things and they were anxious to have them protected. And when I put those rules and regulations into operation they worked a great deal better, it is unnecessary to say, than any rules that I had made. In other words, as quickly as these boys and girls came into possession of property, they took an interest in laws for the protection of property and we had the beginnings of government. That was the germ of the Republic.

"I began gradually to evolve the plan in my mind and, after I had sent the boys and girls back from the country, I spent much time in developing the principles that had presented themselves as a result of the experiences of the summer. Almost unconsciously came the idea of planning a miniature community whose citizens should work not only for the provisions which they took back to the city with them, but for their bread and butter as well, of making the struggle for existence one of the principal features of the Junior Republic. But how to do this was a problem. Finally the thought came: 'I will do exactly as I would do if I were taking a group of men and women from any city or town into the country to spend the balance of their lives. Just as they would organize a village like other villages, I will establish a miniature village for the boys and girls and call it the Junior Republic.'

"We were doubted somewhat at first. People said the scheme was visionary, but we did not swerve from our purpose and, finally, one year later, we started for Freeville with 144

choice specimens. There we started the Junior Republic on the 12th day of July, 1895. That summer I had boys and girls solely from the City of New York. I had planned, if the Republic worked well, to take them back in September, giving them something of a pleasure outing. But we had not operated the scheme more than three or four days before we discovered that we had something that would actually work. The moment we were honest with the boys and girls, the moment we removed the element of play from our community and made it the real thing, that instant we discovered that we had

ences, but I cannot tell you about them. I am merely going to say that we put our scheme through after some pretty hard experiences. The boys nearly froze to death and we had nothing to eat for a long time except tomatoes and potatoes. We would have tomatoes and potatoes for breakfast and potatoes and tomatoes for dinner and, for supper, we would have a hash made of the two together, the smallest boy in the place being compelled to cook for the rest. We had no members of the fair sex there at that time, there being no room for the girls. Just the five boys and myself made up the party. It is a wonder we did not



something that gave tremendous promise. The Republic succeeded. The news of it spread rapidly, and in a very short time a large number of people from different places came to study the Republic and to see it in operation.

"I was so certain of success that I determined right there to make the Republic permanent, to send the majority of boys and girls back to the city, but, if possible, to keep a few of the boys in a building which we had on the place and to develop from that into a permanent Junior Republic.

"We had some very unique experi-

die from indigestion, but we all lived to tell the story and we are a pretty 'husky' set now.

"The Republic kept on growing that winter and the interest increased. A great many applications came for admission, but at that time I took only boys who were bad. 'No others need apply.' As they worked their government day by day, I began to note that the fellows who had the most ginger in them—in other words, the fellows who had been the leaders outside and who had caused the greatest amount of trouble—after they had caused us a certain amount of preliminary trou-

ble in the jail, gradually forged to the front in the Junior Republic, and, finally, became the best and leading citizens of the community. I was so impressed with this fact that after a little time I ceased to take any boys but those who were known outside as bad fellows. General badness was the qualification for admittance to the Republic. And we got plenty on that score. (Laughter.)

"I call to mind one boy who came out of the Trenton State's Prison with the idea of taking up burglary as an occupation. He could barely read or write. We got him into the Republic and three and one-half years later he entered the engineering department of Cornell University. (Applause.)

"Our success with these boys was so great that I felt at once that, if we could keep them as long as we desired, we would solve a great many problems. The reason of our success was the fact that the boys were not puppets in an institution where individuality was destroyed, not in a place where they were a group of heroes together, looked upon as so many machines. Here they were a group of citizens with responsibilities, with the possibility of enforcing the laws which they had made and, often, with a selfish interest in seeing the laws enforced because of the property which they had to protect.

"People were interested because these very bad boys had come to the Republic. I discovered a few months later that the Republic was the one place in the world where a boy could enter, no matter what his record had been, even if he had committed murder. In the history of the Republic we have had three boys who had committed murder. A boy could enter the Republic with the worst of records hanging over his head and come out of it the peer of any one and regarded as such by people who were worth while.

"After having made it known that general badness was a qualification for admittance, I began to get applications from well-to-do families and, in some instances, from rich families who had sons who were very bad. For a long time I hesitated about taking this group, because I feared that people

who were supporting the poor boys by their contributions would feel that the rich ought to be excluded. But I did not see any reason why a rich man's son should not be saved as well as any other, so, finally, I took some boys of this type and found that we succeeded with them quite as well. That was the second step in advance. General badness, therefore, was a qualification for admission, but social standing made no difference whatsoever. Next, we began to take girls into the Republic. We did not take girls who were known as immoral girls. That was the one class which we barred. The girls we took were nice girls, but they were girls who came from homes of danger, where the parents were careless, or girls who were being followed by some fellow or by some group of fellows with evil designs upon them and who were, therefore, in great danger.

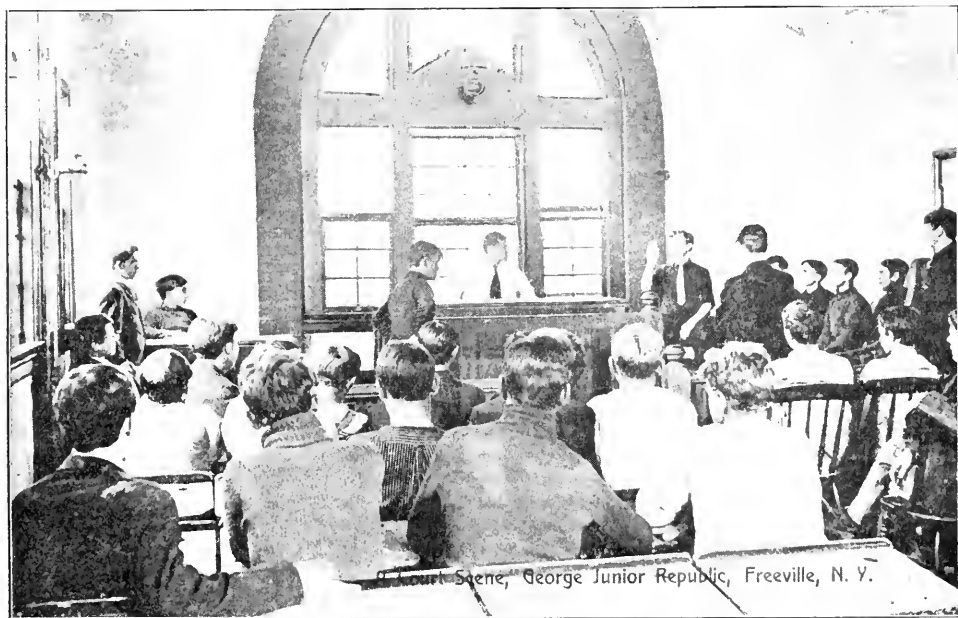
"I then noted that both boys and girls began to feel that they were regarded as being within a reformatory by the general public and that though the general public (or at least the best of it) forgave them, nevertheless they were in a position to be ashamed of. This attitude was quite different from that of the reform school community, because there the children feel themselves to be heroes. But the boys at Freeville saw what the man who commits crimes against property and person is to society. Self-respect had been instilled within them and they did not wish to be regarded as criminals.

"Then I began to say to myself: 'If it is good for these fellows, why would it not be good for some other fellows?' I began to take boys who were not bad at all, just straight-out ordinary boys, providing they had a good mental make-up. We took some of those into the Republic and, of course, they succeeded splendidly and readily adjusted themselves to this new life. The jail features did not play as prominent a part in their early days in the Republic as it did in the early days of those I have just described. But I have doubted somewhat, when perusing the records, whether these boys ascended as high in the Republic—to the position of president or judge—as some of those fellows who had been

known before they came to the Republic as 'terrors.' Some did rise, however, and we discovered, in time, that the Republic was a splendid thing for them, as it had been for the others.

"The progress of the boys was remarkable. Their parents were pleased with them. Every one noticed that, after they left the Republic, they had a dash and individuality about them unusual among other boys. The boys who come out of the Republic are very independent in their thought; they are straightforward; they have minds of their own. The other day I was checking a list of my boys and I found certain ones who were on record as

well. But do you know the writers would not write about this? It was not as picturesque and did not make as catchy write-ups. They, therefore, kept the criminal idea in the limelight. Whenever I or other friends of the Republic had a chance to speak to a group of people, we would always point out this mistake. We would introduce the subject by speaking, first, of what had been done for the criminal boys, and, then, would work around to the good which was being done for the other boys. This, however, did not seem to ring quite true, so we finally said: 'The Republic is not only good for bad boys, but it is,



A Court Scene, George Junior Republic, Freeville, N. Y.

Democrats and others who were on record as Republicans, and yet I found that not one of those fellows up to the present time, so far as I could discover, had voted the straight ticket of either party. (Laughter and applause.) The boss of that section (which is strongly Republican) is having a little bit of trouble with the Republic boys. He is not quite sure of them.

"After the success of this experiment had been demonstrated, I made up my mind that I would go a step farther. We had discovered that it was good for bad boys, but incidentally for good boys and good girls as

incidentally, good for good boys.' The other day, after thinking the matter over, I started out on an entirely new line of action. I am going to twist the whole thing right straight around. Now, whenever I make a declaration, I am going to say: 'As our big Republic and its form of government, which we love, is good for all of its citizens, providing we administer it rightly, so the Junior Republic, being just the same, is good for all boys and all girls, no matter what their position in life. It will make them better American citizens and will teach them to do things by actually doing them.' The

Junior Republic—it may not be in my day—will some day make it possible for every boy and every girl, a year or two before they enter upon the citizenship of the big Republic, to have an opportunity in a Republic by themselves, where, as citizens, they will have all of the rigorous responsibilities that they will have in later life. Not only will this be the case for the boys and girls of our own dear country, but even for the boys and girls in other lands and other countries, not republics. They will have something to correspond to the system of government under which they live and will be given an opportunity for actual training before they assume the responsibilities of citizenship in the greater commonwealth. We are going to work at that, little by little, and perhaps some day something will come of it. At any rate, our intentions are good and I think that they will bear fruit.

“Now you have an idea about the Republic. One of our great mistakes in life is the fact that we say: ‘Here is a group that is doomed to badness forever because they belong to a certain class.’ And of the other groups which are more fortunate we feel that, even if there are black sheep among them, they are of a better order and that something a little better is due them. From my observation of young people, it has become my belief that there is little or no difference between the boys of all classes and conditions of society. I find that certain characteristics are common in boys of all classes, whether they are rich or poor, city-bred or country-bred, so-called good or so-called bad, for my contention is that no boys are bad, just as on the other hand there are no boys who are altogether good. I call them angelic savages.

“There is no element of the population that can regulate the conditions of their life so well as these young people together. You remember when we were boys, we had a very wholesome respect for the opinion of the boys. A few perhaps had more respect for the opinion of the teacher, but we know what our opinion of those fellows was and we know what would have happened to them if we had caught them

some time alone. But the average boy has respect for what other boys think. If anybody can regulate a fellow it is his peers. Therefore, we do not care how ‘tough’ a fellow comes down the ‘pike’ to the Junior Republic, we do not care how big a ‘boss’ he has been outside, we do not care how many ‘gangs’ he has run. When he gets into that place he discovers that he is ‘up against’ his peers and in many instances his superiors, and they do not hesitate to regulate him, not in the least.

“From this point I can run down several lines. For example, I said a moment ago that the Junior Republic was a frank acceptance of existing conditions. Just as quickly, therefore, as the conditions of real life are introduced into the Republic, the same issues that confront the American people arise. Up will come the tariff question, up will come the currency question, the labor question, the church and state question, and last but not least, the woman suffrage question. (Laughter.) Everything ‘bobs up’ just as logically as can be. Therefore, I say I am ready now to branch down any particular line that I choose. But I am not going to choose to do that. Instead I am going to let you ask me questions, and in that way you can get what information you wish.”

QUERY: “How about woman suffrage?”

MR. GEORGE: “The very first day we were at the Republic we had an election. We started things off exactly as they are started in the big Republic. First, it was found necessary to get money for the public officers. So a tax collector was appointed to collect a certain sum from all of the citizens, boys and girls indiscriminately. In the afternoon the election was held and the citizens fell in line to vote, the girls along with the boys. Nobody regarded this as being irregular in any way. The polls were opened up and the line began to move forward and the citizens to deposit their ballots. It happened that one of the candidates for senator was standing near the polls. Right near the head of the line were three or four girls whom he knew were going to vote against him.

He was a politician and a shrewd one. As they approached he, at first, did not know what to do. Suddenly his eyes flashed and, as the girls came up and were about to deposit their votes, he said: 'Youse can't vote.' They stopped and said, 'Why can't we?' 'Because youse is girls.' 'We know that,' they said, 'but we want to vote.' 'Well,' he said, 'youse can't vote, because youse is girls and women don't vote outside.' 'Then,' said one of the girls, 'I notice that you took our good money here a little while ago and why haven't we a right to vote if you did that?' A discussion was held right there on the spot. A boy stepped up (a nice young fellow who took in the situation at once) and said, 'Girls, he is right. You can't vote because we are starting to run this in the same way as they do outside, but, when the legislature gets elected, I will take a petition from you to the members of the legislature and see if we cannot get an amendment to our constitution.' So they were satisfied and he took the measure before the legislature and it was passed.

"But this one particular fellow was not to be outwitted. He rallied another bright fellow to his side and together they said, 'It will never do for the girls to vote.' Finally one of the boys said, 'We will get up a petition asking the President not to sign the bill; then we will go around and have a little chat with each one of the girls and have them sign it. Leave it to me.' So the petition was drawn up and he started out. He got a group of girls around him and said, 'Here, girls, is something for you to sign. It is to have the President veto that bill. Do you know it isn't ladylike to vote? Do you know it is not nice?' And one or two other fellows said, 'Yes, my sister is here and I hope I will never see the day when my sister votes.' So the girls got together and said, 'If these boys say it is not nice, I guess it must not be nice, for they know what is right.' So they began to sign the petition. Four or five girls steadfastly refused to sign, but all the other girls signed the petition praying the President to veto the bill. It was taken to

the President and he vetoed it. (Laughter.)

"At that time the basis of representation was the industrial class, although now we have a pure town-meeting system. The boys' classes were larger than the girls' classes. In the legislature the boys proposed that each class, regardless of size, raise a certain sum of public money. The girls' industrial class being half the size of the boys' classes, it meant that the girls were obliged to pay double the amount of taxes. The boys got that bill through and it was signed. There was a great outcry on the part of the young ladies. Their champion, who had introduced the bill, went to them and said, 'Girls, it serves you right, because if you had had the privilege of voting, those fellows would never have been in the legislature. Now they are in and we cannot help it. It serves you right.' The girls had an indignation meeting and straightway concluded that they would get up another petition praying the legislature to pass a measure giving them the right of suffrage. The measure was introduced and passed, the bill was signed and the girls now vote in the Junior Republic.

"But it brings up no end of interesting problems. What are they? When election day arrives every boy is at the polls to vote and a few of the girls, but the great majority of the girls care little or nothing about voting. In point of fact, a girl, a few weeks ago, introduced a bill at the town meeting declaring it a misdemeanor not to vote if you could vote, and in a speech before the town meeting she said, 'This measure is aimed against my sisters who do not go out and vote.' But it did not prevail. It was voted down by the sterner sex. Whenever the girls hold office they do very well. They put a sort of finish on it, but I do not know whether I would care to go on record as advocating woman suffrage or not. You cannot get me to commit myself.

"The chairman wants me to tell you a story, but the story he has in mind would require too much time, so I will tell you another. Jimmy Dolan was a very tough fellow whom I had brought

out from New York City. He was something of a politician and when he got into the Republic he was elected to the legislature. When he went to the legislature first, he did some very interesting things. For example, one day I saw one of the officers taking a boy to the station house and, when he was inside the station house, I saw him strike his breast and say to some other fellows who were in prison, 'Do youse know why I am in prison?' And they said, 'No.' He said, 'It shows what your friends are likely to do with you when they get in power.' He said, 'Jimmy Dolan and Frank Harrity was friends of mine in New York City and they liked cigarettes just as well as anybody, but when they come up here, what do them blokes do when they get into the legislature but pass a bill that says a feller what smokes cigarettes is goin' to get ten days in jail. Of course I smoked and, therefore, I got stuck, and here I is, and, therefore, that shows what your friends does for you when they gets into politics. See?' (Laughter.)

"So I went to Jimmy and said, 'How was it? Did you do it?' 'Yes,' he said, 'sure t'ing.' I said, 'Why?' He said, 'When we got into the legislature, I says to my friend, "It is up to us to cut out things here what hurts the blokes," and he said, "Sure, that's it" (the question of responsibility, you see). 'And we talked it over, and I said, "What's the worst thing for a feller like you or me?" and he said, "I think the cigarettes is about the worst." He says, "Have you got the nerve to pass a bill through the legislature that will cut it out?" And I says, "You bet I have," and so we both had the nerve to do it and he introduced the bill and it went through.' (Laughter and applause.)

"Well, I said, 'now Jimmy, tell me, as between man and man, do you smoke now?' He poked around with his foot a little bit and he said: 'Well, sir, that bill hadn't been passed more than two minutes before the cigarette habit come on me like you never see before.' They are very human up there, you see. 'Well,' he said, 'I had the fight of my life and I stuck it out all through that day and almost all

through the next day, but about the time the third day come around, I went around to a place where I knowed I had a cigarette butt and I pulled it out and I looked up and down the street and I took it out and I took a couple of puffs, and then,' he said, 'I felt so mean, I felt just like chasing myself around the block and I put it down and I stamped it into the ground; and the fourth day I stuck it out and the fifth day and now it is the sixth day and it has got around where I am having the fight of my life.' (Laughter.)

"Although Jimmy did not yield to the temptation in that direction, he did yield in another direction. One day a 'crap game' was discovered in operation. The vigilant police officers raided the place and, lo and behold, in their toils fell Senator Dolan! I will never forget the despair of the good citizens that day, never as long as I live. 'Jakey' Smith was judge at that time and a mighty fine fellow he was. 'Jakey' Smith was the first citizen of the Republic. If any of you men were in Cornell around the '90s you will remember 'Jakey.' He was the best student of political economy in Cornell. He was so good that Professor Jenks made him his assistant in his junior year. The professor said that he would introduce certain problems to the class by saying, for instance, 'Suppose the economic or the monetary system of Bohemia or some other place were in operation in this country, what would be likely to happen?' He would ask the different students to give their opinions, finally getting around to Smith. Smith would get up and in a straightforward, logical way give them a solution for the whole situation. The professor once asked, 'How did you do that?' Smith said, 'It is just as easy as rolling off a log. I simply think what would have happened in the Junior Republic if that had occurred there, I have my cue from that and I just argue along that line.' He was the boy who steered the Cornell Varsity boat, the year that Cornell established the world's record at Poughkeepsie, and they all said it was largely due to his ability as coxswain. He went to Harvard afterwards and grad-

uated from the law school. He is practicing law and is, of course, prosperous. He is now one of the trustees of the Junior Republic Association.

"'Jakey' was judge at this time and he came to me and said, "'Daddy," Dolan is coming up before me in the morning for gambling. What would you do about it?" I ought to have kept my mouth shut. Today I would have said, 'Do as you think best.' But I was new then. (That is the great trouble with a new superintendent. When we start a Junior Republic out here in Chicago I will have great trouble to get a superintendent who will not superintend.) I said, 'That is a bad thing. I would fine him twenty-five dollars.' I had no idea that he would fine him that much. The next morning all of the citizens took a day off to attend the trial of Senator Dolan for 'crap' shooting. He was brought up to the bar charged with shooting craps. The judge asked him, 'Are you guilty or not guilty?' He said, 'I am guilty, your honor.' 'Well,' said the judge, 'I am going to make an example of you, Senator Dolan. I am going to fine you \$25.' Dolan's chin dropped. A low whistle ran all through the court room. He said, 'Your honor, I have only got \$26 in the bank and if I have to pay \$25 I will be busted completely and, with all due respect to your honor, I will not pay it.' (Laughter.) The judge looked at him finally and said, 'Dolan, you know the alternative.' 'Sure I know it.' 'Well, if you don't pay that, you will have to go to jail and you will work it out at the rate of \$1 a day.' 'All right,' he said, 'I will take my dose in the jail.' So they took him to jail and then all of the citizens refused to go back to work because they wanted to see Dolan working on the stone pile. (Laughter.) So they all gathered around the stone pile. In a little while out came the keeper with his prisoners. They were walking along in line, and at the rear of the line marched Senator Dolan, with a stone hammer over his shoulder, in company with the other prisoners. They gathered around the stone pile and he began to crack stone. The citizens could not speak to the prisoners. They would be arrested if they

did. Neither could the prisoners speak to the citizens. But there was nothing to interfere with a prisoner speaking to a keeper. Therefore Dolan addressed a very animated conversation to the keeper. He banged away and said, 'Such is life. A senator yesterday and a stone-breaker today.' He banged away a little while and then said, 'If I could only get out of this jail. Oh, if I only could!' He said, 'Keeper, I have an idea. I think I will take the smallpox tonight and break out.' And then he worked a little while longer and then he said, "Oh, my back! Oh, this is hard on the back!" Then he worked a little while longer. The citizens by this time had gotten a little bit tired and began to leave. Finally Dolan, having but few spectators left, found he could not play to the galleries any more, so he came down to a regular grind of breaking stones. He worked there for one hour, for two hours, for three hours. He looked around. There was nobody to admire him, except two or three of his faithful henchmen, who stayed there watching the operation. Finally he paused a moment, turned around, rubbed his back, lifted up the stone hammer and said, 'Fellow citizens of this commonwealth, I make an unconditional surrender.' He threw down the stone hammer, straightened around to the keeper and with a tragic air said to him, 'Lead me to me bank account.' (Great laughter.) They took him at once out of the jail and he paid his fine. And now in looking over the old fines imposed upon the citizens of the Republic, where they have written down their opinions, you will see this statement from some boy: 'I like it (the Republic) very much, generally, but I do not think that the judge did right when he soaked Jimmy Dolan \$25 for shooting craps.'

"One of these days, I suppose, we will have a Republic in Chicago or near here. I have many requests and the work is growing. After it was a success at Freeville, we determined to start it at other places. Great pressure has been put on us. We started one in Southern California. We have one between Baltimore and Washington. We have one at Litchfield, Conn.

Within a month one will be started in western Pennsylvania, supported by the city of Pittsburg. The Lehigh Valley Railroad Company has given us a beautiful farm in Flemington, N. J., and within a few months we will have established one in New Jersey. The people in Massachusetts and in various other places are organizing. I am not pressing the people to organize until they are ready. They are pressing me. Many people have said to me, 'Why don't you and when will you start a Republic in Chicago?' The first thing I want to do before we do that is to get a man who can do the business, and I want you to keep an eye open for such a man. It may take a good many trials, but not until we get the right person will we talk about having a Republic in Illinois or in any other place.

"The boys said they wanted to have a yell which expressed their sentiments, so they got together and fixed one up that was something like this:

"Siss, boom!
Down with the boss, down with the tramp,
Down with the pauper, down with the scamp;
Up with the freeman, up with the wise,
Up with the thrifty, on to the prize.

"Who are we?
Why, we are, we are
Citizens of the G. J. R.'"

"Come and see the Republic at any time and we will give you the time of your lives." (Great applause.)

THE STICKING POINT IN TAXATION

On October 11, 1909, President Frank L. McVey of the University of North Dakota, at a special luncheon at the City Club, discussed various phases of the work of the Minnesota State Tax Commission, his general subject being the "Sticking Point in Taxation." President McVey was especially well qualified to discuss the situation in Minnesota, because of his connection with the tax commission, as its chairman, previous to his call to the University of North Dakota.

In the course of his remarks, President McVey outlined the development of state tax commissions from their earliest form as mere temporary bodies charged with the conduct of some special investigation or with the execution of some special task to the form now adopted in many states, particularly those of the West, under which they are permanent bodies with functions involving a continuous oversight of state taxation. He pointed out the loss of initiative on the part of these permanent commissions and the general tendency, now apparent, to become mere assessing or reviewing bodies, with a minimum of reform functions. The ineffectiveness of the commissions, whether temporary or

permanent, in securing actual legislative reforms, was ascribed by President McVey to the general apathy and ignorance on the part of both public and legislators, and his plea, therefore, was for an active educational propaganda which should arouse the people to a sense of the importance of the subject and which should furnish them with a knowledge of the tax situation and of the means of modifying it.

The Civic Secretary, Mr. George E. Hooker, in introducing President McVey, spoke of the growing interdependence of the state and the university, particularly as shown in the drafting of men from the universities to hold official positions in the state. In the case of President McVey, he said, the usual order has been reversed, the university calling upon the state to surrender one of its officials to the chair. President McVey spoke as follows:

President Frank L. McVey

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Looking back over the last forty years in the history of taxation in this country, there appear to be two points at which some results have been accomplished.

"About 1871, as I recall it, the

Wells Commission of New York, under the leadership of David A. Wells, presented a very remarkable report on the conditions of taxation in that state. The commission made a number of important recommendations and discussed the general tax situation with a great deal of keenness and analytical force, but, strange to say, the legislature adopted not one suggestion made by the tax commission and, being a temporary body, it passed out of existence with only this volume as its record and as a part of its history.

"About 1881, the State of Maryland created a temporary commission to investigate taxation in that state and to make a report to the legislature. The commission was under the direction and leadership of Richard T. Ely. That commission presented an excellent report, thorough-going and well worth while. The suggestions in it were pointed, but again, strange to say, the legislature of Maryland refused to adopt a single suggestion that was made by the commission.

"In Massachusetts, in 1872, we have a report by a temporary tax commission and, again, in 1894 and in 1907, without the legislature adopting any essential part of their suggestions.

"Beginning with the year 1894, we have a departure from the temporary commissions of earlier days and the establishment of permanent state tax commissions. In 1897-8, Wisconsin created a permanent commission, which began an important work in organizing the assessment of the railway properties in the state and in attempting to get at the real value of the land and real estate in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin commission has now been in existence nearly fourteen years. In that time it has managed to do something with the problem of the assessment and taxation of railroads, but in the problem of the valuation of property it practically has made no advance over its first assessment, which reached 70 or 80 per cent of the total value of real estate in the state.

"Since the establishment of the Wisconsin commission, a number of other states, notably New York, Indiana and Minnesota, have created permanent tax commissions. These commissions, after a history of from one to four years,

have dropped back into mere assessing and valuation boards without attempting to do very much in the way of reform.

"The tax commission of Minnesota was created in the year 1907. It consisted of three members. It was suggested in the message of Governor Johnson to the legislature of that year. The commission took office in May of 1907. It had an annual appropriation of \$30,000. The commission first attempted to secure some knowledge of the actual value of the real estate in the commonwealth. Its second purpose was to secure some idea of the values existent in the iron properties in the northern part of the state.

"The first problem was met by what we call the sales system of valuing the land, under which the sales of land in a given community are compared with the assessments. From the total sales and the total assessments the percentage of assessments to the real value may be figured. This was done both in Wisconsin and in Minnesota. In the latter case, however, all of the counties were covered, as against only about one-half in Wisconsin.

"The result of the work done in Minnesota revealed the fact that, all in all, the assessments of real property in that state, including the cities, averaged about 42 per cent of its actual value as disclosed by sales. But it was further discovered that, outside of the northern counties, the property in the counties was assessed at a lower value than that of the cities. The city of St. Paul was assessed on an average of about 57 per cent, as I now recollect, the city of Minneapolis at about 50 or 51 per cent, the city of Duluth at about 44 per cent, and the city of Winona at about 50 per cent, indicating a very considerable variance between the cities themselves and also between the cities and the country.

"The method followed in assessing the iron ore properties in the northern part of the state was briefly this: The different types of mines were classified on the basis of the value of their ore, the difficulty of getting at it and the cost of mining it. There were created five different classes of mines and three different classes of prospects. The various mines were given different values in accordance with the class to which they belonged. Those of the first class had

a value for taxation purposes of 33 cents on each ton of ore in the ground and the others were arranged in a descending scale down to 14 cents for the last class.

"It was possible, because of the thoroughness with which the ground had been explored, to ascertain, rather extendedly and somewhat scientifically, the amount of iron ore and its value. The result of this was that the commission placed a value of \$194,000,000 upon the iron properties in the state. In the next year, because of the amount of ore that had been mined, this value was reduced to about \$184,000,000 or \$185,000,000, a loss of \$10,000,000, but this year, with new tonnage and with new explorations, the valuation has been increased to \$204,000,000 or \$205,000,000.

"The two things, therefore, which the Minnesota commission accomplished, in the two years of its history from 1907 to 1909, were, first, the valuation of real estate and the determination of the percentage of the assessment to land values, and, second, the valuation of the iron ore properties in the northern part of the state.

"Now comes, at this period, in 1909, a constitutional amendment. The history of that amendment is exceedingly interesting. It was supposedly defeated in the election, but the Supreme Court has declared that the amendment was carried. This was done in January of 1909. The result of the amendment was that, instead of the old system of taxation, which provided that all classes of property should be taxed according to its actual value and according to certain classes, determined by the legislature, practically any kind or type of tax might, now, be applied to any specific class. Under the old system, all classes of property must be taxed in the same way. Under the new system, it was provided that any class might be taxed in any given way, so long as the tax applied to the entire class.

"The result of this amendment was briefly this: There was poured into the legislature a flood of bills on the subject of taxation that rather discouraged all of the friends of the amendment. Every tax proposition that has ever been heard of, I believe, was presented to the legislature for action, and, despite the recommendations of the tax com-

mission, these schemes took many forms, ancient, medieval or modern in type.

"The situation now was this: Formerly, the state board of equalization had practically assessed on a 30 per cent basis. Now, the tax commission had said to the legislature, 'You must determine the basis of the assessment for us, or we will follow the law.' The result was that the House finally passed a bill that provided for an assessment on the basis of 40 per cent of the value and, in the Senate, a bill was presented (which, however, did not reach final passage) for assessment upon the basis of 50 per cent of value.

"The situation, then, was that, the average assessment being more than 40 per cent and that of the cities being more than 50 per cent, the country members were left in the peculiar and interesting position of voting to increase their own assessment and to lower that of the cities. The embarrassment which followed resulted in a great deal of shuffling and moving, so as to avoid the particular difficulties which would arise in the case of the 40 per cent assessment, but the legislators finally took the bull by the horns and refused to pass the 40 per cent amendment bill, adjourning with no agreement and with no bill on the statute books regarding the basis of assessments. They did, however, pass a resolution calling upon the tax commission to follow the method that had been pursued in the past by the boards of assessors.

"It had been hoped and expected that some of the things that were recommended by the tax commission, among others the establishment of a county assessor system, would be passed. A very carefully drawn bill for this purpose was presented, without, however, any reference to the interest of the tax commission in the measure. The bill was long, but it covered the situation. It proposed, in brief, that the local assessor should be legislated out of office, that the county assessor should be given charge of the county assessments and that, under him, there should be deputy assessors, appointed at salaries of five dollars per day and expenses.

"The immediate result of that bill was to arouse opposition all over the state, especially in the country districts and

from the men who had previously been assessors in those districts. In other words, gentlemen, it is not alone the man who has a salary of three thousand or four thousand dollars a year in the municipal government or in the state government who opposes legislation, but the man who receives two dollars a day for thirty days in the year, is just as strongly opposed to legislation that is likely to put him out of office. The bill was defeated. It failed of passage in the House, and, as I now recollect, it did not reach a point where it was actually proposed for passage in the Senate.

"Not only did that bill fail, but various other bills regulating the taxation of public utilities met a like fate. The commission proposed, in general, that public utilities should be assessed on the basis of gross earnings, the percentage of tax against the gross earnings to be determined by investigation after careful examination of the industry. In other words, each industry must bear a specific percentage, gas and electric light one percentage, street railways and waterworks different percentages and so on.

"Several bills were proposed, one regulating street railways, another regulating gas companies, another regulating electric light companies. In all of these bills, suggested by the companies themselves, the tax proposed was, in the majority of instances, a little less than the one they had been paying. The legislators could not go before their constituents with a reduction of the tax, but the companies refused to accept a rate of more than a certain percentage. As the result of this double difficulty, the bills in all of these cases failed.

"When, therefore, the legislature adjourned, practically the only points gained by the commission were a recommendation to investigate the income tax and to report to the next legislature, a proposal to make the commission a board of appeal from the county commissioners, and an additional annual appropriation of five thousand dollars.

"The history of the Minnesota tax commission is not different from that of other states, except that in the time that it has been in existence it has accomplished more. But, in its dealings with the legislature, it has failed to get one

whit more than the other state commissions. Here is the sticking point in taxation.

"Referring back, now, to our forty years of history, you will note that the temporary commissions of 1871 in New York, of 1881 in Maryland, and of 1872, 1894 and 1907 in Massachusetts, failed to get any results and that no results were obtained until permanent commissions were established, more particularly in the Western states. But now comes the time when the permanent tax commissions are attempting to secure legislation that will modify, in some respects, the tax systems of their respective states. And here again we stick, just as we stuck before. The danger seems to me to be this, that in the transition from the temporary to the permanent and from the permanent tax commission to a tax commission which will secure reform, the original initiative will be lost and the commissions will gradually become little more than assessing boards with somewhat larger powers, with somewhat more initiative and, perhaps, with a somewhat more scientific way of making assessments.

"In the state of New York, the tax commission is a mere assessing board, a board of equalization. If you read its reports, you will find that there are few investigations or suggestions which are above the commonplace. The Wisconsin commission, which, perhaps, is the ablest one of them all, has in its last two or three reports given out a tone of discouragement or at least the feeling that, in spite of their best efforts, the results are far below expectations. In Minnesota the same thing is true. The Indiana board has, from the beginning, been merely an assessment board with rather large powers and with some advantageous ways of dealing with the public.

"The question now arises as to how far we are able to proceed in the field of taxation. It is common opinion that our tax system should be reformed, but, for some reason, we do not get anywhere in the matter of actually securing legislation.

"My impression is that the difficulty lies in the lack of knowledge about the workings of taxing systems and that the only way in which progress towards real

reform will be made is through systematic education of the people. This thought is as old as taxation itself, but no system of taxation has ever been changed, except with the consent of the people. If, therefore, we wish to make a change, it must be made with the fullest knowledge and along comparatively simple lines.

"The educational labors of our tax commissions are coming to be limited, very largely, to the holding of assessors' meetings and to the issuance of reports. In the legislature of Minnesota, perhaps fifteen men read the report. The new chairman of the tax commission thought that this was a little large, but it was estimated that, possibly, out of one hundred and fifty men, one-tenth had read the report. That means, of course, that nothing can be accomplished until there is a wider recognition of the problem and a real interest in it.

"We have reached the sticking point of taxation, and I see no possibility of a change except as the result of constant vigilance and of insistent education along the line of what real taxation is. And before we can get anywhere, even on that line, it is necessary to come to some agreement as to what taxation is. If the single taxers agree upon one form and other tax authorities upon others, each group having its own strong body of adherents, we will never secure adequate or satisfactory legislation, except after a very long period of time and until some common ground is reached from which our demands may be made. If we could come to some definite conclusions relative to taxation, for instance, that there ought to be a separation, in some degree, between state and local taxation, that the state ought not, except on extraordinary occasions, levy a tax upon real estate, but on securities and on various corporate and business enterprises within the state and that the local bodies should have the choice of raising their taxes from real estate, we would be in a position to give up the present personal property tax and, possibly, to substitute in its place, not a universal income tax, but some form of taxing securities, bonds, stocks and the like that would, to all intents and purposes, be a modified income tax.

"That, in brief, might be a workable

program, but, before we can present it to the people with the expectation of getting results, we must have it thoroughly understood and clearly in mind. The average legislator is the representative of the people from whom he comes. If they do not understand these principles you can hardly expect him to and if he does not understand them neither will his constituents. So to my mind, before we can move from where we now stand in the field of taxation, we must initiate and carry forward a very decided and very forceful propaganda of education." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN HOOKER: "Are there any questions of President McVey?"

MR. F. H. MONROE: "What is the exemption of personal property in Minnesota as compared with other states?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "The exemption in Minnesota is one hundred dollars, with an additional exemption of one hundred dollars for members of the National Guard. The largest exemption in the United States is, I think, in the state of Massachusetts, where it is one thousand dollars on personal property."

MR. MONROE: "There is no exemption on tools, pianos, libraries and the like?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "No, every one of them is assessed."

MR. MONROE: "Are land and personal property assessed separately?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "Personal property is assessed every year and real estate every two years. Since about 1870, the land has been assessed separately from the improvements thereon. The assessment books contain both the value of the land and the value of the improvements and buildings."

MR. MONROE: "Do you know whether or not the scheme of separate assessment has greatly increased the revenues of New York state, where, I understand, it has been adopted within the last few years?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "I do not know that there has been any remarkable increase in revenues as a result of the change. I think there is no question but that an increase has resulted in New York under Mr. Purdy's direction. New York has a very creditable method of assessing buildings. A uniform value

per cubic foot is assigned to buildings of a certain type. Each building is measured and the assessment fixed by multiplying the cubic feet in the building by the cubic foot value assigned to buildings of that class."

MR. MONROE: "What would you suggest as the next step to be taken in modifying the taxing system of Minnesota?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "The next step in Minnesota is to very materially modify the personal property tax. Under the present system, horses, pianos, all household goods and the like are taxed, while invisible property is overlooked. Notes, bonds and stocks, held in strong boxes, are practically unassessed, whereas pianos, horses and the like are, in many instances, over-assessed. A piano which is worth one hundred and fifty dollars will be assessed the same as a piano which is worth sixty dollars—that is to say, at seventy-five dollars. A horse worth twenty dollars will be assessed at thirty dollars and a horse worth two hundred dollars will be assessed at the same figure. A sewing machine will be assessed at fifteen dollars, irrespective of cost. That is, of course, the rankest kind of injustice, for it means the unsatisfactory and inadequate assessment of personal property."

MR. MONROE: "Is it your opinion that a permanent tax commission is a very valuable instrument in bringing about the change you spoke of?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "I think that the permanent tax commission is a necessary adjunct to the development of a satisfactory system of taxation. There must be concentration of assessments and of taxation in the hands of permanent officers who are experts. As soon as this idea can be made effective in the system of local assessments, the better will be the entire situation. A permanent tax commission and a system of permanent local assessors, who can be removed by a central authority, make possible the protection of local assessors against the local people. The reason why the local assessor does not do better work is, largely, because he is afraid of the man he is assessing. If you remove him from that fear and put the burden upon a central tax commission, you will have made a great advance toward better things."

MR. JOHN DORR BRADLEY: "How would you get at a system of taxing stocks and bonds as against taxing pianos and horses?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "I should try to make the tax so nearly right, that men would not have any temptation to avoid it. That, perhaps, is theory, but the state of Pennsylvania has had a tax of four and a half mills on the dollar of value of all stocks and bonds held by individuals resident in the state. If a man had a thousand-dollar bond, he would pay four dollars and fifty cents tax upon it. The income might be fifty or sixty dollars a year. The result of that is that Pennsylvania today has a billion dollars of bonds, stocks and notes on her assessment list. She has as much personal property of that character as the entire assessment of the state of Minnesota. The same is true of Maryland. In the city of Baltimore, a year ago, one hundred and fifty million dollars of notes, stocks and bonds were assessed on the four and a half mill basis. The Massachusetts commission recommended that instead of four and five mills on the dollar of value of the stocks and bonds, three mills should be the charge, it being assumed that more revenue would be obtained at three mills than at four or five. But that recommendation, however, was not adopted. It is my impression that the assumption that such legislation would increase revenue would be true. If every man who has stocks or bonds could be assured that he would not be assessed for fifty per cent of their value and then at the local rate of possibly thirty mills (thus paying out one-third or more of the income), he would unquestionably turn in his property for taxing purposes, provided he could be assured that it would not cost him more than three dollars on a thousand."

MR. MONROE: "Pennsylvania has a very light tax on personal property, has it not?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "Yes. There is a small local tax on personal property, but aside from that there is no personal property tax except in the indirect way of which I have just spoken. The state gets its revenue from the tax on corporations. The principal reason for the extravagance of the state of Pennsylvania is its large income from the cor-

poration tax. If I remember correctly, the state has an income of about twenty-four million dollars from this source. This income is practically fixed. It does not expand and contract in accordance with the wants of the state. The question therefore is how to spend it rather than how to save it."

MR. MONROE: "What is the process of taxing corporations in Pennsylvania?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "Corporations are taxed on the basis of capitalization, of stocks and bonds outstanding. The amount of the tax depends on the type of corporation."

MR. MONROE: "How about the county tax?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "There is a real estate tax, but no personal property tax."

MR. MONROE: "Is there a franchise tax in Pennsylvania?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "The corporation tax is practically a franchise tax."

MR. MONROE: "How does it differ from that of New York?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "The New York scheme is made up of two elements, one a tax on the franchise, determined by the capitalization, and the

other on earnings above a certain amount. A corporation pays a tax upon its franchise whether it earns anything or not, but, if it makes more than, say, 5 per cent, it pays an additional tax. An enormous revenue has been obtained from this tax. New York also has a stock and bond tax. All stocks and bonds sold on the Exchange in New York City or elsewhere in New York pay a tax of one cent on a hundred shares, or of one cent on each share. I am not sure which."

MR. MONROE: "Has not taxation of mortgages been abolished in New York?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "No. There is a tax on mortgages but it is not the old-fashioned tax. A tax of one-half of one per cent on each dollar of the mortgage is paid as a recording fee and that releases the mortgage from taxation."

MR. MONROE: "How about the taxation of stocks and bonds?"

PRESIDENT McVEY: "The holders of the bonds of any company that pays the franchise and corporation tax are exempt from further taxation. The tax on the franchise takes the place of the tax on the holders of the stocks and bonds, thus putting in practice the old plan of taxation at the source."

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SOME WESTERN PROBLEMS

At a special luncheon on Wednesday, October 20th, the City Club welcomed back one of its founders, Mr. William Kent, now a non-resident member of the Club living at Kentfield, Marin County, California, just outside of San Francisco. Mr. Kent's many years of active participation in the affairs of this city as alderman, as a member of the executive committee of the Municipal Voters' League and of the Citizens' Association, as president of the former organization from 1899 to 1900, as a leader in the traction fight and in various other capacities made his visit one of peculiar and personal interest to the members of this Club. His address to the Club was in the nature of a message from the Coast on some of its more important problems. In the course of his remarks he referred to the San Francisco situation, the conservation movement and the western attitude toward Japanese immigration, questions with which, at one time or another, he has had personal contact.

Judge Julian W. Mack, who presided, introduced Mr. Kent, who spoke as follows:

Mr. William Kent

"This afternoon, I propose to give you merely a few impressionistic dabs at things as they are in the West,

and, first, I am going to say a word about San Francisco. San Francisco has the same problems that confront every large city but it has set about their solution by methods quite different from those used in Chicago. The work there began with the graft prosecutions, not with constructive action. Almost as by an explosion of dynamite, a good mayor and a good board of supervisors were put into office in San Francisco, but the people apparently failed to appreciate this fact. Prosecutions have dragged on and on and on. It is, now, practically impossible to get a jury and utterly impossible to get a jury that will agree. Jury bribing, intimidation and kidnaping of witnesses are now almost matters of course. There is no disgrace attached to being caught stealing documents from the State's Attorney's office. The defense has with it the sympathies of many honest, well-meaning people and, in the state of war which exists, prejudice seems to have robbed these people of any appreciation of the enormity of the situation. It is bad manners, now, in California, to talk about the prosecutions, for they have, to a certain extent, gone stale. Whether there will ever be any convictions is doubtful. The beneficiaries of the brib-

eries are under trial but, because of inability to use the chief witness, Mr. Abraham Ruef, who has lied so much that neither side will now accept his testimony, there seems to be a gap which calls for conviction on circumstantial evidence, a gap, which the prosecution for various reasons has not yet succeeded in bridging.

"One unique feature about the San Francisco situation is that Mr. Calhoun has been made the social "it" and has rallied around him all the people who desire to pose as leaders of 'polite' society. This seems curious, in view of the fact that Mr. Calhoun, in one of his numerous proclamations to the American people, referred to Schmitz as his friend, and said that Schmitz had dined at his house, with his family, although, at the time of this proclamation, Schmitz was known as the proprietor of the biggest and most disreputable dive in all San Francisco.

"What San Francisco lacks is just what you have here, a City Club. There are thousands of splendid people in San Francisco, who are thinking along similar lines, but they do not get together. They have no idea of team-work. There are coteries working for this and coteries working for that but, lacking a City Club, it seems impossible for them to get together. Nature lovers join with the public utility people in fighting against the use of the Hetch-Hetchy as a source of municipal water supply. Whether the Hetch-Hetchy should be used for this purpose or not is an open question but it was strange to see the best opinion divided over the problem and to hear so little discussion as to whether or not the Hetch-Hetchy was the only available source of supply.

"The coming election will mean much to San Francisco, but it will not mean nearly as much as would the formation of a City Club. San Francisco must start at the bottom and build up, just as Chicago has done. It must take up public utility questions in a constructive way. It must not rely for its reform on the excitement of a graft prosecution. Hence the need of a City Club. In referring to the need of a City Club in San Francisco, I am indirectly stating my appreciation of the wonderful work

that this organization is doing and my belief that it is the most prophetic and most valuable asset of Chicago.

"After San Francisco, the first thing that comes to mind, in a consideration of Western problems, is the conservation program. The East has been so thoroughly robbed and the Middle West seems to have so little need of conservation that the people east of the Rocky Mountains have but small appreciation of the tremendous importance of that western conservation policy. Of course, the early development of this country and the work of the pioneers were of such a nature as to encourage the idea that public assets in public hands were really not public assets and that a thing had no value until it was put upon the assessment roll as private property. This idea has been overworked as the country is now beginning to see. The conservation policy, therefore, is the most important issue that the West has to face, for the resources that may be saved for the benefit of all the people lie now most largely in that section of the country.

"You are familiar, of course, with the policies looking toward conservation of the forests and of the water power, but I have had a little personal experience in grazing lands which, I think, may be of interest. I have been all over the western range country and I have seen successive bands of sheep going over and over the same ground on the public range until the grass was destroyed, until, in subsequent years, the best pasturage was reduced to a quarter or less of what it had been before. Of course, there was a movement to have a grazing law passed by Congress, but you have no realization of how bitterly this law was fought. The powerful men in many of the western states have so organized their power as to stand in with the local authorities and to obtain for themselves and their friends grazing privileges of immense value. The idea of paying rent for government property and of permitting small men to enjoy the privileges that they enjoyed, seemed to them revolutionary, un-American, undemocratic and un-republican, contrary to good public policy and almost as bad as horse stealing. (Laughter.) So the bills that were intended to give the small man a

chance, to give everybody a fair chance, above all to give the grass a fair chance, have been carefully suppressed.

"As an alternative policy, the Forestry Department, under the aggressive leadership of Pinchot and Roosevelt, has undoubtedly stretched the law in declaring vast tracts of land with comparatively little timber to be forest reserves. This has worked to perfection. I can speak from my own experience in Nevada, where many of these forest reserves have been established. We know now where we can put our sheep and how many we can put there. We know that we are not going to have to fight our neighbors, that our neighbors are not going to kill our sheep-herders (a common occurrence in those regions), and that the small man, the man who can tend five thousand sheep, can get his summer feed on these ranges, and, with a small hay-ranch to carry him through the winter, can, at least, have a chance in the world.

"This brings up the point of 'stretching the law.'" I don't know what the law is for, unless it is for the public welfare. There seem to be many opinions that are contrary to this, but I would rather see the law stretched in that way than in the opposite direction, as it usually has been stretched. I, for one, have absolutely no sympathy with this strict legal construction, based upon precedent, for the precedents have implied that the strong shall take what they can reach, under cover of the law.

"The development of the water power brings up another interesting proposition. If we cannot control these water-power grants, or cannot get capital on reasonable terms to develop them, so that they may be used for the public welfare, we had better not develop them. The idea that we have any time and can wait seems to be extremely heretical. People do not consider that giving lands or grants of power in perpetuity without control is a violation of ordinary common sense and public decency, but they do consider it highly indecent to allow water power to go to waste for two or three years as an alternative to such perpetual grants.

"I was very much pleased, some time since, to receive a letter from the Presi-

dent, in which he expressed great indignation at the fact that some people, who were reaching for a tremendous grant of water power in the Sierras, had started to capitalize that grant at an immense sum. They have not yet obtained the grant and I do not expect them to get it, but they began at once to capitalize the prospect and to sell securities on that prospect for a number of millions of dollars. It is an outrage to give grants of such a nature that they can be capitalized in this fashion. To my mind the test of the propriety of a grant should be the cost to the government, the city or the state, of re-entering upon its rights under condemnation. Whenever we see a grant given away that would cost a great sum to recover by process of condemnation, an obvious injustice is being done to all the people.

"Of course, the development of these resources creates value. The enterprise that creates these values should be recognized but this development is no longer pioneer work. The benefits arising therefrom should not, therefore, go into private pockets alone, but should be shared by the community. The law of patents, it seems to me, is an excellent example of a proper regulative measure. A perpetual patent is something unknown and, yet, if there is anything to which a man should have an unlimited right, it should be the product of his mind. The moment, however, work ceases to be pioneer work, it ceases to deserve pioneer rewards. Of course, the development of these water powers requires large capital. But so does the development of our traction system. The same general theory that has been applied in Chicago to the traction problem can be applied with variations to these other things.

"In the meantime, it behooves us all to fight with teeth and claws against the alienation in perpetuity of public property, first, because it is inherently unjust and short-sighted, and, second, because the continuance of such a policy necessarily means one or another sort of revolution. The people are not going to stand for perpetual grants. Either they will put in a Supreme Court that will rule against perpetual grants or they will do something else.

"The third problem, which confronts us on the Pacific Coast, is the Oriental question, with particular reference to the Japanese. The people of the Coast have felt for years that they did not wish a race problem forced on them. They did not wish an irreconcilable population superimposed or laid underneath the structure of their western democracy. That, as far as the Chinese were concerned, was settled by the Exclusion Act. Now arises the Japanese question. The people of the Coast, laborers, employers of labor, and general public alike, have very much less use for Japanese than they have for Chinese. They feel the aggressiveness of the Japanese all the time. However outrageous and unpardonable the San Francisco riots were, they had

their foundation in a very deep feeling. Wherever the Japanese get together in numbers, the white population moves away, not because of any preconceived prejudice but, merely, because the two elements do not mix. The employers of labor find them unreliable and disagreeable. The people of Hawaii have had their trouble with the Japanese and how they will meet the problem nobody knows. The people of the western states have little confidence in the thought that Japan, of itself, will permanently keep its people from the rich pickings of the Coast. They feel that the problem is growing and is a serious one and, when, as they will, they ask for an Exclusion Act, I hope that the rest of the country will see the point." (Applause.)

THE PRESENT POLITICAL OUTLOOK IN ENGLAND

The significance of the present struggle in the British Parliament over the Lloyd-George budget was discussed at a luncheon of the Club on Friday, October 22, by Doctor Stanton Coit, of London, in an address upon the "Present Political Outlook in England." Doctor Coit has been interested in social movements both in England and America, his principal early activities having been in connection with the University Settlement of New York, as its founder and head, and with the Ethical Culture Society of that city, as lecturer. In the late eighties he removed to England, where he identified himself prominently with the Ethical Culture movement, of which he is now the head. He has taken part in numerous other social movements, notably, of late, that looking toward reform of the British Poor Law. He is a member of the National Committee to Promote the Break-up of the British Poor Law, an organization formed through the efforts of Mrs. Sydney Webb, one of the authors of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission. Dr. Coit has taken active part in the political affairs of his adopted country. At the last election he stood as a labor candidate for Parliament, losing the contest by a narrow margin. Dr. Coit is known as the author of a work upon "Neighborhood Guilds," in which

he describes the small neighborhood organizations of which he was originator and earliest advocate and which were the forerunner of the University Settlement of New York.

Judge E. O. Brown presided and introduced the speaker.

Doctor Stanton Coit

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

"I suppose any judgment on political matters must almost inevitably be a private opinion only and I shall, therefore, ask the privilege of speaking about the political outlook in England as I individually see it. The angle from which I view it is perhaps a peculiar one. I am not aware of any other man in England who is a naturalized British subject and American born, except Mr. Astor and myself. If Mr. Astor spoke to you, I am sure he would give you a very different impression as to the present outlook in England.

"And with this personal remark, I might further say that I lived some eighteen years in England without in any way identifying myself with political life, although I came to feel increasingly that a man outside of politics is outside of English life altogether.

"You speak of your social movements here independently of political activity, but in England almost the whole life is

political. By the time a social activity has transformed itself into a political problem, that movement is seen to be in earnest and has accumulated momentum enough to succeed.

"My difficulty, as a western-born American, was that in those years there was no English party that an American could unite with and not, so to speak, sell his American birthright of liberty, equality and fraternity. Within the last three years, the Liberal Party has approximated very nearly to the sentiment that I believe underlies all action for civic or national betterment in America. The Liberal Party has surrendered its old doctrine of *laissez faire*, has turned its attention to social issues and has recognized the claims of the people as they have never been recognized before by any government or by any party. It is this new democratic sense, this Western American spirit, which is awake in England today, and which has brought us to the verge of a revolution.

"I believe that Lord Rosebery is correct when he says that the present financial scheme for England is not a budget but a revolution. Although I shall not attempt to prophesy, I believe that, whichever way the forces may turn, something essentially revolutionary will happen. I mean by that, that there will be a readjustment of the balance of power and that classes of society that heretofore have been disinherited, will come into their own.

"The House of Lords has always been on the side of one political party, the Conservatives. The House of Lords, when the Conservative Party is in power, has always, without question and without amendment, passed the propositions sent up to it by the government, but whenever the Liberal Party has been in power, although that party by no means represented a democracy, the House of Lords has mutilated and rejected its measures and caused a legislative standstill.

"This was true, as you know, in 1886 and, again, in 1892. But the issue, then, was not between the people—the masses—and the vested interests. It was a question of geographical distinction. Ireland held the decisive vote, so that although the House of Commons voted

for home rule, the majority of the people of England were not in favor of it. An appeal to the country, therefore, resulted in favor of the House of Lords. Now, for the first time in English history since the reform of Parliament in 1832, an issue has arisen that touches the people of England quite as vitally as it does the people of Ireland and the English seem to be awake to their own interests, in a manner that clashes with their tremendous deference for the House of Lords.

"Now, either the House of Lords will concede the new budget or the House of Lords will be abolished or transformed into a totally different kind of upper chamber. If the House of Lords concedes the budget, as it very likely will, it will mean that, for the first time in the history of England, the land will be taxed. One of the interesting characteristics of the Liberal Party in the last twenty-five years, as regards its own political education and economic evolution, is that Henry George's land tax theory has obtained a very strong hold, so that a great many of the capitalists of England, who were extremely anti-socialistic as regards the organization of capital, are extremely socialistic as regards the nationalization of the land. The editor of the London Daily News, for example, is a land nationalizer, and throughout the middle classes, who are interested in the organization of industry, there is a strong sentiment attacking this monopoly of land which goes scot free from any taxation.

"For the first time, then, in the history of England, the landlords know that they will be called upon to bear responsibility in proportion to their privilege as land-owners. If they yield, I believe it will be only because they know that they are absolutely helpless and that if they do not grant this new budget as regards the land, they themselves will forfeit their political prestige.

"Besides land nationalization, which is the ultimate purpose underlying the proposed new taxation, there are other features which are equally striking and original, for instance, the super-tax on incomes. According to the budget, if any man has an income of over £5,000, he will be taxed over and above the ordinary income-tax, sixpence on the pound

on all of his income over £3,000. The result is that the large fortunes will be enormously taxed in proportion to the small ones. This legislation will, I believe, be carried through.

"You may be aware that the House of Lords has passed the Development Bill, which provides that new roads shall be made and that agriculture shall be favored and encouraged in many unprecedented ways. The passage of this seems to imply that the House of Lords recognizes that it must pass the budget.

"If the budget is not passed, what will happen? The Liberal Party, I believe, realizes, that its relations with the House of Lords are for it a life and death matter. They must somehow abolish certain of the privileges of the House of Lords or they must so transform the House of Lords that it shall no longer be a final entrenchment of power, perpetually in favor of the Conservatives. I believe that the Liberals are now really itching to make an attack upon the House of Lords.

"The King apparently would rather see the budget passed than have the constitutional balance disturbed and probably he will bring pressure to bear to that end. But in the House of Lords only a handful of men take any active interest in politics and the rest may be dragged up at the last moment to vote against the budget, even against the preference of the King. As I conceive it, a threat by the King to create liberal peers would immediately bring the peers to the knees of the House of Commons.

"I believe that many people in England would be ready to keep the picturesque prestige of the House of Lords intact and to propose that a change be made in the constitution to the effect that, if there is a deadlock between the two houses on any special issue, if a measure returns to the House of Commons, rejected by the House of Lords, and again passes the House of Commons and is again rejected, there should be a referendum and that the popular verdict should be final.

"I believe that there is, among many people in England, a desire for a second house, based on something else than hereditary privilege, but not, like the House of Commons, simply representing certain

geographical districts. There is a new feeling in England, that there ought to be one Chamber to represent, not individuals or geographical groups, but rather, organized interests and organized forces. I believe there are many, who wish that there were a House of Lords where organized religion, for example, should be officially represented. There are now, as you know, twenty-six bishops in the House of Lords. Already the proposition has been made by a committee of the House of Lords that representatives of the Nonconformist bodies should sit on the bench of bishops. If you extend that principle, it might be possible to say that all the great interests, such as organizations of capital and great educational bodies should be represented. The latter are represented in a manner now, but the new proposal is that the education of adults and of children in the elementary schools should be directly represented. Indeed, the proposal for reorganization has gone so far as to suggest that even organized labor should have its representation in the House of Lords.

"I should like to speak, in the few minutes I have left, about the reasons why the Liberal Party has turned democratic. It is only during the last three years that there has been a labor group in the House of Commons. At the last election, besides the overwhelming majority of the Liberals, the Labor Party, representing a handful of socialists, who were the intellectuals of the labor movement, and about two millions of trade unionists, obtained for the first time a solid unit in the House of Commons. The only possible explanation of what is called the socialistic legislation, that has taken place in the ensuing years, is that the twenty-nine labor men were there—a third party for the first time making its appearance in the House of Commons. This problem then arose before the Liberal Party: Shall we outdo even the labor men themselves in granting measures in the interest of the working people so as to take the wind out of the sails of this third party or shall we, representing the old fashioned Liberals of the middle classes, proceed along conservative lines, allowing the Labor Party to capture the new working-class vote?

It is quite plain that the Liberals have adopted the policy of outdoing the Labor Party itself and you will find that Mr. Keir Hardie and all his associates in the House of Commons, are ardent champions of the budget. They themselves could not have formulated a budget more in sympathy with the working classes and with the principles of English socialism than has been presented by Mr. Lloyd-George.

"That is a very remarkable thing. I believe it shows tremendous statesmanship on the part of the Liberals. Three parties would be dangerous to the Liberals for organized labor would represent an enormous majority of the voters when once the working people were awakened politically.

"I believe that, after the next election, there will be some sixty labor representatives in the House of Commons, but if the present policy goes on there will be an alliance of the Labor vote with that of the Liberals that will be as close as was the Irish with the Liberal vote during the last years of Mr. Gladstone's supremacy.

"I began by saying that, for eighteen years, I held aloof from politics because it seemed to me impossible for an American, without selling his birthright of principle, to join either the Liberal or the Tory Party. Then, when the Labor Party was founded, it seemed to me that for the first time in the history of England, there was a party which was as democratic as American sentiment. I believe that the labor movement in England is often misunderstood in America. Its socialism is no more radical in its fundamental principles than the watchwords of either the Republican or the Democratic Party. But there was nothing parallel to the democracy of America until the Labor Party came into being. I therefore asked for admission into the Labor Party and stood as a labor candidate at the last election. My constituency was of the most conservative places to stand for in all England, but I nearly got in. I hope, as I expect to stand at the next election, that I shall get in; but if so, it will not mean that I have become a dynamiter or an anarchist. Unless one were an Astor, I think that the Labor

bench in the House of Commons is the only place where an American could be and still be willing to face Americans in a City Club in Chicago." (Applause.)

MR. JOHN JAMIESON: "I should like to ask Doctor Coit what is the attitude of the Irish toward the House of Commons in regard to the budget?"

DOCTOR COIT: "I do not know the latest development of it. The Irish are of course, strongly in favor of any attack upon the House of Lords. I have seen no indication that they are not in sympathy with the budget, except possibly in regard to the liquor license taxation in Ireland."

CHAIRMAN BROWN: "I have talked with two or three of the leading Irish Nationalists in the House of Commons. They were in favor of the budget except for the new license duty against which they were obliged to protest in response to the supposed interests of Ireland or, at any rate, to the political interests behind them in Ireland."

MR. LOUIS J. BLOCK: "I understood Doctor Coit to say that land escapes taxation in England at the present time. Is it not a fact that the landowner is required to contribute part of the income of his land in the form of rates?"

DOCTOR COIT: A distinction is made in England between rates and national taxation. Land owners are subject to the local taxation, but on a most inadequate assessment. One of the remarkable things in the present situation is Mr. Lloyd-George's determination to discriminate so as to do no injustice. One of the great points he makes is, while taxing the unearned increment in the values of land, to grant exemption from taxation to landlords who spend a certain proportion of their income from land in improving their estates; but any development in the value of land in or near cities, due, not to improvements made by working and developing the land, but to the needs of the community, shall be taxed."

At this point, Mr. Post was called for and responded as follows:

Mr. Louis F. Post

"It will be no news to our friends here to learn that Doctor Coit's message is unfamiliar to the City of Chicago.

The most amazing neglect of this situation in England has prevailed among our newspapers all over the country. A short time ago a friend of mine, who had been in New York and who had there met a newspaper man, who was unprovincial enough to read a London paper and conservative enough to make it the London Times, said that he could not understand what was the matter with our newspapers on this side of the water, because, to him, it seemed that there was going on in England a readjustment, that paralleled the French Revolution in all except the violent tendencies of the latter.

"To my mind, the budget which Doctor Coit has been describing is most important in that it requires the valuation of the land in England. Lord Rosebery was right, when he said that the tax, though slight, was a very dangerous proposition—dangerous, of course, to the interests that Lord Rosebery represents and to those interests that are opposing the budget. 'Slight as these impositions of taxes are,' he said, 'they are like a dum dum bullet, which makes a very small hole in going into the body of a man but, after it gets inside, spreads out and kills him.' The tax is, I think, only a halfpenny to the pound on the present values—that is, the values as of April 1, 1909—and, after that, on increments of value, the increases to be ascertained by periodical reports of increased growth or by actual sales. Even that is only one-fifth of the increase but, nevertheless, Lord Rosebery was correct in saying that it is a dum dum bullet, because, in order to levy this increased tax, it becomes necessary to make a valuation of all the lands of Great Britain today, so that future increases may be noted. Such a valuation has not been made since 1692 and the valuation of that year was quite inadequate.

"I am rather gratified at the applause which followed Doctor Coit's speech, because it indicates to me that a good many of my friends around here are getting ready to take their medicine with considerable enthusiasm. (Laughter.) I joined in the applause, though necessarily in a perfunctory fashion, because I have been applauding that sort of

thing for twenty-five years and my hands are getting a little tired.

"In my judgment this is the battle of the future, of the very immediate future. We must not imagine that, because landlordism, in a nominal sense, has almost ceased to exist in this country, we are therefore free from its evils. We are face to face with what our friend calls 'capitalism,' but if you investigate, you will find that the great and evil power of 'capitalism' consists here in the power it has derived from landlordism. What we are fighting today is what they are fighting in England by means of the budget, namely, the power of special privilege, which has passed over from the hands of a distinctively landlord class into those of a distinctively capitalistic class. This is the power of which labor is complaining, when it ranges itself against the employer, and that American socialism is opposing, when it ranges itself against American capitalism." (Applause.)

Dr. Coit was called upon for an account of his experiences in the campaign in which he stood as a Labor candidate for Parliament. In response to this request, he spoke as follows:

Doctor Stanton Coit

"The town of Wakefield is a Cathedral city and, like all cathedral cities in England, it is the center and hot-bed of extreme conservatism. Even the Liberal Party had not dared to show its head in Wakefield for the last two regular elections. But there was a little stir among the workingmen and, as I was a middle-class man, was accounted a gentleman, and had to win my spurs in a parliamentary contest (for they look askance at anyone who is not a workingman), they naturally, assigned me the most hopeless, most conservative of all constituencies in England, that is, Wakefield.

"For three and a half years I used to make that journey of three and a half hours from London to Wakefield two or three times a month, to work among the working people. No middle-class person would come within a mile of me to give me any expression of sympathy. I would go into the most wretched slums that can be found anywhere in England. I would stand on a broken kitchen chair and get the men and women out from

those miserable hovels and talk to them by the hour. I did that for three years and a half. There was not much political intelligence among them but more and more, they came to believe in me, largely, I think, because they believed that I was a gentleman. The only thing in which the plain, simple working people believe is a gentleman and they felt that I was not there 'on the make.' The sentiment grew so strongly in my favor that (had it not been for one unfortunate circumstance), I believe I should have come in with an overwhelming majority. The official Liberal Party, seeing that there was a Labor candidate, had the policy not to introduce a candidate, because it wished to win the sympathy of the laboring people. But just two months before the election, an old-fashioned Liberal, about seventy-five years of age, unannounced and unapproved by the central Liberal Party, stepped into Wakefield to do anything to smash the labor candidate's chances, feeling that thereby, he could crush out the labor movement. We had a three-cornered fight. The Conservative got in. I came within 217 votes of him and the Liberal candidate came within 900 votes of me. That smashed the Liberal Party forever in Wakefield. My opponent killed his own party and not the labor movement.

"As regards the general level of political intelligence, I should say that the working people of England, at least until quite lately, have had no brains whatever for political or economic problems of any kind. You must remember that it was not until 1870 that even the aristocracy of labor began to vote, and not until 1885 that the great mass of working people, having enough money to pay £10 a year for rent, gained the right to vote. You must remember further that not one-half of the working people of England had ordinary education, so that they could read and write, until the public board schools were founded in 1870. It generally takes a generation for a slave class, having become newly educated, to awaken to a consciousness of its own influence and power.

"That is what is happening in England today. The middle classes are keen

politicians. So are the aristocrats. So, too, are the women of the middle and upper classes. But, hitherto, the working people have been as ignorant, I am quite sure, as the 'southern slaves' were in this country when they were liberated during the Civil War.

"Further, I believe that the people of Wakefield live in a condition far below that in which human beings should live. I have gone into houses of two rooms, only one of which was lighted, where the walls were so dripping wet, that the paper would scarcely hold to them. The working people of Wakefield were employed only four days a week, on an average, because there was no work for them.

"I am quite sure, however, that I never should have received so many votes as I did if many middle class people had not voted for me. The third candidate was ostensibly a radical, holding nearly the whole of my platform. If he had not come in at the eleventh hour, there would have been one more constituency in England in favor of the budget.

"When I was a candidate, I invited my friend, Mr. Bernard Shaw, to speak for me. A friend advised me not to ask him, as he would surely say something objectionable that would lose me more votes than I could gain. I was otherwise assured, however, that this was not a true account of the man, that he would be absolutely loyal when serving, not his own cause, but that of a friend. So he came.

"I spoke for more than an hour and then I was pummeled with questions from that audience of three thousand people. I never heard more idiotic questions asked in my life. When I had finished answering these questions, Mr. Shaw got up. He is the only man in England who can say anything he likes, and yet please everybody. He said that I had made a great speech and that he admired my eloquence but that there was one point on which he totally disagreed with me and in regard to which he was amazed at my stupidity and blindness. 'From the beginning to the end of his speech,' he said, 'Dr. Coit showed that he has respect for you as an audience.' (Laughter.) 'How could a man have respect,' he continued, 'for

an audience that would put such questions as you have been putting to him for the last half hour?' (Laughter.) He went on and pummeled that audience and the more he pummeled them, the more pleased they were. I am sure that he won me half the votes I received. (Laughter and applause.)

"I may say that there are now many forces in favor of those who are working for the laboring men, that have never existed before. The miners of England, were opposed to the Labor Party at the last election. The miners of Wakefield were against me in my campaign, but, now, they have come solidly into the Labor Party.

"I wish to make it clear, in passing, in reference to Keir Hardie, that he is by no means, the fanatic and revolutionary person that he is represented to be, that the very large majority of the things which are said about him are lies, and that he is a discreet and wise statesman. In proof of it, the English Labor Party is the one socialistic party in all the world—unlike that in Germany—that will fall in and co-operate with the Liberal or Conservative Party the moment it has a measure which the Labor men think wise and discreet.

"The working people of England are, I believe, bringing forth the wisest sort of statesmanship. They are in sympathy with extreme measures but they want only a little at a time. They would not take even the Kingdom of Heaven all of a sudden—they would not like the taste of it—but they are showing a readiness to go step by step and to keep to their principles.

"I was pleased with one of Mr. Shaw's references to me. As I listened to him, I thought: 'Is it conceivable for a man

to talk thus in England to his audience?' (The working people of England do not know what you mean when you say that you actually believe in equality and that you actually have respect for them. The workingman himself has contempt for you if you do not have contempt for him. He wants you to have contempt for him.) Mr. Shaw, in the midst of my discouragement, said to me: 'Do not give up. You are the one man in England, who speaks in public, who has a vital sense of the equality of man with man!' I wish some of you would come over, so that there might be two or three of us." (Applause.)

EDITORIAL NOTE—*The City Club Bulletin of Philadelphia*.—It is with unusual interest that we note the appearance, on October 21, of the first issue of the City Club Bulletin of Philadelphia, a publication similar in scope and purpose to the Bulletin of the City Club of Chicago. The City Club of Chicago was the first organization of its kind to publish a journal of its own, the Bulletin of this club having had its initial appearance on February 20, 1907. The City Club of New York, in 1907, started the publication of a monthly bulletin for its members, but discontinued the enterprise after a few numbers had been published. The addresses and discussions before the City Club of Los Angeles are printed in the Pacific Outlook, but the club has no publication of its own. The new Bulletin, therefore, may well be counted as one of the first in the field, although the Bulletin of the City Club of Chicago is now in its third year. It will be issued weekly and will contain the Club Calendar, editorial comment upon the work of the club, and the addresses delivered at the Saturday long-table luncheons.

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DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

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JOINT CONFERENCE ON PROCEDURE FOR CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION FOR SUPERINTENDENT OF STREETS

During the last three weeks, three conferences have been held at the City Club for the purpose of determining upon a policy to be recommended to the Civil Service Commission in regard to the examination for the position of city superintendent of streets, left vacant by the recent death of Street Superintendent Michael J. Doherty. These conferences were participated in by representatives of a number of civic organizations, who were called in at the suggestion of the City Club Committee on Civil Service. The question at issue was whether, under the present rules of the commission, this examination could be thrown open to the public at large or whether local residence was a necessary qualification for candidates. The rules of the commission provide that, except in cases requiring technical, professional or scientific knowledge or manual skill of a high order, in which cases the commission is empowered to suspend the operation of the rule, candidates for the classified service must have been in actual residence in the city for a period of one year. It was the sense of the con-

ference that good public policy demands that the commission should not be hampered in its choice of the best man by any restriction, such as the local residence requirement, which, by narrowing the field, might exclude a number of good candidates. The conference after consultation, through a sub-committee, with President Lower of the commission, and after securing an opinion from Mr. Thomas W. Swan, who was counsel in previous civil service litigation, involving similar points, framed a letter, which, on Saturday, November 13, was submitted, together with Mr. Swan's opinion, to the Civil Service Commission. The letter and the opinion are printed herewith:

Chicago, November 12, 1909.

To the Civil Service Commission of the City of Chicago, City Hall, Chicago, Illinois:

GENTLEMEN—Having understood that you are about to hold an original entrance examination for the position of superintendent of streets and that you have not decided whether to waive the requirement that applicants for examina-

tion be residents of Chicago, the undersigned, representing various organizations, having considered the matter in several conferences and having taken advice of counsel, beg to recommend that this waiver be made.

In common with others who have studied the subject, we are impressed with the vital need of obtaining in this position the best available talent the country affords. We have entire confidence in the demonstrated ability of the commission to select such a man if not hampered by restrictions excluding some of the best classes of applicants. The position is one which concerns the daily life of the whole population of the city and is of peculiar moment to the comfort, health and business needs of the community.

In our opinion it is highly desirable that the appointee possess both executive and technical ability, for the task before him is both technical and administrative. Charged with important duties, such as the supervision of the cleaning of streets and alleys, the regulation and inspection of street openings and obstructions, the collection and disposal of garbage, ashes and refuse, the superintendent of streets ought to be thoroughly familiar with new methods, processes and appliances. He should, so far as in his power, prevent unnecessary injury to expensive pavements by public service corporations and other parties. The importance of the position is emphasized by the city's extraordinary mileage of streets and alleys and the limited appropriations available for their maintenance, a fact which makes it the more urgent that those funds be expended with exceptional skill and judgment. He will also disburse the moneys realized from the recently enacted wheel tax in repairing the streets, a duty technical in character. He should have ability and tact to advise and co-operate with neighborhood improvement associations, and should understand and be qualified to carry into effect progressive standards which may be relied upon to place Chicago, now deficient in this respect, in line with other great cities.

At this particular time a competent man might be especially valuable in connection with the administration's pro-

posed plans for beautifying and improving the streets of a greater Chicago.

This position, having to do with the modern and rapidly developing science of street and alley sanitation, and the application thereto of up-to-date scientific methods and technical appliances—not less in the sweeping, sprinkling and repairing of streets and alleys than in the proper disposition of garbage and waste—seems to us to be clearly a position requiring scientific and technical knowledge. The proper performance of its duties, whether through direct labor or through the framing and enforcement of adequate contracts and specifications, obviously demands scientific and technical knowledge.

If the examination were to be limited to residents of the city of Chicago, thereby excluding men experienced in this work in other large cities, experts residing in the suburbs of Chicago or in other states, such a limitation would in our judgment be most unfortunate. We have no doubt that the commission will agree with us that the policy ought to be, if possible, to open this examination to all qualified experts who can be induced to compete, provided the commission can legally do it, and provided no substantial injury will result to the service by delay or otherwise.

The question is whether, under Section 2 of Rule 2, you have the legal authority to waive the requirement for local residence. On this question we believe that the commission has such authority, and in support of that position we beg to submit herewith a brief prepared by counsel thoroughly familiar with previous civil service litigation involving these points. We understand the opinion to be this, that the commission is justified in holding that this is a position requiring technical ability or scientific knowledge within the scope of the rules; that if it so holds, a non-resident, if he happens to stand at the head of the list and is certified to the position, cannot be ousted.

Furthermore, in our judgment the commission ought to be vested with discretion to open any examination requiring executive ability to persons living outside the limits of Chicago, and that if this were done prior to the examination for superintendent of streets the le-

gal position would be doubly fortified and a distinct gain made for the merit system.

We, therefore, earnestly urge upon the commission the following recommendations:

First, that this position be declared a position requiring technical ability and scientific knowledge and that the residential limitation be waived.

Second, that the commission should amend Rule 2, Section 2, by inserting after the word "knowledge" the words "or executive ability."

Third, that if it shall be the decision of the commission that this position is not one requiring technical or scientific knowledge, then that the amendment to the rules be made prior to the holding of this examination and that the residential limitation be then waived.

We submit that the benefits likely to be derived from an examination in which there is no residential limitation, even though it may involve a further brief postponement of the date of the examination, far outweigh any probable inconvenience to the service. In this connection we are informed that the dull season in the street department occurs about the first of the year, and that the position in question was vacant for over two months last year without special inconvenience.

Respectfully submitted,

Robert Catherwood, Pres. Civil Service Reform Assn. of Chicago.

C. T. B. Goodspeed, Pres. Neighborhood Improvement League of Cook County.

F. I. Moulton and Frank M. Fairfield, for Civil Service Com. of Hamilton Club of Chicago.

William Horace Brown, as a representative of the Civic Federation.

Political Action Com. of the Union League Club, by Allen B. Pond, Chairman.

Citizens' Association, represented by Edw. C. Wentworth.

Harry L. Bird, Chairman Com. on Civil Service, City Club of Chicago.

Appended to the above letter was the opinion of Mr. Thomas W. Swan, upon the legal aspects of waiving the residence requirement:

Chicago, November 8, 1909.

Dr. Henry B. Favill, Chairman of Conference, etc., Chicago:

DEAR SIR—You have requested my opinion on the question of the power of the Civil Service Commission of the city of Chicago to open to non-resident applicants the examination for the position of superintendent of streets.

Section 4 of the Civil Service Act provides that "said commission shall make rules to carry out the purposes of this act, and for examinations, appointments and removals, in accordance with its provisions, and the commission may, from time to time, make changes in the original rules." Section 6 provides that "all applicants for offices or places * * * shall be subjected to examination, which shall be public, competitive and free to all citizens of the United States, with specified limitations as to residence, age, health, habits and moral character."

The phrase "specified limitations as to residence," etc., means limitations specified by the commission by their rules. This is so stated in the opinion of the Appellate Court in *Powell et al. vs. People ex rel., Clarke*, 121 Ill. App. 474. And this is certainly the natural construction to give the phrase.

Rule II, Sec. 2, of the commission reads as follows: "No person shall be admitted to examination for any position in the classified service who has not been an actual resident of the city of Chicago for at least one year next preceding the date of examination; *provided, however, that in examinations for places requiring technical, professional or scientific knowledge, or manual skill of a high order, this rule may be waived by the commission.*"

Our first inquiry, then, must be directed to the question whether the position of superintendent of streets is a place requiring "technical, professional or scientific knowledge, or manual skill of a high order." If it is not, the rule just quoted forbids the commission to waive the local residence requirement.

The determination of this inquiry must depend upon the duties of the position of superintendent of streets. The Revised Municipal Code of 1905, Chapter 52, entitled "Public Works," contains the following sections bearing on the subject:

ARTICLE I.

1836. "There is hereby established an executive department of the municipal government of the city, which shall be known as the department of public works, and shall embrace the commissioner of public works, the deputy commissioner, the city engineer, the superintendent of streets, the assistant superintendent of streets, * * * and such other assistants and employes as the city council may, by ordinance, provide."

1837. "There is hereby created the office of commissioner of public works. He shall be appointed by the mayor by and with the advice and consent of the city council. He shall have the management and control of all matters and things pertaining to the department."

1838. "Said commissioner shall appoint according to law all officers and employes in said department, and he may remove any such officer or employe according to law."

1865. "All subordinate officers, assistants, clerks and employes employed in said department shall be subject to such rules and regulations as shall be prescribed from time to time by said commissioner."

ARTICLE IV.

1877. "The superintendent of streets shall perform such duties as may be required of him by the commissioner of public works, or the ordinances of the city."

1878. "He shall have special charge of the streets, sidewalks and public ways of the city and of the improvement and repair thereof, except where such repair or improvement of streets or sidewalks is to be paid for wholly or in part by special assessment."

1879. "He shall make a weekly report to the aldermen of the respective wards of the names and addresses of all men on the pay rolls for street and garbage work, together with the amount of their wages; all material furnished, where used and the cost thereof; also of all streets cleaned and repaired; and the names and addresses of all persons furnishing teams and the amounts paid therefor. Such report shall be made separately by wards to the aldermen of each ward."

The above quoted sections of the ordi-

nances throw insufficient light upon whether the position of superintendent of streets is a place requiring technical, professional or scientific knowledge. The character of his duties depends largely upon what the commissioner of public works may require of him. I have not been able to ascertain definitely what these duties are. I am advised by the secretary of the Civil Service Commission, however, that the position has been considered by the commission as an executive position rather than one requiring technical, professional or scientific knowledge.

If it be true that the position is an executive position and does not require technical, professional or scientific knowledge, the commission would have no power, in my opinion, to waive the local residence qualification in the examination without first amending their above quoted rule. Section 4 of the Civil Service Act already quoted gives the commission the power to change their rules and Section 2 of Rule II could easily be amended so as to remove any doubt as to the right of the commission to open the examination for superintendent of streets to non-residents, by inserting after the word "knowledge" in said Section 2, the words "or executive ability," so that the proviso of said Section 2 should read as follows: "Provided, however, that in examinations for places requiring technical, professional or scientific knowledge, or *executive ability* or manual skill of a high order, this rule may be waived by the commission."

Such a change in the rule would necessarily require the postponement of the proposed examination. Section 4 of Rule XII provides that "changes proposed in the rules shall be spread upon the minutes and action thereon postponed for not less than one week," and Section 5 of the Civil Service Act requires that all rules and all changes therein shall forthwith be printed for distribution and the commission shall give notice of the place or places where said rules may be obtained by publication in one or more daily newspapers, and in each publication shall be specified the date, not less than ten days subsequent to the date of such publication, when such rules shall go into operation.

The suggestion of a change in the rules is proposed as a method of removing all doubt as to the right of the commission to open the examination in question to non-residents. But it is quite possible that they have that power without such an amendment. The ordinances give the superintendent of streets special charge of the streets and alleys and of their improvement and repair, except when done by special assessment. The care of the streets, according to modern methods and principles of sanitation, certainly requires technical, professional and scientific knowledge. Even if the duties of the superintendent may be chiefly executive, his possession of such technical or scientific knowledge would certainly render him a more efficient officer. If the commission should, under their rule as it now stands, determine that the position requires technical, professional or scientific knowledge, I doubt if any court would upset such a ruling. Such a determination by the commission would certainly have very strong persuasive influence with the court, even if it were not conclusive.

Two other objections to opening the examination to non-residents may be suggested, but neither of them, in my opinion, is serious. The first of these objections is founded upon Section 6 of Article VI of the Cities and Villages Act, re-enacted in 1895, subsequent to the passage of the Civil Service Act, as follows: "No person shall be eligible to any office who is not a qualified elector of the city or village and who shall not have resided therein at least one year next preceding his election or appointment. * * * *Provided, however,* this shall not apply to the appointment or election of city engineer in incorporated cities and villages: *And provided,* that the same shall not apply to appointment of attorneys in incorporated villages, if such appointee be not a defaulter to the corporation."

The reason that the above quoted section does not forbid the opening of the proposed examination to non-residents is because the position of superintendent of streets is not such an office as is referred to in said Section 6. The term "office," as used in that section, under well-recognized canons of construction, must receive the same definition as the

word "office" in the other sections of the same article. Sections 1, 2 and 3 of Article VI define "office" for the purpose of this article and show that only elective officers or officers appointed by the mayor with the consent of the council are city "offices" within the meaning of Article VI.

The argument and authorities supporting this contention will be found upon pages 15 to 18 of the brief which I prepared with the assistance of Mr. Cyrus Bentley and Mr. Albert Kales, in connection with the litigation involving the position of chief sanitary inspector, and which I take the liberty of attaching as an appendix to this opinion.

The second objection is found in Section 6 of Article VII of the Illinois Constitution of 1870, as follows: "No person shall be elected or appointed to *any office in this state*, civil or military, who is not a citizen of the United States, and who shall not have resided in this state one year next preceding the election or appointment."

This provision is not applicable to the position of superintendent of streets, in my opinion. The word "office," as used in this section of the Constitution, if it refers to any city offices at all, would be construed to refer only to such offices as are mentioned in Sections 1, 2 and 3 of Article VI of the Cities and Villages Act, and would be construed to exclude inferior positions, even though they might popularly be designated as offices. As a matter of fact, Section 6 of Article VII of the Constitution does not apply to city offices at all, "any office in this state" meaning any office in the state government, as distinguished from the territorial district of the state. For authorities supporting my contention on this question of the construction of the constitutional provision, I beg to refer again to my brief, pages 19 to 20.

In conclusion, I may state my opinion on the question you ask as follows: There is no statutory or constitutional prohibition against a non-resident holding the position of superintendent of streets. If there is any legal objection to the commissioners opening the examination to non-residents, it is to be found in their rule requiring local residence, except in examination for places requiring technical,

professional or scientific knowledge. Such an objection could be entirely obviated by an amendment of the rules. Even without such an amendment, a determination by the commission that the place in question required technical, professional or scientific knowledge would probably not be overruled by a court.

Aside from the question of the legal power of the commission, there is the question of the expediency of opening the examination. On this subject I may say that I believe that if the commission amend their rule as suggested, their right to open the examination will be so clear that litigation will not be likely.

Even if there were litigation and a lower court entered an order adverse to the commission, it is my understanding that such an order might be stayed by an appeal so that no confusion or interruption in the administration of the position of superintendent of streets would necessarily result from litigation.

This opinion is rendered on the assumption that the proposed examination is not required to be a promotional examination, but may properly be, as the commission apparently intend to make it, an original entrance examination.

Very truly yours,

THOMAS W. SWAN.

"THE IRISH QUESTION"

English political problems have been discussed before the Club on two occasions of late. On October 22nd, Dr. Stanton Coit spoke on the "Present Political Outlook in England," with particular reference to the Lloyd-George budget. On November 1st, Mr. Richard McGhee of Belfast, Ireland, discussed the "Irish Question." Mr. McGhee was a member of Parliament from 1896 to 1900 and, since 1899, has been a Director of the United Irish League. His visit to this country, in company with Mr. T. P. O'Connor, is in the interest of the Irish home rule movement.

In the course of his remarks, Mr. McGhee had occasion to refer to the budget agitation in England. According to Mr. McGhee, the cause of Irish home rule has more to gain from a rejection of the budget by the House of Lords than from its acceptance, for a rejection would raise the constitutional question of the right of the Lords to veto measures passed by the Commons. A curtailment of this right would mean a long step in advance for the Irish cause, for the House of Lords has been one of the most persistent and most powerful of the enemies of home rule, as it has been of all measures championed by the liberal party. Mr. McGhee, therefore, though an earnest advocate of the budget, hopes for its rejection at this time by the House of Lords, as a means of assisting the Irish Parliamentary Party in its struggle to secure recog-

nition for its measures by the British government.

Mr. McGhee was introduced by Mr. S. S. Gregory:

Mr. S. S. Gregory

"We have as our guest today, a distinguished Irishman, a member of the Imperial Parliament for some years, a man thoroughly conversant with the aims and aspirations of the Irish people and with the plans of the leaders of that great movement with which we are all so familiar. It was once observed by a witty American that most of the interesting Englishmen that he knew were Irishmen. This might be said with equal truth of many of our Americans. We do not regard the Irishmen as foreigners; we do not even feel that they are merely "brothers across the sea." They are so much like us, they have so many of our virtues and our faults, that we always feel as if they belonged to us in a peculiar sense. I take great pleasure in presenting the Honorable Richard McGhee of Belfast, who will now address you upon 'The Irish Question.'"

MR. RICHARD MCGHEE: "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

"The Irish question is one that the men of Chicago will best understand if I say that it is a demand made by the Irish people for a form of government amongst themselves similar to that which obtains in the State of Illinois. The Irish people are convinced, after long

experience, that the Imperial Parliament in London is not fit, is not capable, of properly legislating for or administering the affairs of Ireland. I will produce to you a few figures and a few facts which I hope will convince you that this statement is well-founded.

"About the middle of the last century the population of England was sixteen millions, that of Scotland less than two millions and that of Ireland about eight millions. The population of England, and of Scotland, today, have more than doubled, but the population of Ireland has been reduced to about four millions or more than one-half. The annual wealth of England during the same period has risen six hundred per cent; that of Ireland has fallen by forty-five per cent. The per capita taxation of England, during this period of growing wealth, has increased about one dollar. The increase in the taxation of Ireland, though its wealth has been reduced by nearly one-half, as shown above, has been almost seven dollars per head. Its administration is a purely British affair, over which the Irish have no control. The cost of administration in Ireland, which has nearly doubled during the period under discussion, is paid by the Irish people. The police system of Ireland costs three times as much as that of Scotland, though the population of each is about the same and though crime in Ireland is only about two-thirds as great as that in Scotland.

"More than one-half the land in Ireland has gone out of tillage and into grazing tracts during the last sixty-five years. As the people were driven off the land, it was turned into ground for rearing, not fat bullocks but lean or, as we call them, store bullocks, for the English and Scottish farmers to fatten and, with their usual good sense, to eat as well. (Laughter.) One-half the land in Ireland has, as I say, gone out of tillage. During the same period, the tilled land in Scotland has increased about one-third. All the land that has been converted into grazing tracts is let by the landlords to bullock-rearers, on what is known in Ireland as the "eleven months system." A bullock-rearer takes the land annually for eleven months beginning on the first of May and ending on the thirty-first of March. The landlord

rents it for the following year to the highest responsible bidder that may come along.

"In 1870, only thirty-nine years ago, the productive efficiency of the land in Ireland in raising our main crop, potatoes, was, on the average, six tons to the acre. The present average produce of potato land in England is six tons to the acre; in Scotland, it is five and a half tons; while, in Ireland, it is down to three and a quarter,* which means that all the good land has been taken from the people and turned into grazing lands to feed bullocks.

"Now in this connection let me make a statement. An acre of land is usually considered to be worth about two pounds sterling annually in the net profit on bullock-rearing. A bullock fed during the months that the land is held improves in value two pounds sterling. A caretaker has to be paid out of the two pounds, though the herds, may, of course, be large, possibly five hundred or a thousand in number. On all the land that is used for these bullocks (there are miles and miles of it through Roscommon, Tipperary, Limerick and Cork), there is not a house to be seen except those of the cattle-herds.

"This was the situation in 1870. Until 1868 the people had no vote and until 1872 they did not use it except as the landlords chose to direct. I remember seeing in the north of Ireland, in what is commonly spoken of as loyal, prosperous Ulster, the farmers of an estate brought into a voting center the night before an election, thrown into a barn and locked up to sleep on straw until eight o'clock the next morning, when they were brought out and voted. The Act of 1868 giving them the franchise did not free them from this condition, but the Act of 1872 which gave them a ballot, did. Within three years from that date, Mr. Parnell was on the scene and, within five years, he created the Irish Parliamentary Party. This party at once set to work for a semi-social revolution in the land system of Ireland. They made appeals to the landlords for a reduction of rent. They made appeals to the government for improvements in the law, which would prevent a landlord from evicting a tenant after having completely "skinned" him of all his produce

for many years, without, at least, some consideration for improvements that had been made in the property.

"The first legislative action, taken in 1880, was rejected by the House of Lords, though it had passed the House of Commons. The rejection of this measure by the Lords was the occasion of a great revolution which blazed up in Ireland over the land question. The people said they would cease to pay rent until their terms were acceded to. A conflict between the government and the people ensued, but, in the following year, the government sent out, in the shape of a Land Bill, a lifeboat, to save what was left of the landlords' property from the attacks of the people. The people had been driven to bay. They turned on their oppressors and fought for their lives. They were on the point of winning their contest, when the government passed the Land Bill, together with a coercion bill, with the result that the war, after a time, ceased in the open field and started in the law courts.

"The fight, carried on by the Irish Party in Parliament and by an organized people behind them in the country, has never ceased and, now, one-half of all the farmers in Ireland are the owners of the land they till and are responsible to the government only for the annual payments on their farms. The other half will probably become owners in the future, and the landlords, probably within the next five or ten or, at the most, fifteen years will have disappeared completely. A new Land Bill, having that end in view, has just passed through the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The House of Lords, however, has so maltreated the Bill that the Prime Minister has announced that he will recommend to the House of Commons the rejection of all the amendments that the Lords have made. The probability is that the Lords will accept the Prime Minister's decision and that the Bill will go through. In such an event, the farmers all over Ireland will be the owners of their farms within the next ten or fifteen years.

"Previous to the formation of the Parliamentary Party, nothing was left to the Irish people, as a weapon of defence, except, to quote the great Irish leader, Daniel O'Connell, 'the wild justice of

revenge.' Before the passing of the Land Bill of 1881, they had no protection, except the weapon of the moonlighter or of the assassin. Now, all of these social questions are closed as between Ireland and the British government. We are aroused for a final effort to close the political relation that has existed between us hitherto. We will set ourselves as a solid body to force upon the British Parliament our demand for national rights. I do not expect any serious opposition to this move, because the British government has now very little reason for remaining the administrator of the affairs of Ireland, or even its legislator. Its real purpose in the past has been to maintain the garrison of Irish landlords but these have now been settled with and are out of the way. The probability is that both political parties will very soon be competing with each other to settle the national question. Mr. Lloyd-George, as chancellor of the exchequer, has this year introduced into the British Parliament a budget which (although I do not notice that your newspapers are taking much interest in the matter), has been the occasion of one of the fiercest and most revolutionary conflicts that has ever taken place in any country. For the first time in the history of British legislation, the government has made a demand upon British and Irish landlords to contribute a share of the taxes. Hitherto all taxes have fallen upon the commercial and the working classes. That policy, according to the government, must now be reversed. Taxes are to be imposed upon land values. In the budget that Lloyd-George has introduced he proposes to raise the sum of one hundred and sixty-four million pounds, partly by the imposition of special taxes upon land values. He imposes a half-penny tax per pound gross capital value upon undeveloped land and in addition, a tax of twenty per cent upon the unearned increment in urban land values. The tax operates at any time when the land is being transferred from one person to another. Another tax of ten per cent is placed upon what is called reversionary value. If a landlord rents his property to a tenant, who builds upon it, and at the end of the lease, say after thirty-five years, the property, together with the im-

provements, reverts to the landlord, ten per cent of the increased value over what the property was worth at the time of the lease will be taken by the State. There will also be an increase in the death duties under the new budget, so that, when a landlord dies, his inheritor will have to pay a tax from five up to fifteen per cent, according to the amount of the estate.

"The landlords, up to the present time, have shown a disposition to fight the budget. The more progressive men in the country and, especially, we Irish, are most anxious for the Lords to reject it. All of our Irish members voted for the budget and they will vote again and again and again for such a budget, but we see a great deal more of value for us in the rejection of the budget by the Lords than we see in their acceptance of it, for, if the Lords reject the budget, the government will be compelled at once to go to the people for re-election. We are well convinced that, on this issue, temper and passion have risen so high and the enthusiasm for the new form of taxation is so warm that the Liberal Party will go back to Parliament with a large majority. If the Liberals do go back, the first thing they will demand is a reform of the Lords' veto power over legislation. For the last thirty years, the Lords have never questioned a single measure sent to them by the Tory Party. But most of the important bills sent up by the Liberal Party have been rejected.

"The House of Commons wanted to reform the electoral system by which the House itself has been chosen. In our country we have a system according to which men vote by property or by the occupancy of property. I know one man who has over forty votes, a vote in forty different constituencies. A working man, of course, occupies but one house and has therefore but one vote. A measure, known as the 'One Man, One Vote Bill,' was brought in by the present government to meet this situation. It was carried through the House of Commons by an overwhelming majority of over 300 (in a house of 670 members), but the Lords rejected it.

"The education question which excited a great interest among the people, was similarly treated by the Lords. All

important measures of the Liberal Party have been turned down in exactly the same way.

"If the budget is rejected and the Liberals are returned to power, it is their purpose to present a Suspensory Veto Bill, which will take from the Lords their power to veto any measure that is sent up to them more than once. They will be supported, of course, by the Labor Party and by the Irish Party, to a man, and they will demand that the King create, on their advice, a sufficient number of liberal peers to vote down the Lords' veto in the Lords' House itself. When that is done, we, as Irishmen, are quite convinced that our question will be settled within two or three years.

"If a Home Rule Bill were proposed in the present Parliament, it would be carried by a majority of probably not less than 300 or 320 votes in a House of 670, but it is useless to put such a measure through, because the Lords would reject it, in any case. If the veto is struck out or reduced to such an extent that the Lords can reject but once a measure sent up to them by the House of Commons, the first Parliament of a liberal character will send them a Home Rule Bill which, in the event of rejection, will be reconsidered and sent up a second time, when it will be impossible for the Lords further to block it.

"This will, I believe, bring to an end the long conflict which has existed between the Irish and the English people, or more correctly, between the Irish and the dominant landlord class, who have for centuries practically dictated British legislation.

"When we secure Home Rule, we believe it will be a final settlement of the struggle between the British government and the Irish people, because we will not be embarrassed by anything which would create fresh trouble between the two Parliaments. Affairs submitted to our Irish Parliament will be purely local. When we get our Parliament, we believe that Scotland and Wales will immediately make their demands for a Parliament. The British Parliament, itself, may have to be remodeled. We may find in that Parliament representatives from all the self-governing colonies and nations in the British world. The establishment of an Irish Parliament or of a

Scottish or a Welsh Parliament, would not, we think, in any way injure the power of the British Empire which, even now, has no less than twenty-seven Home Rule Parliaments within its boundaries.

"Americans are, in my judgment, deeply interested in this question. Though we are in your debt for national hospitality we affirm with confidence, you are in ours. We have sent you during the last fifty years millions of the best

blood of our race. (Applause.) We fed and grew them, if I may use the term, and we sent them to you in their best manhood to help you build up this great American Republic. They cost us something to produce and we are entitled to ask you for something in return. So we ask you for your sympathy and that we have never asked in vain. We hope to receive your sympathy until our fight is at an end." (Applause.)

"IMPRESSIONS OF THE RECENT LAKES-TO-GULF WATERWAY CONVENTION"

The deep waterway convention held at New Orleans from October 30th to November 2d was the fourth in a series of such gatherings held in successive years at St. Louis, Memphis, Chicago and New Orleans. It was attended by a distinguished company, including President Taft, the governors of twenty-three states, a large number of senators and representatives, and others prominently identified with public affairs. The convention was preceded by a trip down the Mississippi from St. Louis to New Orleans, stops being made at Memphis and at other points along the course of navigation, at which addresses were made by President Taft, Speaker Cannon, Secretary of War Dickinson and others. In the course of these addresses, and particularly in President Taft's address before the convention on October 30, the attitude of the federal authorities on the subject of deep-waterway legislation was presented. Though this attitude was cautionary and disappointing to those who were hoping for immediate action, the enthusiasm of the delegates was no less keen than on previous occasions. The meeting culminated in the passing of resolutions pledging the members of the convention to support no candidate for Congress who would not declare himself as favoring a vigorous policy of waterway improvement and calling for the appointment of a delegate body of five hundred members to attend the Rivers and Harbors Congress at Washington in December, to urge upon Congress the necessity of making

an appropriation for waterway development.

The state of Illinois, because of its peculiar interest in deep waterway legislation, was represented at the convention by a large delegation. Deputations appointed by the mayor and the governor and representatives of the Association of Commerce and of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association were in attendance from Chicago. Mr. John M. Ewen, harbor commissioner for Chicago, and Mr. George C. Sikes, expert investigator for the harbor commissioner, who accompanied the Chicago delegation, addressed the City Club on Thursday, November 8, upon their "Impressions of the Recent Lakes-to-Gulf Waterway Convention."

Mr. William B. Hale, who presided, in introducing Mr. Ewen, spoke as follows:

William B. Hale

"On the 30th of last October President Taft made a speech at the convention of the Lakes-to-Gulf Deep Waterway Association in New Orleans, in which he declared himself in favor of the improvement of transportation by rivers and also stated that before any great river improvements were undertaken, we should be sure that they would turn out to be useful, should compute the cost before spending the money.

"That same convention, on the first of November following, by resolution, demanded that a definite policy in the development of our river transportation, and, particularly, of the Lakes-to-Gulf Deep Waterway, be undertaken by the federal government without delay,

and the members bound themselves upon their personal honor not to support any candidate for public office who was not definitely pledged to that platform. It is our pleasure today to hear from two delegates to that convention who are well known to all members of the City Club. I have pleasure in presenting Mr. John M. Ewen, who will speak first." (Applause.)

Mr. John M. Ewen

"Mr. Chairman and members of the City Club: In going to the Deep Waterway convention held last week at New Orleans, I traveled by rail. Those who made the trip down the river from St. Louis by boat were impressed chiefly by the absence of river traffic. They could not understand why a great river like the Mississippi should not carry more commerce.

"About fifteen years ago, it was my privilege after having made the trip down the river in a regular passenger boat to act as a cub pilot on the 'Queen of the South,' one of the largest boats, on her trip back. For ten days and nights, I stood my watch in the wheel house and thus had every facility to study the method of handling the boat and the kind and amount of business done along the river. At that time I could not understand why this great river did not carry more commerce, and ever since that time the problem has remained a difficult one. At that time and in its present state the Mississippi river, so far as mere channel depth and width are concerned, is a better waterway than most of the rivers of Germany, which boast of such large traffic. During the work of the Harbor Commission, our attention was called to the condition of the European waterways and the progress that is being made in developing commerce upon them, which has been very great during the last ten or fifteen years. Why is not the Mississippi used more? What assurance have we that a deeper channel would mean more traffic? Would the study of the conditions that exist abroad, in the light of our own river situation, reveal anything? These were questions asked by many who made the trip.

"There may be many causes for the absence of traffic on the Mississippi river;

but it is my own judgment, arrived at after a careful study of the foreign situation, that the principal causes are the lack of proper terminal facilities along the river and the failure to secure the co-operation of the railroads. New Orleans is the only city on the river with anything like adequate terminal facilities. At most of the river towns the wharves are inadequate and the facilities for handling goods primitive in the extreme. There has been practically no improvement along these lines for a great many years. Hand labor is relied upon almost entirely for the handling of freight. Usually the railroads do not connect with the boat landings.

"In view of these facts, there is little wonder that river traffic has declined. The only wonder is that it has not completely disappeared. Too much stress cannot, in my opinion, be laid upon the importance of terminal facilities at the river towns, and railroad co-operation. They are just as important and more important than the deep channel. Without them I do not believe a deep channel would accomplish what is expected of it in the way of promoting inland water commerce. This commerce, as you all know, is carried by the railroads, which provide a regular service that can be depended upon and which invariably meet any probable rate competition that may develop by water. The rail service would be of little value if it could only carry freight from Chicago to New Orleans and was without facilities to do business everywhere and at all points along its lines. In the same way a deep channel which might be compared to the line of railroad would be of little value if it were not equipped all along its course with all the facilities needed to transact local business. Both proper channel and terminal facilities are of the utmost importance, but I do not believe that sufficient thought has been given to the latter.

"President Taft, in his addresses to the people in the course of his trip down the river, laid emphasis upon the need for better terminal facilities and for railroad co-operation. Congressman Ransdell of Louisiana, in his address to the convention, went so far as to express the opinion that Congress, in voting appropriations for river improvement, should

make the actual spending of the money contingent upon the assurance that the states and cities traversed would make provision for adequate terminal facilities.

"The main stress of the convention, however, was laid upon the subject of channel deepening. It was moved and carried that a committee of five hundred should be sent to Washington to urge an appropriation for starting the work of making the channel fourteen feet deep from Chicago to the Gulf. No definite steps were taken toward promoting the movement for terminal improvement and for railroad co-operation with waterways.

"The burden of what I have to say here today is that some movement should be inaugurated looking to the improvement of terminal facilities both in the river cities and at points along the river near railway junctions, and to railroad co-operation with waterways. I do not undertake, on this occasion, to say how the movement should be started. I merely wish to urge the importance of action along this line. Probably the federal government could help the situation very much by ordering a careful inquiry and report on the two subjects mentioned—improvement of terminal facilities in cities and the need for co-operation of railroads with waterways.

"Perhaps a union of the cities that expect to profit from waterway development would stimulate all to greater activity. It might be a good thing for the officers of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association to make the subject of proper terminal improvements the chief topic of discussion at the next convention.

"Chicago can do much to stimulate interest by moving rapidly in the improvement of its own water terminal facilities. Other cities are watching what Chicago is doing and the greater the progress here, the more will other communities be stimulated to prepare to take advantage of the movement for the revival of water commerce. It is Chicago's duty, therefore, both to go ahead rapidly with its own improvements and also to take the leadership of the movement for the general improvement of terminal facilities all along the route of the proposed waterway. Activity along these lines is just as essential to the

movement for the revival of water transportation as is the agitation for the deeper channel." (Applause.)

Following Mr. Ewen, Mr. George C. Sikes spoke upon the same subject.

Mr. George C. Sikes

"One of the principal impressions which I got from the New Orleans meeting was that there is a reaction in waterway sentiment. For several years we have had a shouting period, a hurrah period, in waterway development. It received its greatest impetus from the formation of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association. That body has had four meetings. The climax was reached, perhaps, at the Memphis meeting of two years ago when President Roosevelt spoke and when everybody was in favor of waterways and nobody seemed to voice any protest. The meeting in this city last year was just as enthusiastic. But, while the resolutions adopted at the New Orleans convention were very strongly in favor of waterway improvement and of an immediate appropriation of money by Congress for the deepening of the channel to fourteen feet, even going so far as to carry threats to congressmen who did not fall in speedily with that policy, the talk around the hotels and in the convention hall gave an echo of something that was different.

"Two men from Chicago, who said they had come to New Orleans as ardent waterway advocates, told me that the thing which impressed them most on their trip down the river was the absence of traffic. When they busied themselves to find out the reason for this lack of traffic on the Mississippi, they learned, as Mr. Ewen has told you, that the absence of terminal facilities and the lack of railroad co-operation explain the disappearance of traffic from the river. These men had not been down the river before, but they said they were impressed with the channel that already existed, especially below St. Louis. They could not understand why we should want to dig a deeper channel when we did not use what we had. 'Why not do these other things first,' they said, 'instead of spending our money at the outset on channel construction?'

"In reporting this, I wish to have it

understood that I am a strong advocate of waterway development. I do not share in this reactionary sentiment myself, but it exists and must be taken account of by men who believe in waterway improvement.

"There have been several discouraging features in the waterway situation up to date. A few months ago the board of army engineers made a discouraging report upon the development of the Mississippi. The work of channel construction they considered feasible, but they reported against the fourteen-foot project on the ground that it was not warranted by the traffic. The waterway advocates have said that the army engineers in pronouncing the channel feasible have done all that should be expected of them; that they are not competent to pass upon the traffic question. I agree with that point of view to a large degree, but the five hundred delegates that were appointed to go to Washington to ask for an appropriation will find that the members of Congress, especially those from regions outside of the Mississippi valley, will be very deeply impressed by that report.

"President Taft's speech at New Orleans was also very discouraging to the men from the Mississippi and Missouri river valleys. President Taft in his speech favored as the first step the development of the Ohio and recommended postponement of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf and the Missouri river projects. As may be imagined, that point of view did not create a great deal of enthusiasm among the delegates from Illinois and Missouri.

"Secretary of War Dickinson made a very able address to the convention. I agree with much of what he said, but the tone of it was cautionary, was out of line with the enthusiasm which has heretofore attended the waterways movement.

"In spite of all these things, however, the convention itself, manned by the leaders of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Waterway Association, adopted resolutions ignoring the railroad question and calling upon Congress for an immediate appropriation with which to dig the channel fourteen feet deep from Chicago to the Gulf. The resolutions also contained threats against the congressmen who did not fall in with that program absolutely.

"If they can carry this program through, I have no objection, but I apprehend that they are going to encounter more difficulty than they expect. Before Congress and the country at large can be brought to realize the necessity for deepening the channel, those other things, which Mr. Ewen has pointed out, must first be done. The New Orleans convention and the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Association in centering their attention upon the one subject of the deep channel, to the exclusion of these other matters, seem to have failed to appreciate this fact. In my judgment, it is very proper to ask the use of spending a large amount of money to deepen a channel when that which exists is not utilized to its fullest capacity.

"One phase of the waterways question seems not to have been studied satisfactorily. Before the construction of a railroad or any important engineering project is begun, there are questions of broad policy and of business judgment to be settled. Congress has dealt in a general way with this matter; there have been reports on the engineering features of the work, but the broader questions have not been thoroughly investigated.

"The Inland Waterways Commission appointed by President Roosevelt made a very enlightening report along these lines, but did not pretend to have made a comprehensive investigation. It recommended further study upon the subject and the adoption of different methods of procedure in dealing with the whole question.

"At the present time, the Waterways Commission of which Senator Burton is chairman is doing something along this line. This commission is now on its way to New Orleans from St. Paul. Perhaps that body will do the work which I have suggested, and make a study of the causes of traffic decline and the possibilities of its restoration.

"The army engineers pretend to have gone into the subject of river traffic and they have made a fairly good study of the traffic as it is. So far as I am able to learn, however, they did not grapple with the question of why the traffic has declined. A digest of their report was given in the Engineering News for last week, and, seemingly, they merely accepted the fact that the railroads were

driving the water carriers out of business, as a fact, in and of itself, and not something to be explained. I gathered that they made the statement that the railroads could do this business cheaper than the waterways. There is much more to this matter than such a statement would indicate. Probably the railroads are doing business along the waterways at a loss, but, having their traffic to draw upon, they can lose on this part of their business, while operating the rest of their systems at a profit.

"That the rates of the rail carriers along the river are much lower than the rates for corresponding distances back into the country is a well-known fact. It is a broad question of policy as to whether the railroads, in order to drive the waterways out of business, should be allowed to carry on a part of their business at a loss, while recouping from traffic not subject to water competition. This question of the relation of the railroads to the waterways should be carefully studied.

"It is much easier to get money out of the federal treasury to build a waterway than it is to get legislation through Congress that will guarantee fair treatment of water carriers by the railroads or proper co-operation on the part of the powerful railroad interests. I have, therefore, considerable sympathy with those men who said, 'Let us do these other things first and dig the channel afterward.' It is my opinion, however, that, instead of delaying the channel construction, the two things should be done together. But it is unwise to center our attention upon the matter of channel construction and to fail to take note of these questions of terminals and of railroad co-operation.

"In this connection, let me call your attention to another waterway, the Hennepin Canal. This canal was constructed at a cost of about eight million dollars. It was built because the people and the congressmen along the line of the waterway wanted it. It has no terminal facilities. On the east, it runs from open country, which is not a point of traffic origin, to the Mississippi on the west. This canal, constructed at a cost of about eight million dollars, carries practically no freight today. This example should cause us to reflect and to

realize the importance of dealing carefully with the whole subject.

"Furthermore, the agency for carrying out this work ought to be more thoroughly considered. At the present time, the only agencies we have are Congress and the army engineers. I am willing to give the army engineers all credit for their ability in passing upon the engineering features of this work, but I insist that they are not the proper parties to deal with broad questions of public policy and business judgment. As a preliminary to this work of waterway construction, Congress should create a Department of Transportation. Such a department is already needed for railroad purposes, for the Interstate Commerce Commission does not now properly fulfill its functions, as the members of the commission themselves understand. The Interstate Commerce Commission is both a prosecuting body and a court, though these two functions, in the opinion of many, ought to be separated. We should, therefore, have a federal Department of Transportation, with an aggressive head, to champion the cause of the people and of the shippers. The Interstate Commerce Commission, as it now exists, should be reconstituted into a court and should be divested of the responsibility of prosecuting the railroads and of endeavoring to force them to do justice to the shippers.

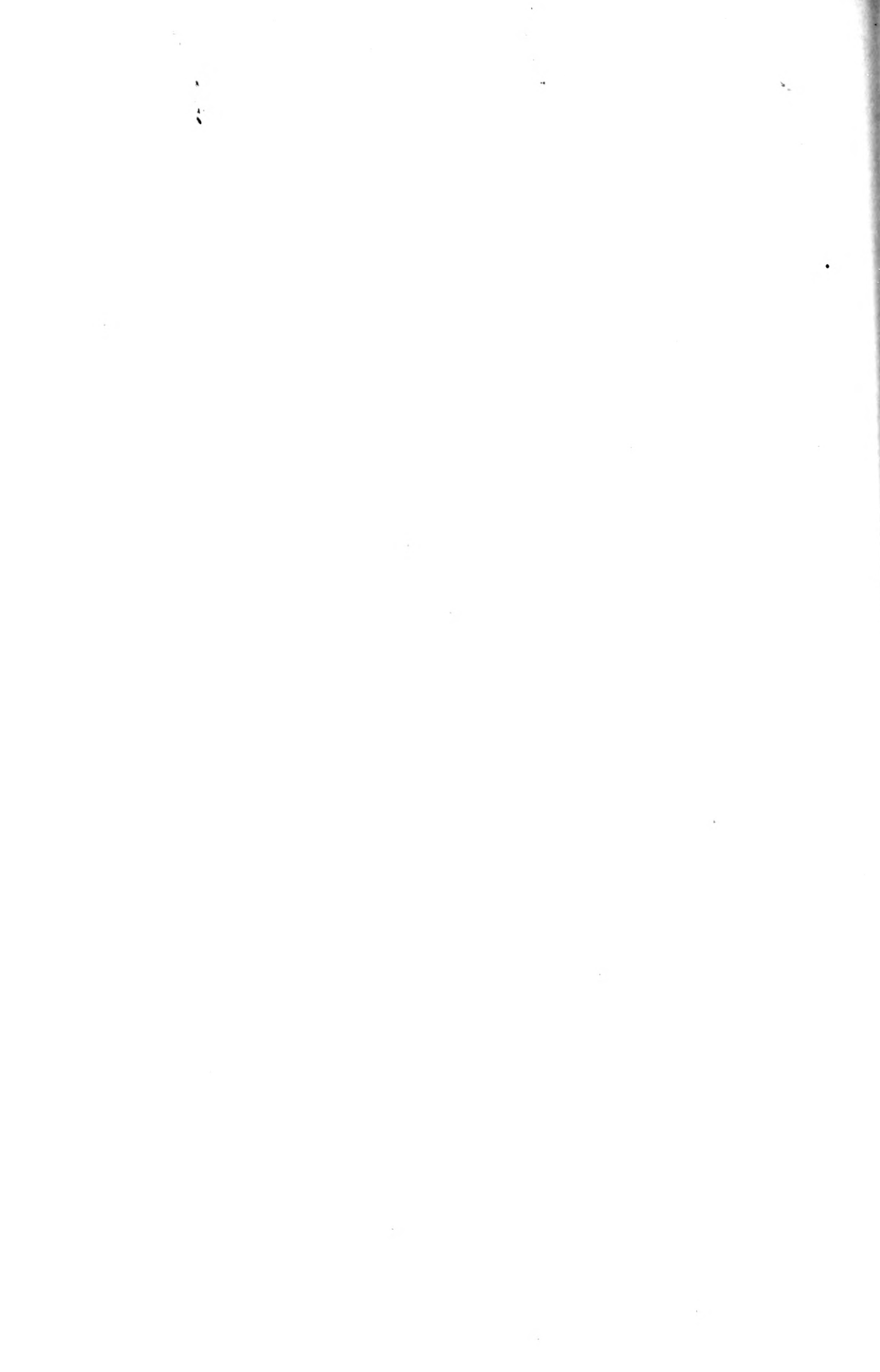
"This same Department of Transportation might also very properly take control of problems of water transportation, having the co-operation of the army engineers on the technical features and on construction work. There is much more involved in the problem of water transportation than mere channel construction, and we need, therefore, to have some agency that shall represent the interests of the people, that shall be entrusted with responsibility for the constructive initiatory work which the army engineers do not do and do not pretend to do. Congress, being a bulky body, is not equipped to do this work as it should be done.

"Finally, in connection with our own Illinois waterway, there is one question that has not been properly worked out, the matter of the connecting channel be-

tween the waterway and Lake Michigan. I do not believe that the Chicago River, with its many bridges and its tortuous channel, can ever be a proper connecting link between this waterway and Lake Michigan, for the volume of commerce which we hope to develop. When the legislature of Illinois proceeds with the work of completing that waterway, it should have a study made as to what is to be the connecting channel between this waterway and Lake Michigan.

“Several suggestions have been made,

among them that of Mr. Lyman E. Cooley, that a new channel be dug between that of the Sanitary District and the Lake, crossing at about Twenty-second street. A great many people think that the connection should be by way of the Sag Canal, and that ultimately the river business should reach Lake Michigan, not through the Chicago River, but through a channel to be dug in that region. This difference of opinion presents a problem which will require the investigation of experts.” (Applause.)



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THE SUPERINTENDENT OF STREETS—HIS IMPORTANCE AND QUALIFICATIONS

The last issue of the Bulletin contained a short account of the joint conference of civic organizations on the matter of the street superintendency and the procedure to be followed in filling this now vacant position. Along with this, were printed the letter addressed by the conference to the Civil Service Commission, asking that the local residence requirement for the position be waived and also the opinion of Mr. Thomas W. Swan holding that the Commission possessed ample power to meet the request of the conference in case it should consider such action to be wise. On Friday, November 19, this matter was discussed before the Club by members of the conference and by others interested in its work. Mr. Stephen T. Mather, who presided, in his introductory remarks briefly summarized the situation and emphasized the importance of the street superintendency and the need of filling the position with a man of technical and scientific ability. In the discussion which followed this need was emphasized from many different points of view. Mr. John W. Alvord, Sanitary Engineer, spoke of the technical demands of the situation, with particular reference to street repairs. Dr. Ludvig Hektoen, Director of the Memorial Institute for Infectious Diseases, showed the need of scientific training on the part of the superintendent if he is to handle properly the important matters of street and alley sanitation and garbage disposal. The political bearings of the position were discussed by Mr. E. C. Wentworth, of the Executive Committee of the Citizens' Association, and its relation to the neighborhood inter-

ests by Mr. C. T. B. Goodspeed, president of the Neighborhood Improvement League of Cook County. Mr. Harry L. Bird, chairman of the City Club committee on Civil Service, summarized the action of the joint conference of civic organizations with regard to the waiver of the local residence requirement. The final address was made by Mr. Robert Catherwood, president of the Civil Service Reform Association of Chicago, who pointed out the task of the Civil Service Commission in filling the position of superintendent of streets.

On Saturday, the day after this symposium, announcement was made that the Civil Service Commission had decided to open the examination to outsiders, on the ground that the position was one requiring technical as well as administrative ability. In the examination, which is to be held on December 7th, technical ability will be weighted as four, experience as four, and education as two.

Before introducing the first speaker, Chairman Stephen T. Mather made the following remarks:

Mr. Stephen T. Mather

"We are to discuss the importance of the now vacant position of Superintendent of Streets in Chicago and the procedure to be followed by the Civil Service Commission in filling that position. Before introducing the list of able speakers to follow, I wish to call your attention to four facts:

"First. The number of citizens who read books from our Public Library is probably considerably below 200,000 per year. The number of citizens who

are affected by the sanitary and traffic conditions of the streets, alleys and garbage cans of the city is the entire 2,000,000 of our population. Last summer a new method was devised by the Civil Service Commission for selecting a public librarian under the Civil Service Law. This method was carried out with painstaking deliberation and wide publicity and the result was highly satisfactory. I believe it is safe to say that the position of superintendent of streets is more important to the general welfare of Chicago than that of public librarian, and that no less deliberation and publicity should be bestowed upon the examination therefor than were bestowed upon that for public librarian.

"Second. It is, if possible, more important to have a proper system for repairing the defects in streets and alleys, as they occur, than it is to provide for paving or re-paving as the demand may arise.

"I believe Chicago is getting better street pavements than ever before; the work is more scientifically done and the inspection is better. From my own observation, the work of the engineers of the Board of Local Improvement is very painstaking and the new pavements that are going down speak for themselves. Occasionally inspections have been lax but the wide awake interest on the part of the various Local Improvement Associations has helped, in a large measure, to overcome this. The Board has been quick to follow up any complaints brought to their attention and taking it all in all, our pavements are being put down in a workmanlike manner.

"It is the duty of the Superintendent of Streets to see to the upkeep of these pavements, but until within a year or so Chicago has had practically no system of executing street repairs, and pavements well laid have deteriorated rapidly from sheer neglect. The Wheel Tax Fund now makes it possible for the Superintendent of Streets to initiate a systematic plan for carrying out street repairs and the new superintendent should be technically qualified to direct that task.

"Third. The problem of dealing

with the household waste of this city in an up-to-date fashion has never been met. Many spasmodic attempts in that direction have been announced from time to time, but no one of them has ever had the indispensable advantage of a strong master hand. We need a better system than we now have for collecting the household waste and debris of the city. We need to abandon the wasteful and primitive practice of depositing our garbage on dumps in certain neighborhoods, thus creating nuisances. We need instead to adopt up-to-date methods and appliances for the sanitary and, so far as possible, profitable disposition of that waste. We need a superintendent of streets who can wisely carry out this reform.

"Fourth. During recent years specialists in the care of public streets and alleys and the disposition of garbage have arisen in numerous American cities, including many of the second and third class. If the way were open some of these specialists should be attracted to the Chicago position by its \$5,000 salary and its opportunity for a career. Such men indeed might come from some of the lesser cities of Illinois. Hence the desirability — which we believe is recognized by the Civil Service Commission — of throwing open the examination for this position to outsiders, under the rule provided for such cases, on the ground that it requires technical and scientific knowledge. Obviously the tasks I have indicated can only be successfully worked out under the supervision of an official qualified to understand and pass upon the technical methods and appliances and the scientific processes applicable to such tasks. I am certain that such an official could count upon the earnest and cordial backing of all the organizations here represented and of the public at large, and he must have it to help in overcoming the difficulties and discouragements he is bound to meet in putting his department on a scientific basis.

"It is the purpose of this meeting to afford various informed persons an opportunity to express their opinions concerning the importance of the position of superintendent of streets to the

community, and concerning the question as to whether or not the examination therefor should be thrown open to all comers." (Applause.)

The chairman introduced, as the first speaker, Mr. John W. Alvord, sanitary engineer, who discussed the technical demands of the position of the superintendent of streets.

Mr. John W. Alvord

"The position of superintendent of the streets of the city of Chicago, involving, as it does, the expenditure of about two and a half millions of dollars a year over a district in which there are about three thousand miles of streets, is obviously one of considerable responsibility. I find, on looking over the reports of the departments for some years past, that there are many things which the superintendent of streets has to do with which are not usually suspected. Aside from the cleaning of the streets, which is his most important function, and which involves the expenditure of about \$1,600,000 annually, he has to dispose of the garbage, now separated from ashes and other waste. In the course of a year he has to remove almost thirty thousand dead animals. Every winter he must clear away 155,000 cubic yards of snow, from the down-town district. During the winter time, he keeps open all of the catch basin inlets. He even operates a system of river transportation by which he conveys the garbage to the reduction plant. At times he has to rebuild viaduct and bridge approaches. He has supervision of all sidewalk repairs. He superintends the moving of houses. He issues permits to public utility companies to make openings in the streets, about thirty thousand of which are necessary in a year. He keeps a record of all of the paving done by the traction companies. He operates about forty special flushing machines, newly acquired by the department for street cleaning. In the outlying districts, he re-grades earth roads, builds ditches, attends to the surface drainage, cuts down the weeds along the sidewalks and macadamizes some of the main thoroughfares which lead from the farm districts into the city.

"This seems to be a rather multitudinous list of responsibilities. They require a man with an intellect of no mean order, for here are problems, technical in nature, which have not yet reached a complete solution. Such a problem is that of the disposal and collection of garbage, which has received the close attention of some of the most eminent technical scientists in this country.

"Referring particularly to the repair of streets, I would say that this is by no means the least of the responsibilities with which the superintendent is charged. Approximately \$425,000 a year are devoted to the repair of the pavements of the city, a sum, which, distributed among the fifteen hundred miles of streets, would be about five and a half cents a lineal foot or which would build about sixteen miles of new streets. The repair of streets requires the attention of a technical mind. Not only must the superintendent be familiar with street construction but with street repair as well, for the latter is, if anything, greater in its technical requirements than that of primary construction.

"The French have given special attention to the matter of street repairs. They have perfected scientific methods by which they measure carefully the wear of streets and, by means of inconsequential repairs, frequently made, they are able to maintain a high standard of street efficiency. In America, we allow our streets to deteriorate until complaint is made and then the repairs are made at the discretion of some person, quite unfamiliar with the technical aspects of the problem before him.

"It is my belief, therefore, in view of all these facts, that a technically trained mind is needed at the head of this department. A technically trained mind will be able to secure and collate data and, after classifying and analyzing it, to use it in such a way as to ascertain exactly what is needed in the department.

"A technical expert has the advantage of association with a large number of other experts who are constantly putting on record their experience in

such matters as this, and, therefore, he has available, not only his own local information, but information which reaches him from all over the country. If the superintendent is a man of broad knowledge, he will join himself to an association of such men, several of which are constantly working on these problems.

"I also feel that the head of this department should have time for reflection. Nothing worthy of being done is ever done without forethought, and it has been my observation that department heads are so constantly pulled and hauled and pressed upon by interests which are expecting something from them, that they have none of this time for planning, for reflection, for study of the vast problems that are presented to them.

"All public officials charged with duties of this kind, who have in the past attained a national reputation, have had technical training. Colonel Waring, who revolutionized the methods of cleaning the cities in this country, was such a man. To-day, you will find the officials who are solving these problems, who are putting on record valuable facts and conclusions with regard to them, are men of broad experience and of technical training." (Applause.)

Doctor Ludvig Hektoen, who was next introduced, spoke upon the scientific aspects of the street superintendency and its relation to public health.

Dr. Ludvig Hektoen

"It is a part of established knowledge that dirt, dust and garbage may spread disease. In order to direct the cleaning of streets and the disposal of garbage effectively and safely, the superintendent must know how and when dirt, dust and garbage convey disease.

"What we call street dirt is always potentially dangerous, because it is a depository of the living germs of disease; as for instance, of tuberculosis, pneumonia, diphtheria, meningitis, not to mention any more. More infrequently this may also be true of garbage. But, except in the case of those who come into close contact with it as children do when they play in the streets, the danger is really insignificant so long as the dirt is moist. On

account of this circumstance it is infinitely more important to public health that streets and alleys in congested districts be kept clean than that the boulevards are spotless.

"In cities, dust consists largely of pulverized dirt and this dust, in addition to its mechanical effect on the respiratory tract, always possesses serious elements of danger in the possible presence of disease-bearing bacteria, which have survived the effects of drying and sunshine and which may be inhaled or contaminate food and milk and other articles, thereby causing disease, the most important no doubt being tuberculosis and infantile diarrhoea.

"Knowing facts like these the superintendent would feel the necessity of keeping streets clean all the time and of not raising any dust in so doing. He would devise means to abolish dry sweeping of streets, which is the very travesty of street sanitation.

"In this connection, I may point out also that the offal from horses is the favorite breeding place for the house fly and that, under favorable circumstances, this insect is a diligent and successful disseminator of the germs of disease, notably of typhoid fever.

"Garbage is decomposable matter, easily subject to admixture with germs of disease. For this and other obvious reasons it is always to be kept in covered metal receptacles and conveyed to the place of final disposal in closely covered iron carts or wagons. Garbage dumps constitute an intolerable nuisance, and menace the health of the neighborhood.

"The modern doctrine that public cleanliness is the safe-guard of public health includes clean streets and clean air as well as clean water, clean milk and pure food. In order to be qualified to carry this doctrine into practical effect within the sphere of his department and to realize fully the peculiar responsibility of his position, the superintendent of streets must, by proper training and study, be thoroughly imbued with the principles of sanitary science." (Applause.)

Mr. E. C. Wentworth was the next speaker. He discussed the political

bearings of the position of street superintendent.

Mr. E. C. Wentworth

"When we say we have a business administration, we mean we have a political administration in its newest sense. The business of politics is what we confront when we inquire into the workings of any particular department of the municipality. Has the business of politics any bearing on the position of the street superintendent?

"If we concede that politics has become a business by which men secure their living and even amass fortunes, we must then grant that methods will be adopted by which authority is concentrated and organization effected, to the end of giving those in power a lasting hold on the situation. And this is what we behold in the street department, which is as formidable as the Jackson 'Stonewall.' It is not any political organization of the broader type, but one such as the alignment of ward superintendents, which is akin to similar organizations in the police and fire departments, working systematically and like a unit for well defined aims. All such organizations are destructive of discipline and loosen the grip of the head of a department on his subordinates. All such bodies are jealous of interference of any kind. Even wrongdoing on the part of individual members will be protected and defended from outside attack. By such, criticism of the workings of the department by civic bodies or private citizens is resented or treated with contempt.

"The street department has always been exceedingly jealous, not only of offered assistance, but even of work similar to its own, accomplished by the civic organizations. As a definite example of this, I wish to cite a few items from the recent report of the superintendent of streets:

"I strongly protest against the precedent established of appropriating money for the use of improvement associations. It is true only one association, the Citizens' Street Cleaning Bureau in the First Ward enjoys this privilege, but the precedent is a dangerous one, as there is nothing to pre-

vent other associations from applying to the City Council for money to be used in this way. In the First Ward the work of this association has been far from satisfactory, and this department is censured for the neglect of its employes, and when specific instances of neglect are called to our attention, we find it difficult to get in touch with their officials in order to have the complaints attended to. Furthermore, it is a reflection on the department to allow the work of cleaning streets to be taken out of our hands, and if we had the expenditure of the amount placed at their disposal, I venture to say the work would be done far more satisfactorily.'

"If these organizations are willing to come forward and put their shoulder to the wheel, if the work which they are doing is a help to the street department, that department is manifestly in no position to criticise. The above statement by the superintendent of streets is purely a matter of political jealousy on the part of the street department, with regard to the work of the improvement associations in cleaning the streets of Chicago.

"Furthermore, the street department has not tolerated the occupancy of any of its important positions by individuals who, while possessing executive capacity and administrative ability, have failed to support the organization or the political regime, then in existence. Should such an official prefer charges against a subordinate he would find himself helpless, all his testimony turned against him in the effort to shield the favorite member. Thus discipline is emasculated and obedience to the superior officer becomes a travesty.

"The ward superintendent is a man with many bosses; he is subject to the orders of the mayor, the head of the department of public works, the street superintendent, the three assistant superintendents, the aldermen of his ward and the unofficered political leaders. Can he preserve his equilibrium under such conditions? All this is important because the business of politics sees in him the vehicle through which men and money are used. When we consider that the amount now appropriated for street and alley clean-

ing, hauling garbage and repairing streets is reaching upward into the millions of dollars, and means the employment of hundreds, if not thousands, of men and teams, we can see the menace of politics in the situation. The civil service examination for ordinary street cleaning is insignificant, mainly insisting on American citizenship (a ruse to keep the employes of the department amongst the voters). It is almost a standing joke that the street cleaning work is done by our grandfathers. It is well known that the best work in street cleaning is done by the local improvement associations, which, as a rule, employ recent arrivals in this country, who, because of their lack of a knowledge of the English language, attend steadily to their duties and accomplish much more labor than others in the same given time. Most of the higher employes of the street department, including the ward superintendent and the assistants, are victims of the political slavery that has given them their livelihood. How can we hope for anything better for the future than we have had in the past, unless we start now in a new direction and bring to the head position some able man who is ignorant of these ties, who will look upon the office only as one to which he can give the best technical knowledge and administrative and executive ability there is in him. A weak, sympathetic appointee, lacking courage and tenacity of purpose, will perpetuate and encourage the old political regime, give strength to the organization that exists within the department and keep up the demoralization of this important branch of the public service. On the other hand, the kind of a man we have in mind will strengthen and uphold the civil service sentiment by insisting on the rendering of honest service by each employe in return for the compensation given him by the city. Under such conditions, it will be possible to have men in politics for business, who will still be faithful to the municipality and to its tax payers." (Applause.)

Mr. C. T. B. Goodspeed, president of the South Park Improvement Asso-

ciation and of the Neighborhood Improvement League of Cook County, spoke upon the neighborhood interests and their relationship to the position of street superintendent.

Mr. C. T. B. Goodspeed

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: My experience with the ward superintendents and with the political end of the business of street cleaning has been rather pleasanter, I judge, than that of the speaker who has just preceded me. I have the good fortune to be in a ward where we have an excellent ward superintendent and our association has had active and friendly co-operation from the city government from the beginning. The police and the city officials have given us all the aid in their power. In order that you may see what this means to an improvement association, I want to tell you a little about our work.

"As I came out of my house this morning and started for the Illinois Central, I met two men with push carts. One of those men was a member of the regular army of several thousand men who are under the generalship of the superintendent of streets. The other man belonged to the little school of a few men that the South Park Improvement Association employs. One of those men has to sweep Fifty-seventh Street, which is an asphalt street. The other man goes out with a cart and a sharp iron rod with which to pick up papers. The city employes stay inside the curbs, that is, in the street. Our men pick up anything they find in the way of rubbish anywhere. If there is a vacant lot, which needs cleaning, they go into the middle of the vacant lot and clean it.

"In the same way there are two sets of garbage wagons working in our part of the seventh ward, one owned by the city, the other by the Improvement Association. The city does not remove garbage from apartment buildings, so the Improvement Association has its own garbage wagons doing business with the apartments. Thus we have a friendly system of co-operation with the city by which, by some extra ex-

penditure, we get things done in that district that are not done everywhere.

"The ward superintendent has an office in our ward and our Association has an office. We also have a superintendent, who locally has functions very similar, in a small way, to the larger functions of the ward superintendent. The ward superintendent's men are charged with the duty of seeing that all streets that are opened for any purpose are properly repaired.

"Now, suppose a man who lives next to a hole, which the Edison Company, for instance, has torn in the street, is a member of our Association. If the Edison Company does not mend that hole or does not mend it right, that man does not complain to the city. He telephones to the office of our Park Association and says: 'Why in the world isn't that hole in front of my house filled in properly?'

"Thus our work and the city's work fit together just as hand fits glove. If the man in charge of the street department or his subordinates are not friendly to the Improvement Association, there will be trouble all the time. Our man, who picks up paper, and the man working in the street can get at cross purposes in five minutes if they want to, and if their principals are not friendly to each other, they are very likely to be at cross purposes.

"Barring the uncommon occasion when there is a fire or when something very unusual occurs to require the presence of the police, the street superintendent and his people are the only representatives of the city of Chicago that we know. Therefore, we want to know what the street superintendent is going to do with the street and with all the things in the street. In our Improvement Association, therefore, we are very anxious that the street superintendent should be a man of uncommon ability, so that his men shall produce the best results. We don't want to raise money in our neighborhood to do things that the city will do for us. The improvement association, as a rule, gets just as much, if not more, out of the city for their districts than other people get. But our people are willing to pay to have their places taken care

of better than the rest of the city. It is for this reason that we spend the extra money.

"We want a man for street superintendent, capable of getting the best possible results out of his force and out of his money. It seems to us that the men who are most likely to get these results, are the men who have had actual, practical experience in collecting garbage and in sweeping the streets, whether these men have been subordinates in the street department in Chicago or have come from other towns where similar work is being done.

"We also want a man who will maintain the right attitude towards volunteer outsiders. Until the city of Chicago is able to raise money enough to do all the things we want, in addition to what it now does, it seems to us essential that the superintendent of streets should know his friends when he sees them. He should know that the man who will help us make the city government look more successful by having the streets cleaned and by having everything done that we do for the city, is a better citizen than a man who is opposed to any such assistance.

"Now, for myself, I want to say that I have the utmost confidence that the Civil Service Commission can and will get us the right man. Its success in selecting a librarian testifies to that. I have talked to the president and members of the commission and I know they intend to do what is right." (Applause.)

Mr. Harry L. Bird spoke in regard to the action of the delegate conference of civic organizations, respecting the procedure to be followed in filling the position of superintendent of streets.

Mr. Harry L. Bird

"By way of preface, I wish to emphasize what Mr. Goodspeed has said with regard to the Civil Service Commission, that all the members of the conference, so far as they expressed themselves, have been highly gratified at the attitude and actions of the Civil Service Commission of the city of Chicago. As a rule, the Civil Service Commission is accused of acting with

too much deliberation, but in this instance, it was somewhat inclined to move too rapidly.

"The conference of civic organizations about which I am to say a few words, was called after a conference of the chairman of the Civil Service committee of the City Club with the Civil Service Commission and at the instance of Mr. Hooker. Seven organizations were represented in the conference: the Union League Club, the Hamilton Club, the Civic Federation, the Citizens' Association, the Chicago Civil Service Reform Association, the Neighborhood Improvement League, and the City Club. At some of the meetings representatives of the Citizens' Street Cleaning Bureau and the Association of Commerce were present.

"In all, four meetings were held and the subject was canvassed with considerable thoroughness. Two questions were considered, first, as to whether the examination should be open, and second, as to whether it could be open. We were not long in agreeing that the examination should be open to any qualified expert, whether he lived in San Francisco, or Detroit, or Boston or Oak Park. Incidental, of course, to that is the question of whether such a man would be attracted by the salary of the position, which is not as large as it ought to be.

"Under the strict rules of the Commission, none would be admitted to the examination except legal residents of the city of Chicago. There is an exception to that rule, making it discretionary with the Commission to waive legal residence for any position requiring scientific knowledge or technical skill, and the position developed by the conference was that this was a position requiring technical ability. It was suggested that possibly this was not a technical position, but simply a position requiring good general executive or administrative ability. A further objection to the opening the examination was, that if a non-resident should pass at the head of the list, some local man who was unsuccessful might start litigation, which would tie up the appointment and result in indefinitely de-

moralizing the department. No man, of course, can do his best work if his tenure of office is temporary or is dependent upon judicial speculation.

"A sub-committee was appointed to wait on the Commission and, at the request of the sub-committee, the date of the examination was postponed until December 7. The question of local residence was held in abeyance. Meantime the conference obtained a legal opinion from Mr. Thomas W. Swan, supporting our contention that the examination could be thrown open to all comers. A communication accompanied by this opinion was presented to the Commission. Mr. Lower, president of the Commission, appeared at a subsequent meeting of the conference to make a personal reply to the communication. What the final action of the Commission will be, I cannot now anticipate. If the Commission should decide to open the examination, the main work of the conference will have been accomplished. The only thing then remaining to be done would be to give the examination publicity. This meeting is in the interest of publicity for this examination. All who are present here to-day, I presume, can do something in the way of missionary work, by spreading information of this examination and of the opportunity thereby offered." (Applause.)

Mr. Robert Catherwood was the last speaker.

Mr. Robert Catherwood

"I have been asked to trace in a general way the procedure in an examination under the City Civil Service Act, for the purpose of showing how its provisions, the rules of the Commission and the practice of the office are likely to operate in the examination for superintendent of streets. I am especially glad to do this, because I think we are sometimes disposed to ask the Commission to do something prohibited by statute and to lose sight of the value of definitely fixed standards in this great hiring office of the city.

"If the superintendent of streets were the head of a principal department of the city, or if his appointment were subject to confirmation by the Coun-

cil, he would not come under civil service at all, but the City Council cannot make him the head of a department or take him out of the act by a mere fiat. The first question to be determined by the Commission is whether the examination shall be promotional or original. The statute provides that all examinations, wherever practicable, shall be promotional and competitive among such members of the next lower rank as desire to submit themselves for the examination. In other words, the next lower rank is entitled to exclusive consideration, provided, two of its members want to take the examination and have held their positions in the grade for at least a year. If the next lower grade below the position of superintendent of streets happened to be a body of office boys, the Commission would be compelled by statute to go through the farce of holding the examination for the exclusive benefit of the office boys and they all would have to fail to pass before it could admit any one else. This is because a learned judge once decided that the Commission could not tell whether a promotional examination was practicable until they had tried it. In the case of the superintendent of streets, it happens that the next lower grade—assistant superintendents—contains only one eligible man, and as there could be no competition, the Commission has power to admit all citizens of the United States, subject to standing rules as to residence, age, health and moral character. If the position of superintendent of streets were an 'office' and not a 'position,' it would be beyond the power of the Commission to examine any except electors, but the courts have held that it is not an 'office' and the Commission may under their rules waive all residential limitations, if they regard the position as one requiring technical or scientific knowledge, or manual skill of a high order. The age limit is fixed by the rules at twenty-one, and the health qualification is satisfied by a medical certificate showing in detail that the applicant is in normal health and strength. The habits and moral character provided for in the statute

are investigated in exactly the same way as such an investigation if undertaken by a bonding company, would be conducted. The problems, questions or themes for the mental examination are usually derived from examinations on analagous subjects in universities, the federal service, the service of other cities, text books and a personal reference to the best talent which the Commission can obtain. Within the past year professors in the University of Chicago, Armour and Lewis Institutes, the University of Illinois and Northwestern University have been employed. Men like Graham Taylor, Frank L. Shepard, Clement Andrews, the Librarian of Congress, John M. Ewen, Charles W. Naylor, Joseph Downey, Carl Miner and Dr. S. D. Love of New York have drafted examinations, guided by permanent rules, standardizing the nature and object of every question, subject or problem. Those assisting in preparing an examination are never the same as those who mark the papers.

"For the position in question, the mental examination, which may be either written or oral, will be divided under the three heads of special subject, experience and education. Each will be given a value by the Commission, which, when once established, will serve as a fixed standard for future examinations for this position; for instance, if the Commission is of the opinion that special knowledge of the duties of any position should be theoretically equal to experience and general education, the special subject will be marked three, experience two, and education one. Education may not involve a special test, if it can be ascertained from the special subject. The most important feature of an examination for the superior grades is the special subject, and on this a series of questions, themes or problems adapted to test the knowledge of the applicants concerning the practical duties of the position are prepared by the best expert service that can be obtained and approved by the Commission before transmission to the examiners. The percentage credited to each applicant by each examiner will be averaged,

multiplied by the value number of each head, divided by the value total and the applicants ranked according to the respective quotients. The last and most important test is that, during a period of six months after appointment, an applicant should show himself qualified by his daily conduct in the position, and, until that stage is passed, he is on probation and not an employe under the civil service act.

"I wish that I had time to explain the safeguards which make identification of an applicant by an examiner impossible, which detect and check inconsistent markings, and which prevent any attempt of an applicant to signal a possible friend among the examiners. Of each of the sixteen thousand positions on the pay roll, checked over twice a month by the office, an accurate history for the past fifteen years is accessible under card index. The Commission has thorough and accessible records of every transaction. A system which prevents one man in a grade from receiv-

ing a larger salary than another man in the same grade, a system of verification of every statement made by an applicant, a system for hiding identification, until all papers are marked, a system for preventing personation, a system for preventing pay roll irregularities and a permanent standardization adapted to guide in the preparation of examinations, the marking of papers, the physical tests and tests of character, and every step in the whole process, from the time of receiving a requisition until six months after appointment.

"I do not think I will be contradicted by any person who knows the facts, when I say that the Commission has applied every provision of the statute in a way which reflects the highest credit upon its ability and fairness. The Commissioners have met and solved many difficult problems and Chicago now leads American cities in efficient administration of the merit system." (Applause.)

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"INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION FOR BOYS"

On Thursday, December 2, the Club listened to an address by Dr. Edgar S. Barney, principal of the Hebrew Technical Institute of New York, one of the pioneer institutions for industrial education in this country, founded in 1883. Dr. Barney was in the city on his way to Milwaukee to attend the annual session of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education.

Dr. Barney's subject was "Industrial Education for Boys." He spoke of the growing need for industrial training both as a means of checking the tendency of boys to drift away from school into the unskilled trades and also as direct preparation for the work of later life. He traced the change in public sentiment toward industrial schools and showed how the bitter antagonism which the trades unions displayed at the beginning of the movement is swinging around into acquiescence and support. The address was concluded with an account of the Hebrew Institute, its purposes, methods and results.

Professor George H. Mead, chairman of the City Club Committee on Public Education, introduced the speaker.

Prof. George H. Mead

America is supposed to be the most practical nation in the world and it is the

nation that has stood for popular education earlier and more consistently than any other, but I do not think there is a country which has been so unpractical in its education as America. We have been slower than any other people in getting practical results from our educational system. This, perhaps, explains the fact that we are somewhat at sea on the subject of industrial training, both from the point of view of education and from the broader view of the future vocation of the children.

We have with us today a representative of the Hebrew Technical Institute of New York City, one of the oldest industrial training schools in the country.

It was established about the same time as the Chicago Manual Training School, which has now been united with the University High School. These two institutions were the earliest industrial schools in the country. Dr. Edgar S. Barney, principal of the Hebrew Technical Institute, will speak to us today on the "Industrial Training of Boys." (Applause.)

Dr. Edgar S. Barney

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Sixty years ago, in 1846, Horace Mann, our great educator, in his plea for the extension of public schools, said, that outside

of the states of New England and a few small communities elsewhere, there was not a county or a state maintaining a system of free education for its children. Thirty years ago, at the time of our Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, it might have been said that in not a single state in this country was there a school of secondary grade, wherein was taught the use and handling of tools. The first actual step in this direction was taken in the year 1879, and during this period, with the possible exception of electricity, no science has made greater progress than has that of education.

"Just as the advent of railroads about 1825 foreshadowed the new engineering courses in the colleges, so the constantly changing conditions of industry, new inventions, improvements and the like have brought about a change in the educational needs of the present time. Our mode of living is entirely different from that of three decades ago. Many things that we have today were unknown then and our methods of manufacturing with automatic and multiple operation machinery were until recently unknown. Along with these changes have come changes in our educational needs.

"The old apprenticeship system has practically become a 'dead letter.' New sociological conditions render its revival, even if desirable, an impossibility, and, with all of its narrowing effects and disadvantages, we cannot regret that it has nearly passed. We should not look abroad to meet the demand for skilled labor. Our only solution of the problem is to turn to the schools and introduce in them thorough practical courses leading to a vocation, courses which shall include not only the use and the manipulation of tools, but which shall combine therewith those subjects which will lead to industrial intelligence, to a knowledge of materials, of the principles of mechanics, the commercial value of time, and the economies of the cost of production.

"Statistics gathered from various sources, especially in Massachusetts, show that great numbers of boys leave school by the time they are fourteen years of age, when the state releases its wards from further obligation of attendance and, as most of the skilled trades do not admit boys until they are sixteen years of age, these boys between four-

teen and sixteen drift into the ranks of unskilled labor as errand boys, messengers, teamsters and ordinary laborers. An occasional bright fellow will come to the front, but most of them reach a dead level of from twelve to fifteen dollars a week, and stop there.

"In New York approximately thirty-seven per cent of the population is engaged in mechanical and industrial work, about the same per cent in business, nineteen per cent in domestic service, and five per cent in the learned professions. There are many schools, as you know, for the five per cent in the learned professions (and there are none too many), but, aside from the engineering schools of college grade, there are but few for the thirty-seven per cent engaged in mechanical and industrial work.

"It is cause for serious regret that so many of our boys leave the elementary schools before completing them, and that so few enter the high school and there continue for any length of time. Such, however, is the case in New York city and, no doubt, in most other places.

"Give a boy a school course with a well-defined end in view, let him feel and know that, when he has finished his schooling, he will be prepared to enter a vocation with a fair prospect of advancement, where his progress will be commensurate with his worth, let him feel the relationship between his mathematics, science, drawing and shop work, and he will continue at school both of his own choice and at the wish of his parents. This is not merely a theory, because, at our Institute, we have definitely shown that the problem of 'school mortality,' that is, the leaving of school by the children before the course is finished, may not only be greatly reduced, but almost eliminated. As an illustration, two years ago we admitted a class of one hundred and twenty. Today there are eighty-eight in the graduating class. The number that voluntarily withdraw in any year is only eight per cent. The others are requested to withdraw because of failure to keep up with the work or because we see that they have little or no mechanical aptitude. And most of the eight per cent that voluntarily withdraw leave for such reasons as sickness in the family, death or removal from the city, conditions entirely beyond

the control of the boys. And so I maintain that if we give the boys a vocational training, one with a definite object in view, where they can see a prospect of completing their course and fitting themselves for definite work, they will continue at the school.

"A great deal, of course, depends upon the teachers, especially the teachers in mechanical departments. However contrary it may be to theory, we have found it advisable to engage for our shop and technical teachers, men who have had practical experience as foremen and superintendents, men of a good elementary, or, if possible, a high school education. We have found that it is easier for such a man to successfully conduct a shop class and to instruct young men in shop methods, than for the experienced pedagogical, academic teacher to become an expert mechanic. That has sometimes been questioned, but even in New York, within the past two years the public school authorities have begun to realize that situation, and have taken same twelve or fifteen of our graduates into their schools as teachers of manual training, wood work, bent iron work and drawing. That they are making good progress and giving satisfaction has been frequently attested by Dr. Haney, the director of manual training.

"A word should be said in regard to the attitude of trades unions. In the early days of the agitation for industrial, trade and technical schools, the trades unions, as you know, were bitterly hostile. On the basis of supply and demand, they said that the wages of the working men would be decreased and that no school could prepare a boy to enter a trade. In this latter respect they were not altogether wrong, not because the principle of the school was wrong, but because in the process of the school's evolution not sufficient time had elapsed for its full development. A better feeling, however, is growing among trades unions. They are beginning to understand that schools can prepare boys for the trades; they are beginning to understand that it is not the function of the school to turn out 'scab' workmen, that the market will not be flooded with inefficient labor, and that their wages will not be adversely affected. The statistics prepared under the direction of Prof.

Charles R. Richards of Cooper Union and printed in the Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor of New York, just issued, show conclusively the growing tendency on the part of labor organizations to recognize the schools and to work in harmony with them. I was told quite recently, although I have not had time to verify it, that the Pattern Makers' Union in New York, which was the one most antagonistic to technical, industrial and trade school work, has within the past few months recognized that it must work in harmony with the schools, and that they advise their apprentices to attend evening classes. I, myself, was told by one of the business agents—'walking delegates'—that his organization was beginning to understand that it must work in harmony with the schools if it is to attract to the union a class of educated, broad minded men who will become leaders in the organization and help to lift it to a plane of higher intelligence and efficiency.

"Another organization in New York, the Association of Stationary Steam Engineers, has in its constitution an article to the effect that educational work shall be recognized. I know this of my own knowledge, because that association has met regularly in our rooms for two years. The old feeling of hostility is dying out and when our industrial schools are supported by public funds, so that they belong to *members* as well as to *non-members* of labor organizations, the antagonism will gradually disappear.

"Up to the present time private institutions have led the way in industrial education. It is only very recently that any public school movement has been set on foot. New York is behind the times in some ways (perhaps we should say, conservative), but it is only within the past sixteen or eighteen months that anything definite has been done on the part of the state towards the promotion of industrial education.

"The Hebrew Technical Institute was started twenty-six years ago. Its course is three years long. Pupils are admitted at the age of thirteen years, although the average age is fourteen. The average age at graduation is a little over seventeen. The requirement is that the boy shall have completed the 'Seven B' grade

of the New York public schools, that is to within one year of graduation from an elementary school. We give a simple examination in arithmetic through interest, elementary English, history and geography.

"All boys pursue the same course for the first two years and specialize in the third. About one-third of the time is devoted to the several academic subjects, English and mathematics, one-sixth to science, one-sixth to drawing and one-third to shop work in wood and metal. At the beginning of the third year the boy specializes, so that he devotes about one-half of his time to a special vocation such as machine work, tool making, instrument making, pattern making, mechanical drawing, architectural drawing or wood carving, and the other half of the time is devoted to his English, mathematics, drawing, and shop work in other departments.

"The aim in mathematics is as practical as possible. Shop problems are constantly introduced. Non-essentials in algebra and geometry are omitted. Our aim is to take the more advanced scholar through the principal problems of plain trigonometry. The English subjects bear directly upon the work in hand. Our shop work is made as practical as possible. When an article such as a drill, a reamer or a cutter is made, hardened, tempered and ground, we expect that it will be fit for use in the shop.

"We place first-class instruments and tools in the hands of the boys and we expect fairly accurate results. We are opposed to the policy, so often employed, of merely showing a switch-board or a volt-meter to the student and of not allowing him to handle it for fear it will be broken. We have never had a serious accident; no finger has been lost, no bones broken. We have never had a boy drop an expensive piece of apparatus on the floor. The boys will sometimes, of course, blow out a fuse on a switch-board or strip two or three teeth from a gear wheel in an engine lathe, but such accidents we expect and, in the main, the students make their own repairs.

"We expect that ultimately our students will become foremen and superintendents, although they start only as advanced apprentices. In this respect we

have not been disappointed. Forty-two per cent of the boys who have been out of our school ten years or more are foremen, superintendents, manufacturers or proprietors, owning their own business.

"Seventy-five per cent of our boys are employed in industries allied to the subjects taught them at the school.

"The per capita cost of our school, exclusive of interest on a mortgage, the printing of the annual report for the directors, and two or three such items, which are not properly school expense, is \$115 a year. It has varied between this amount and \$105 for the last five years. The average cost of our plant and equipment is \$450 per student, there being about three hundred students in the school. We have not purchased expensive or useless machinery or equipment. Our purchases have been made only as the need has been felt.

"Our institute, though Hebrew in name, is non-sectarian. We have Jew and Gentile working side by side with never a thought of race or creed. In our evening school for men, fifty-five per cent are non-Jews.

"That labor is dignifying, and that a good education and a good trade are conducive to honesty and right living, is shown in the fact that, out of 900 graduates, there is not a black sheep among them.

"That the graduates and the students appreciate the school is shown in the fact that out of the three hundred boys in the school, thirty-six are relatives of other boys in the school or of graduates, and that seventy-one per cent have been recommended by other boys or by graduates. I want to read a paragraph from a letter received from a boy just before I left New York. He tells me how he has been getting on since he left school last May. He obtained a situation with the New York Telephone Company, starting at a salary of \$8.10 a week to do the 'forming' of switch-board cables. Afterward, he was put on piece work at which he made \$6.00 the first week. Now, however, he is making \$15.21 a week. 'It will be impossible for me,' he writes, 'to make more than ten cables a week and make them good. I have a name for making good cables and I am going to advance in reputation the same as I am doing in my pay.' (Ap-

plause.) My friends, that is the spirit of the boys of the Technical Institute. They strive to advance, not alone for themselves, but for the reputation of their school.

"I left New York last Sunday night enroute to Pittsburg, to visit the Carnegie Technical Schools and their director, Dr. Hammerschlag, who is one of our boys. I was with him two days in that great institution.

"On arriving in Chicago yesterday morning, I was met at the station by two of our prosperous boys, who a few years ago were very poor. One is now an instructor in the Lane Technical School, the other is with the Gould Storage Battery Company, occupying a high position. One had to receive assistance a few years ago, so that he might continue at school; the other worked in a grocery store Saturdays to pay his car fare to and from the school. I have been entertained royally by them, but I take it, my friends, that it is not for me alone, it is for the school they love. No institution can have a greater asset than the loyalty and the love of its graduates.

"We have shown that young men from thirteen to seventeen can be educated in a definite vocational line and that they can go into a skilled industry upon graduation, earning from five to six dollars a week, the first year and advancing at the rate of two dollars per week per year thereafter. But to my mind the most important problem that we have solved, is that of keeping the boy of from thirteen to seventeen years of age at school." (Applause.)

The meeting being thrown open for questions, Dr. Barney was asked concerning the cost of the school to the students and the source of support for the institution.

DR. BARNEY: "The school is entirely free. There is no charge, even for books and materials. We have a membership society of Jewish people in New York, about two thousand four hundred in number, who contribute annually five, ten, twenty-five or one hundred dollars each. The income from this society is approximately \$30,000 a year. We have some funds that have been invested, the income from which is about \$10,000, making a total income of approximately

\$40,000, which is also the cost of the school."

PROFESSOR NATHANIEL BUTLER: "Do many of your graduates go on to the higher institutions of technology?"

DR. BARNEY: "A few. We make a strong point of urging the boys to go on and extend their education. Many of them go to Cooper Union in the evening after working during the day. Occasionally one will find an opportunity of going to Stevens, to Columbia or the Brooklyn Polytechnic, but for the most part, they go to evening schools."

PROFESSOR BUTLER: "What is the limit of enrollment of the school?"

DR. BARNEY: "Three hundred is the maximum number that we can accommodate."

MR. C. W. PRICE: "What per cent of your students come from families which would not be able to pay for education?"

DR. BARNEY: "Almost all. Not more than five or ten in the entire school are from families who could afford to pay tuition."

MR. PRICE: "Do you make any discrimination in regard to that, where your number is so limited?"

DR. BARNEY: "No discrimination, but we discourage the boys of well-to-do parents, because we want to help the poor."

Dr. Barney was asked if the graduates after leaving school and securing good positions usually become supporters of the school.

DR. BARNEY: "Very many of them have become contributing members at \$10 a year each, some of them at \$5 a year before they have gotten well under way. Some of them have become \$25 contributors."

Answering a question as to the disposition of the products of the school, Dr. Barney said:

DR. BARNEY: "We make nothing for sale. Our object is to train the boy. Ours is an educational institution, not a manufacturing establishment. I can understand how in certain trades, such, for instance, as printing, some revenue might be derived from the sale of the products; but not in our school having courses leading to vocations such as those of machinist, pattern maker, tool

maker or instrument maker. We make many things for the school's use. There are a few things made merely for the purpose of familiarizing the boys with the use of tools and these are given to the boys at the end of the year or destroyed. Many of the articles that we make are used in our work. For instance, we have an arc light stereopticon, a five horse power alternating current dynamo, many speed lathes that are being used to replace those purchased years ago (and they are just as good as those that were purchased). We have galvanometers made by the boys that are in constant use. Also considerable office furniture, such as desks, chairs and cabinets, has been made

by the students. This year we are making an engine lathe, and I predict that, when it is completed, it will be just as good as any five hundred dollar machine that can be purchased. And these have not been made by paid workmen, with a little assistance from the students. They are the work absolutely of the students without the teacher ever putting his hand to the work.

"We give many of the smaller pieces to the boys when they leave the school and go out to look for a situation, because when a boy shows a pattern of a cone pulley that he has made, it is a better testimony of what he can do than a letter I might write, though he carries the letter, too."

CLAIM OF GEORGE W. JACKSON, INC., FOR REPAIRS TO INTERMEDIATE CRIB

In a communication to the finance committee of the city council, dated September 24, 1909, the commissioner of public works recommended the approval of a claim made by George W. Jackson, Incorporated, for extra work and extra tug service in connection with the building of section three of the Southwest Land and Lake Tunnel, in Lake Michigan at the foot of Sixty-eighth street. This claim was for additional expense to the amount of \$15,672 which the Jackson company incurred in rebuilding the so-called "intermediate crib," which was destroyed by fire on January 20, 1909, and for tug service at the rate of sixty dollars per day from November 1, 1909, to April 1, 1910, the presence of a tug being deemed necessary to prevent another disaster such as that referred to above, which cost the lives of between fifty and sixty men.

On October 4, the claim of the Jackson company was reported out of committee with a recommendation that it be paid but at the request of Alderman Merriam final action by the council was delayed to await a fuller investigation of the merits of the claim and the liability of the city with regard to it. Following the postponement of action by the city council the matter was presented to the City Club committee on Labor Con-
ditions with the result that a joint con-

ference of the committees on Labor Conditions and on Revenues, Expenditures and Accounting was called and a sub-committee appointed to investigate the claims of the Jackson company. This sub-committee consisted of Mr. Maurice S. Kuhns, of the committee on Revenues, Expenditures and Accounting, chairman, Professor Robert F. Hoxie, of the committee on Labor Conditions, secretary, and Mr. John J. Sonstebj, also of the committee on Labor Conditions. On November 15, this sub-committee, after careful study and after taking advice of counsel, presented its final report to the joint committee. This report contained a recital of the important facts bearing on the case, two legal opinions prepared by Mr. Colin C. H. Fyffe, formerly Assistant Corporation Counsel, and the conclusions of the sub-committee with regard to the merits of the claim.

The circumstances surrounding the Jackson claim, as related by the sub-committee, are substantially as follows: In 1907, the Jackson company (or more correctly, its predecessor, the Jackson and Corbett Construction Company) took a contract for the building of a tunnel in Lake Michigan to supply the southern section of the city with water. About one and one half miles from the shore, a shaft was sunk to allow the

boring to proceed in both directions at once. At this point was built the intermediate crib, a wooden structure used for the housing of about one hundred workmen. It was here that the aforementioned accident occurred with its consequent large loss of life.

The investigations of the sub-committee showed that a condition of carelessness and disregard for city regulations designed to protect life existed at the intermediate crib. It was found that the crib was constructed without a permit from building department and it was used as a lodging house without the knowledge of the health department. From the testimony before the coroner's jury, the following facts, indicating the lack of adequate provision for the safety of the workmen, were obtained:

"There were between three hundred and five hundred pounds of dynamite in the thawing room at the time of the accident."

"The dynamite thawing room was very unsafe in both design and construction."

"The deceased came to their death by reason of suffocation and intense heat due to the burning of dynamite in the thawing rooms."

"The men had not been drilled in the use of the fire apparatus and there was no established system for its employment."

"There was a sufficient number of fire hose connections but the size of the main supplying these connections. . . . was not of a capacity to supply the total number of hose connections attached to it."

"There were no boats or life rafts upon the crib but there were 12 or 15 life preservers" (for nearly one hundred men).

"The tug T. T. Morford was usually in the vicinity" (it had been absent from the Intermediate Crib for at least twenty hours immediately prior to the fire) but "in the morning of the fire it was at the permanent crib located about 3,000 feet north-eastward of the burned structure."

Following the accident and at the suggestion of the coroner's jury a commission was appointed to recommend regulations governing the care and handling of dynamite to prevent the occurrence

of such accidents in the future. In the reconstruction of the intermediate crib the recommendations of the Dynamite Commission were followed, whether at the instance of the commission and the commissioner of public works or merely with their approval does not appear. The extra work and the additional tug service involved in following these specifications were the basis of the claim of the Jackson company for extra compensation.

The sub-committee of the City Club, in considering the Jackson claim, secured, as before stated, the opinion of Mr. Colin C. H. Fyffe upon two questions, one as to whether the city had legally ordered the extra work to be done, the other as to whether the city under its police power has the authority to compel the Jackson company to keep an extra tug at the intermediate crib.

Upon the first of these points Mr. Fyffe held that the city is not liable for the extra expense involved in the work of reconstruction as the work done was not "extra work" under the terms of the contract. If it had been "extra work," it should have been ordered in writing by the council. If additional work, outside the contract, a new contract would have been let to the lowest bidder or approved by a two-thirds vote of the council.

With regard to the second proposition, Mr. Fyffe held that the city has ample authority under its police power to order such precautions to be taken in the construction of buildings as will insure the safety of the occupants. The commissioner of buildings is authorized to direct changes in the construction or equipment of buildings or to alter or destroy any building deemed unsafe, expenses in the latter cases to be "recoverable from the owner or owners of such building by any proceedings which shall be deemed appropriate." The city, therefore, has full power to compel the Jackson company to properly safeguard its work place and is not legally liable for the expense incurred in so doing.

Subsequent to the rendering of this opinion, an opinion to the contrary by Mr. William D. Barge, Assistant Corporation Counsel, was brought to the attention of the committee. This was at once referred to Mr. Fyffe with a re-

quest for a supplementary opinion, meeting the points raised by Mr. Barge. Mr. Fyffe in his supplementary opinion considered two questions discussed by Mr. Barge, one as to the legal liability of the city in the absence of council action approving the extra work, the other as to the power of the city to compel the attendance of an extra tug at the crib, at the expense of the contractor.

On the first of these points, Mr. Barge held that the city was liable for the extra work, even without the approval of the council and in support of this, he cited the case of *Roemheld v. Chicago*, 231 Ill. 467, in which substantially the same point was at issue. Mr. Fyffe, on the other hand, in his supplementary opinion, held that the *Roemheld* case and the Jackson company case are essentially dissimilar. In the former case the extras were ordered as a part of the contract, in the latter they were ordered merely as a precautionary measure and not in furtherance of the work required in the contract.

Mr. Barge, in that part of his opinion dealing with the right of the city to require the attendance of a tug at the intermediate crib, held that although the city has power to compel contractors to make their work safe, such regulation is not valid unless the reasonableness of the requirement is made plain. Further along this line he said: "What is a reasonable requirement is a matter to be determined by the court. We would direct your attention to the fact that although other cribs have been built by the city no fire or explosion occurred at any of them and we are doubtful of the validity of an ordinance requiring this contractor to go to the expense of maintaining an additional tug, for the reasonableness of the requirement does not appear to be clear."

To this argument Mr. Fyffe replied: "The occurrence of January 20, 1909, might be taken as a sufficient answer to this statement. Had the precautions recommended by the Dynamite Commission been adopted at that time there would have been no disaster. The test that no such accident has occurred twice before the present application is rather novel than sound. At all events, if the reasonableness of such an order is a question for the Courts it might be well to give

the Courts an opportunity to pass on that question rather than to resolve it in advance against the city."

On the basis of the facts and the foregoing opinions, the sub-committee reached certain conclusions which were embodied in its final report. These conclusions were as follows: "Your sub-committee is of the opinion that the alleged extra expense connected with the reconstruction of the Intermediate Crib was incurred by the Jackson company without any official action rendering the city liable therefor and that the city under its police power has authority to compel the Jackson company to make the provisions for the safety of its workmen on which its present demands for compensation are based. Our conclusion therefore is that the claims of the Jackson company against the city in the present case are not a proper charge against the city."

Following the presentation of the report of the sub-committee, the joint committee drafted a letter which on November 20 was transmitted to the council, together with the sub-committee report and the original and supplementary opinions of Mr. Fyffe. The text of this letter follows:

Letter from the Joint Committee of the City Club on Revenues, Expenditures and Accounting and on Labor Conditions to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Chicago.

November 20, 1909.

To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Chicago, in Council Assembled:

The City Club Committee on Revenues, Expenditures and Accounting and on Labor Conditions, acting jointly, having had under consideration the order approved by your Finance Committee now pending before you for the payment by the City to George W. Jackson, Incorporated, of the sum of \$15,674 for reconstructing the Intermediate Crib so as to safe-guard the lives of workmen, and the order likewise approved by that Committee for the payment by the City to that company of the sum of \$60 per day for an extra tug to attend at such Intermediate Crib for the safety of workmen during as many days as may be deemed necessary between November 1, 1909, and April 1, 1910; having

received and considered a report upon these matters by a special sub-committee appointed to investigate them; and having taken advice of counsel in relation thereto, respectfully submit: That, in our opinion,

(1) Such cost for reconstructing the Intermediate Crib was incurred by Geo. W. Jackson, Incorporated, without any official action making the City liable therefor.

(2) The City has authority under its police power to compel George W. Jackson, Incorporated, to maintain the conditions of safety for workmen for which the City is sought by these orders to be made to pay, or any other reasonable conditions of safe employment.

(3) It appears to have been a part of the duty of George W. Jackson, Incorporated, to make, on its own account the provisions indicated for safe employment.

(4) If the soundness of this position is controverted the City should allow the question to be resolved by the courts.

(5) In case the City should be held liable for either of these claims the reasonableness of the items and charges

making up the same should be investigated by the City.

There is submitted herewith for your information the above mentioned Sub-Committee Report, of November 15th, marked Exhibit A, the opinion of Mr. Colin Fyffe, of November 11th, marked Exhibit B, and a further opinion by Mr. Fyffe, of November 16th, marked Exhibit C, reviewing a contrary opinion on this subject submitted to the Chairman of your Finance Committee by Mr. William D. Barge, of the Corporation Counsel's Office.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT CATHERWOOD,
Chairman Joint Committee.
GEORGE S. JACKSON,
Secretary.

Approved by the Directors of the City Club,

GEORGE E. HOOKER,
Civic Secretary.

This letter was presented at the council meeting of November 22 and referred to the council committee on finance for consideration. As yet it has not been reported out of committee.

PUBLICITY OF EXAMINATION FOR STREET SUPERINTENDENT

The last two numbers of the City Club Bulletin contained reports of the action of the joint conference of civic organizations on the procedure to be used in the examination for city superintendent of streets and of the long table discussion of the importance and qualifications of the office. It was also announced that the Civil Service Commission had decided to waive the local residence requirement for the position, in accordance with the recommendation of the joint conference. Following the announcement of this policy, the City Club took steps to secure such publicity of the examination throughout the country as would bring it to the attention of those whose experience in other cities might qualify them for the position. This was particularly necessary in view of the fact that the official notice of the examination was very limited in scope. The City Club, therefore, sent out to the superintendents

of streets in cities of over 15,000 population, circulars announcing the examination and describing the important functions and opportunities of the office. Included with each of these notices was a copy of the City Club Bulletin of November 24, containing the discussion of the previous Friday on the matter of the street superintendency, and, also, a civil service application blank. The notices were sent to officials having charge of street cleaning and repairs in over three hundred cities. It was hoped in this way to make effective the ruling of the civil service commission opening the examination to non-residents, for without publicity the waiving of the local residence requirement would have had no very noticeable effect in widening the field of competition. The result of this campaign of publicity was that out of seventy-one applications for the examination, which was held on December 7, seventeen were

filed by non-residents, two of them from the Street Department of New York City.

The action of the joint clubs in regard to the examination for the street superintendency has already received commendation from sources outside the city. From a long editorial in the Boston Herald of November 27, we quote the following:

"The decision of the Civil Service Commission to waive the issue of local residence, as a test of eligibility for this post, is, as also was the case in the examination for the place of city librarian, the result of pressure put upon it by the leading civic organizations of the city, whose leaders and rank and file have

come to the conclusion that the time has come for a test of the German method of selecting city officials, and who are entirely satisfied with the outcome of the experiment in the fields of education and library administration. It is an admission that in carrying on city government the ideal of efficiency calls for other methods than those which obtain when the ideal is government for partisan ends."

In closing the writer recommends a massing of Boston civic organizations for the purpose of initiating a similar policy in Boston and urges the election of officials who would be in sympathy with such a progressive step.

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THE 1910 BUDGET

The movement toward efficiency in local government has within the last few years led to an increasing public interest in the making of municipal budgets. The primary importance of the budget as an instrument of financial control has not been realized to any very great extent until recently and even now cannot be said to be thoroughly understood. The Bureau of Municipal Research in New York City has been the foremost exponent of the idea that in the budget and the system of municipal accounting lie the most effective means of controlling the administrative machinery of the city. A careful, scientific method of drawing the budget makes for economy and for efficiency in that it allows unnecessary, wasteful expenditures of public funds to be easily detected and eliminated and provides for the concentration of the city's resources on the most important and useful branches of municipal activity. The New York Bureau of Municipal Research, although its work is, of course, primarily of local concern, has by its effective methods and successful results stimulated a wide

interest in the financial side of city administration. Here and there public sentiment is awakening to a realization of the vital importance of popular control of the public purse, through such agencies as efficient accounting machinery and scientific budget procedure.

To stimulate popular interest in the subject of the city budget the City Club of Philadelphia has been carrying on a series of budget discussions, in which the annual appropriation bill is being discussed from the points of view of the various department heads. With the same end in view, the City Club of Chicago on last Saturday, December 11, inaugurated a similar series of discussions upon the subject of the local budget which is to be passed about the middle of January. This first discussion was in the nature of a preliminary survey, dealing with the process of budget making in general and with the Chicago situation in particular. On succeeding Saturdays, there will be more detailed analysis of the needs of the various departments.

The speakers at this first meeting

were Professor Charles Edward Merriam, chairman of the Municipal Expenditures Commission, Mr. Herbert R. Sands, the budget expert from the Bureau of Municipal Research retained by the Merriam Commission, and Alderman Bernard W. Snow, chairman of the finance committee of the city council, which committee has charge of the drawing of the city budget.

Judge Julian W. Mack, who presided, introduced Professor Merriam as the first speaker.

Professor Charles Edward Merriam

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Club: In accordance with the terms of the resolution adopted by the City Council on the twenty-first of June, a Commission on Municipal Expenditures was appointed by the mayor, but owing to a series of delays, did not begin work until about the first of October. The commission decided at one of its early meetings to follow out, in the main, three lines of inquiry: one into the accounting system of the city of Chicago, a second into the system of letting contracts and of making purchases of supplies or other material, and a third into the matter of city pay rolls. The principal subject to be discussed here today is that part of the investigation which has had to do with the inquiry into the accounting system of the city.

"In that connection, the commission very soon decided that it would be desirable to make some investigation into the manner in which the annual budget of the city of Chicago is voted. We put ourselves in touch with the Bureau of Municipal Research in the city of New York, which has been doing scientific work in budget making, and secured the services of one of the men who had practical experience in working upon that very subject. Alderman Snow and I made a flying trip to New York, where we talked over the situation with Dr. Cleveland, one of the heads of the bureau (I believe there are three of them), and with Mr. Sands. As a result, we secured the services of Mr. Sands for the purpose of helping us with the making of a budget for the city of Chicago.

"The original plan was to work out a systematic and scientific budget as ap-

plied, perhaps, to only one department or bureau. Since the general environment and atmosphere seemed to be favorable, however, the commission went far beyond that, and with the co-operation of the mayor and the comptroller—I need not say of Alderman Snow, who was himself 'particeps criminis,' if it is a crime—a new system of itemization was worked out and adopted. It was put into force so quickly and so quietly that nobody realized exactly what had happened. If some honest taxpayer had gotten out a suit to enjoin us from doing this thing it would have attracted great attention and probably would have helped us on the publicity side. (Laughter.) If we had had a bitter battle in the council, had been compelled to make a fight on the floor of that body and had carried this through by a vote of thirty-six to thirty-four, it would have attracted great attention. No obstacles were encountered, however, and the system was put into effect as if it had been made to order.

"The main purpose of the new system of budget forms was to secure from the heads of the various departments, when they made their estimates, a more detailed statement as to the purposes for which they proposed to expend their money during the next current year. The estimates for 1910 have been made up on the basis of these forms.

"This is a work already accomplished. Not only is it a work that has borne fruit this very year in the shape of economy effected in the making of the appropriation bill, but it will bear greater fruit in the years that are to come. This kind of a system can be introduced in only a superficial way the first year. The full force and effect of it is not felt until the next year and the year after that, until the department heads are accustomed to it and know exactly what it means and exactly what may be expected under it.

"One other thing I might say in regard to this particular budget system. This way of handling the departmental estimates and of appropriating money for departmental use is the fairest system of treatment that can possibly be given either to the departments or to the employees. It was proposed at one stage

of the discussion over the budget to make a horizontal cut in the salaries of all employes of the city hall. I do not know how seriously that was considered. There was a good deal of talk about making a cut of ten per cent or twenty-five per cent in the salaries of all men without regard to their efficiency or usefulness, but this was not necessary and was not done. The itemizing system of which I have spoken makes it possible to cut down estimates (where the estimates must be cut) on an intelligent basis. It is not necessary to cut the salary of every man regardless of whether particular men are doing two men's work, one man's work, or no work at all. The itemizing system is a fair means of equalizing the expenditures between departments.

"Some gentlemen have captiously objected to the fact that the commission on city expenditures did not itself submit an itemized budget. I never took that with particular seriousness myself, but for fear some gentleman might take it seriously and wonder why we did not submit an itemized budget, I will say that we did put in what items we could, but acting on the advice of the budget expert, we refrained from stating exactly the ground we were going to cover or exactly what we were going to do with the money we had. It is impossible in this kind of an investigation to state beforehand exactly what you are going to do, because if you do there may be nothing to investigate. (Laughter.) And, it is just as scientific and effective to appropriate a lump sum for this kind of an investigation as it is to do it the other way for an established and well organized department.

"The expenditures commission is also following out other lines of inquiry. We are interested in system; we are interested in what is called constructive reform. We are not, however, attempting to construe constructive reform as meaning constructive whitewash. We are not so much interested in studying particular devices as to forget that there is a human element in any public service or in the city service of Chicago. There are some cases where evidently the thing to be prescribed for a man is a crutch, in the way of a system, and

there are some cases where what he needs is a shingle. (Laughter.)

"If the commission discovers that there are certain individuals who are responsible for waste or extravagance or for something worse, I take it the commission will not hesitate to call a spade a spade and to carry the inquiry through to whatever end it may lead. Too often however, a great storm of public indignation, a great uprising of the masses of people in protest against a particular evil, results in the punishment of a few men but permits the same old system to go on precisely as it has done for the last twenty years. But if the system is left unchanged, very little will have been accomplished. An admonition will have been given to certain individuals, but when public enthusiasm dies down a little, when the people are not watching the situation quite so closely, the same old system will come back again and the same old thing will happen because the checks which should have been provided are lacking. Exposures of this sort seem to move in cycles. If they are to move at all, perhaps it would be better to have them move in cycles or continuously, but we hope to be able by such admonitions as we may give in regard to the conduct of public business on the moral side and by such constructive work as we may do on the efficiency side, possibly not to entirely prevent waste and extravagance in municipal administration but, to some extent, to diminish it and to make it more difficult to get away with the city's funds without rendering a just equivalent." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN MACK: "We Chicagoans are frequently accused of being boastful and conceited, particularly by those from other sections of the country; but I believe that our chief conceit is in the firm conviction that we know our own limitations, and, therefore, that we are ready and willing and eager to learn from others. I think we have evidence of that recently in two movements started by this Club, one for securing free and open, country-wide competition for the office of public librarian, the other for securing the opening of the examination for street superintendent to the entire country. In this particular

work of budget framing we evidence it also. We recognize that the light that comes out of the East may illumine many a dark corner in Chicago and so we have borrowed Mr. Herbert R. Sands, of the Bureau of Municipal Research of New York City, to help our commission in its work on the budget. Mr. Sands will address the Club on the subject of the city budget." (Applause.)

Mr. Herbert R. Sands

"It was with much pleasure that I learned from your secretary a few days ago that the City Club of Chicago had decided to devote part of its time and energy to the budget of this city. The taxpayers and the citizens of Chicago should congratulate the City Club on this action. They should also congratulate the City Club on the fact that behind the action they are now taking are the city officials, especially those responsible for the fiscal policy of Chicago, who have been devoting and are devoting their days (and the days extend far into the night), seven days a week, to revising the budget of the city of Chicago along up-to-date, modern, scientific lines.

"Mr. E. H. Harriman, shortly before he died, declared that the American people are coming to demand more and better government at a less price. Notwithstanding the titanic proportions of his railroad operations he will probably go down to posterity as the man who laid down the principle of 'government per ton mile.'

"It is remarkable how few people really know the meaning of the word 'budget.' A body of representative business men like this, of course, knows what a city budget is, but notwithstanding this fact, the majority of the citizens have an erroneous conception of it. To put it in the simplest form, a budget is the plan for spending the next year's revenues. New York was the first city in this country to awaken a consistent public interest and secure official sanction to a classified, segregated budget. By a classified, segregated budget, I mean, first, the groupings of the different expenditures of each department according to the functions of that department (which, especially here in Chicago,

where your department of public works has such a diversity of work to perform, are often at great variance) and next, the segregating of those functions according to the nature of the expenses to be incurred, deciding from experience, from comparisons with similar operations in other cities, from comparisons with operations of private corporations wherever possible, how much should be allowed for salaries and wages, how much for maintenance, repairs and replacements and how much for supplies. Taking these in turn, how much of these supplies for instance, should be for printing, for stationery and so on down the line. In other words, a segregated budget means doing away with lump appropriations—with mongrel appropriations, if you will allow the title—containing elements of salaries, wages, repairs, supplies and often construction items. A segregated, classified budget protects the city in that it insures the expenditure of moneys along the lines for which they have been appropriated. It does this by laying a basis for a proper audit. Unless we begin with the budget no proper audit can be made. The budget is the principal instrumentality for control over the city's finances.

"In New York, three years ago, the Bureau of Municipal Research, in co-operation with Comptroller Metz, made an investigation of the Department of Health. It went back over a period of two years, analyzed the expenditures of the department, made comparisons with other cities, and came to a decision as to the proper amount of money to be allowed for the several functions and for the several items of expense under each function in the Department of Health. This step met with the hearty approval of the mayor and of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, which in the city of New York corresponds very closely to your finance committee. In short, it was such a success that during the next year, all the city departments were taken up in the same manner and today we have a segregated, classified budget for the entire city of New York.

"This was brought about by asking uniform questions of the department heads, when it came time to make up the

budget. These questions were printed on uniform blanks. As a means of estimating the requirements of the next year, we asked the departments for a statement of their pay roll expenses as of June 30th of the current year and as of December 31st and June 30th of the prior year. From this we were able to learn whether just before budget time came around there was any inflation of payrolls as an excuse for securing an increased appropriation. We also required them to show the total expenditures for each of these functions for the entire preceding year. With this detailed information as a basis, the comptroller was able through his staff of investigators to take up each of these items in turn for each of the several departments and to determine whether or not it would be proper to allow the amount requested. You can readily understand how he would be handicapped in passing judgment, if those requests came as lump sums for eight or nine different purposes. He would be compelled to make an arbitrary reduction in the estimates, a method still followed in many cities. It is such an arbitrary reduction that we have succeeded in doing away with in New York and that I understand you are desirous of doing away with in Chicago. It is with the end in view of developing a scientific budget procedure, that the Merriam commission, the finance committee, the comptroller, the mayor and other officers of your city charged with its financial responsibilities have undertaken to recast the budget of Chicago. Of the results of their work and of their plans for the future, Alderman Snow will speak." (Applause.)

Judge Mack introduced as the concluding speaker Alderman Snow, chairman of the finance committee of the city council, who spoke as follows:

Alderman Bernard W. Snow

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the City Club: Mr. Sands has indicated what constitutes a scientific budget. Applying that definition to the situation in Chicago, it means the apportionment of an insufficient revenue among the various branches of municipal activity, giving to each, not what it might very

properly demand but what can be spared for it out of an insufficient total to meet our current needs. In that respect the situation in Chicago differs and differs very materially from the budget-making of New York City.

"In New York, those charged with the administration of affairs in the various departments are called upon to present estimates which shall cover what, in their judgment, is required for their particular lines of work. When those estimates are all in, if the Board of Estimate and Apportionment agrees that the requests are reasonable in accordance with the work to be done, it has only to add up the totals. Then the same set of officials who make the budget fix a tax rate which will furnish a sum sufficient to meet those budget requirements. That is simple enough but in Chicago we have an altogether different problem to deal with.

"Here our income is a known and fixed quantity in advance and those charged with the preparation of a budget and with the expenditure for city work under it are compelled to so arrange the apportionment of money to the various activities as to bring the total within a fixed income, previously determined and over which they have no control.

"It might be assumed possibly by those who have not given particular attention to the manner in which budgets have been made in Chicago heretofore, that what we are trying to do this year is something revolutionary in character. That is not true. Heretofore the budget of Chicago has been very largely itemized and there has been comparatively little in proportion to the total expenditure which was set aside in lump sums to be spent at the discretion of the department heads. But there has been some looseness of this sort and the end at which we are now aiming is to provide in advance, as far as it may be humanly possible, a knowledge of exactly what is to be expended in the various departments; in other words, to carry the itemization of our budget to its logical completion. I make this statement in order that it may be clearly understood that that which the present finance committee, with the assistance of the

mayor and the comptroller and department heads generally, is trying to do must be taken in no way as a criticism of officials or of methods hitherto followed. We are only trying to work out to its logical conclusion that which has been partially done before.

"You will pardon me if I say something which is necessarily personal to myself, because it is essential to a proper understanding of what we are attempting now. I was on the finance committee of the city council of the city of Chicago one year as a member, while Alderman Bennett was the chairman. When we came to make up the budget a year ago, I found that in some directions, at least, there was not sufficient itemization to give us the information which was needed to apportion the money intelligently between the various interests and at my request the committee even then, secured some additional information in certain departments.

"When I became chairman of the finance committee in the following April, I took the matter up with the efficiency commission which had been appointed in the previous year at the recommendation of the finance committee, partially to consider this very subject. That commission agreed and recommended that there should be further segregation and itemization of departmental estimates in order that the finance committee might with more intelligence, pass upon them. A little later the Commission on Municipal Expenditures, of which Alderman Merriam is chairman, was appointed. I was made a member of that commission. The members of that commission believed that this was one of the very essential things to be done in a proper reorganization of the finances, particularly of the expenditures, of the city of Chicago. I took the matter up with the mayor and with the comptroller. It was presented to them in as brief a statement as I could make and met with their immediate and hearty approval. Thus, you see, we are doing from the inside of the city government of Chicago, for the benefit of the people of Chicago, that which in other communities has been forced upon city officials by outside organizations.

"As long ago as last July, a club or

association of the responsible heads of the administrative departments of the city was organized. Comptroller Wilson, who originated the idea and carried it through, thought that if the department heads could get together once a week, they could reach a better understanding among themselves as to the necessity for economical administration of their affairs. Where men in charge of a department of government see only the necessities of their own work and are not cognizant of what is being done by other departmental organizations, there is that constant tendency of human nature to aggrandize to themselves and their own department all the power possible (and that means all the money possible).

"Through that organization it has been possible to secure this year in departmental estimates, the close, careful and earnest co-operation of the departmental heads. What has been the result? When we began to make up the budget a year ago the departmental estimates which had been submitted without this mutual interchange of views and mutual conferences between the various branches of government, totalled more than three and a half million dollars above any possible income which the city of Chicago had in sight for the current year. That mass was handed over to the finance committee in order that it might make an effort to so trim and pare as to bring it within the income. This year the necessity for economical estimates was so presented at the meetings of the department chiefs, week after week, that when we came to total up their estimates this year they were less than eight hundred thousand dollars above our income. (Applause.)

"The first set of estimates were sent in on the old forms but, in the meantime, with the assistance of Mr. Sands and with the approval and co-operation of the mayor and the comptroller, we prepared a new set of blanks to be sent to all the department heads, asking them to recast their estimates so as to show in greater and additional detail just what they were asking for. It was new, but it did not meet with any opposition. The department heads cheerfully recast their estimates in accordance with our

request. This involved a large amount of work in many cases, because of the fact, which Mr. Sands has indicated, that we asked them to analyze the expenditures of previous years and of this year up to date, along the same general lines as their estimates for next year. Accounts were not so kept in all departments that this information was immediately available but for the last three months responsible officials of the city government and the higher grade of city employes have been working overtime and nights to give us the information which we need to make a scientific budget this year. That data is in and as a first result there has been a further reduction in the original estimates; not very much on the whole, but in a few departments quite an item. When it came to itemizing the estimates, it was found that it had been a good deal easier to make totals than it had been to make items. (Laughter.) But the total was slightly reduced.

"Now comes the difficult part of budget making in Chicago, and the part which gives value to these itemized statements. Our income, as I said, is fixed. Our estimates, after the department heads have pared them as far as they believe they can safely be pared, are some seven hundred thousand dollars above the income and it is up to the finance committee, after the comptroller's estimates are turned over to it, to adjust them. But I may say in passing that the comptroller's estimates this year will bring his ideas and mine of a proper expenditure of Chicago's money next year within our income for the first time. (Applause.)

"Last year, starting in with a three and a half million dollar over-estimate, the budget finally went to the council and was passed, carrying an appropriation of about one and one quarter million dollars beyond our income. That means that it was left to the city administration to decide what items should be expended and what should not. We are going out at the end of the year with a carry-over debt of only four hundred thousand dollars as the result of that over-appropriation of a million and a quarter, showing that, by the economies practiced and by the cutting out of work

originally planned for in the budget, eight hundred thousand dollars have been saved during the current year.

"I have indicated that our difficult work lies in so distributing our expenditures as to bring them within our income. The most difficult thing we have to contend with in that connection is this: there are individuals and organizations of individuals, associations and clubs in Chicago, all with large power and influence, who are particularly interested, each in some particular branch of municipal expenditure. One may be interested in securing a larger appropriation in order that more work may be done in the suppression of smoke; another in getting an appropriation for small parks and play grounds or for city forestry; still another in getting a larger appropriation for some particular branch of the medical service. There is hardly a branch of municipal activity that does not appeal particularly to some class of individuals. Each desires to secure as large an appropriation as possible for the line of work in which it is particularly interested and the efforts of these different organizations having different ends in view focus upon the finance committee.

"Now I want to call the attention of this Club and of all interested in particular branches of city administration, to this very patent fact, that before you can intelligently decide that there should be a larger appropriation allowed for smoke abatement, for small parks, for the board of local improvements, for the health department, for the police department, or for whatever department you may be particularly interested in, you must take a general survey of the whole field of municipal effort, because, when we have so cut our estimates as to get them within our income, every dollar which you insist upon having added to any one department must, of necessity, be taken from some other department. That is the difficult feature of budget making in Chicago.

"I can say for the finance committee, that it is alive to the merits and to the necessities of all the work done in all the departments of the city government, but it is face to face with a condition. It has the knowledge of what the income

is and what can be allowed and only the question of a proper distribution of the funds between the various departments of municipal activity rests with it. And while it may not be able to meet the desires of those interested in a particular line of work, it at least will make

an honest (and I hope an intelligent) effort to divide the limited resources of Chicago this year in such a manner as to give at least a fair support (and all the support possible) to all branches of the service." (Applause.)

SCOPE AND CHARACTER OF THE EXAMINATION FOR SUPERINTENDENT OF STREETS

The civil service examination for street superintendent, the main facts with regard to which have been reviewed in numbers five to seven of this volume of the Bulletin, was held on the 7th to 9th instant and was taken by fifty-eight candidates, fifty-one of whom completed the test. Partly as a result of the publicity which the City Club had given the examination, of these fifty-eight candidates about seventeen were non-residents, and although the names of the candidates have, as a matter of policy, been withheld by the commission, it is known that, among these non-residents, were several men of exceptionally high professional standing.

The examination was broad in scope, consisting of tests on experience and on "special subject"—each weighted at forty per cent—and on mathematics and English—weighted together at twenty per cent. The experience test was very thorough, comprising about forty questions on general, technical and administrative training, on experience in the handling of men, the awarding of contracts and the expenditure of money, and on practical familiarity with such problems as those of garbage disposal, street cleaning and street maintenance.

The examination on "special subject" involved questions on local government, on the problems of street cleaning, street maintenance and garbage disposal, on technical information and on administrative problems, these being weighted respectively at two, twelve, six and twenty per cent of the whole examination. The propriety of questions on local government in an examination participated in by outsid-

ers is somewhat open to doubt, especially where those questions have little or no bearing on the capacity of the candidates to fill the position for which the examination is held, but in the present case the matter is probably not vital, as the weight assigned to the test on local information was small—only two per cent.

To test their acquaintance with the problems confronting the street superintendent, the candidates were asked to write three short papers, one on garbage disposal, another on street cleaning and a third on street maintenance and repair. Under each of these heads, each candidate was given his choice of three questions upon which to write, in order that he might have an opportunity to discuss the situation most familiar to him.

Probably the most distinctive feature of the examination was the oral test on administrative problems, conducted by a board consisting of Mr. John W. Alvord, Mr. Edgar B. Tolman and Mr. Joseph Downey. A stenographic report was made of all answers to the questions of the examining board. Questions were asked on methods of increasing the efficiency and zeal of subordinates, on procedure in the handling of an emergency situation, such as a heavy fall of snow, and on improving the organization and methods of a bureau of streets. A successful showing before the examining board depended very largely on the ability of the candidates to understand a situation quickly and to make an unhesitating, yet sound, decision with regard to it. In this way qualities of decisiveness, mental alertness and ability to comprehend and act

upon situations, qualities of which the written examination could offer no adequate test, could be ascertained. The oral examination can be made a very useful part of examinations such as that for the street superintendency, provided it is in the hands of an efficient and reliable board and is used conservatively. In the case under discussion, the oral examination seems to have been in thoroughly competent hands and may be expected to yield good results.

The grading of the papers will require considerable time and announcement of the result of the examination will, therefore, of necessity be delayed. On the answers to the technical questions alone, there are twenty-two hundred pages of manuscript. It will require the services of five different boards in addition to a part of the office force of the Civil Service Commis-

sion to complete the grading of the papers.

One comparison suggests itself between this examination and that held last summer for the position of librarian of the Chicago Public Library. Both examinations were open to non-residents, but in the case of the selection of the public librarian the candidates were not required to come to Chicago. This had certain obvious advantages, designed to attract a high class of competitors; namely, the examination was made more in keeping with the professional tradition of "the office seeking the man," and also the possibility of any stigma attaching to failure was practically removed. The question arises (in this connection) as to whether this arrangement might not be extended advantageously to cover examinations for other high positions, such, for instance, as that of the street superintendent.

HOUSING INVESTIGATION OF THE BRITISH BOARD OF TRADE

At the invitation of the Committee on Housing Conditions, about fifty members of the City Club gathered at the Club at an informal dinner on the evening of Wednesday, December 8. Mr. J. R. Cahill and Mr. J. P. Street of England, who were the guests of honor for the occasion, spoke upon their three years' investigation for the British Board of Trade into the housing conditions of various European countries and of America.

Previous to the main addresses of the evening, Mr. Charles B. Ball, Chief Sanitary Inspector, responded to an invitation to speak, after which Professor James H. Tufts, in a brief way, presented the results of his inquiry last summer into the housing conditions of Illinois cities, outside of Chicago. A very comprehensive and suggestive series of photographs, illustrating the conditions found to exist in these cities, was placed upon the wall, where they might be inspected by the guests. Professor Tufts indicated that very unsatisfactory housing

conditions existed in some sections of these cities, through lack of drainage facilities, crowding together of houses and failure to provide sufficient light and air in the construction of buildings.

Health Commissioner W. A. Evans, speaking upon the relation of housing conditions to health, emphasized particularly the relation of defective housing arrangements to tuberculosis. Referring to the new city plan, he said that more attention should have been paid to the housing conditions of the working people; that well-arranged and well-kept parks, boulevards and public buildings could not obliterate from the mind of the visitor the sight of the wretched dwellings in South Chicago along the lines of the Pennsylvania Railroad and in other sections of the city along the Alton and the Northwestern railroads. In closing, Dr. Evans called attention to the fact that although Chicago housing conditions are bad, they are not so bad as in many other cities where the more substantial

construction of the buildings makes change difficult, if not impossible. Chicago's hope is in the temporary character of its housing arrangements.

Mr. J. R. Cahill outlined the scope of the investigation of the British Board of Trade into the cost of living in various countries. This investigation, which covered England, Germany, France, Belgium and lastly the United States, where, after a study of some thirty cities, it is now being concluded, consisted for the most part in the following out of three lines of inquiry, one into comparative wage rates, another into rents and housing conditions, and a third into the cost of the principal commodities. Mr. Cahill's remarks dealt primarily with that part of the inquiry relating to housing conditions. In England, he said, the prevailing type of workman's dwelling, outside of London—where the tenement system had made great inroads—was a four or five room cottage with a small yard in front and a garden in the rear. In Germany the typical workman's dwelling is a three or four room flat. In France it is a two or three room flat or cottage, the rooms being rather large, while the single room tenement is very common in many cities.

Mr. Street said that the common statement that the German cities have no slums is quite untrue, although this might appear to be true to the casual visitor whose observations are necessarily superficial. He pictured the characteristic barrack flats of Berlin, inclosing a narrow court, which is poorly ventilated and insufficient in size to provide a place for the children to play. He spoke, however, of

certain admirably planned groups of model flats which have recently been erected in Berlin and elsewhere by volunteer associations. He also gave some time to a discussion of co-operative housing schemes in England, a notable example being that of the so-called Garden City, where the tenants hold shares and receive dividends upon the rents they pay and which is a model town from the point of view of both health and beauty.

Mr. Street, in speaking of the housing experiments undertaken by certain English municipalities, referred to one city which has built some five hundred cottages for rental to workmen at as low a figure as fifty cents per week and which contemplates the building of about five hundred more. The low rental has been fixed to meet the demands of an unskilled, poorly paid class of labor which cannot afford high-priced housing facilities. This class has been most consistently neglected in municipal housing schemes merely because the higher paid, skilled workmen have alone been able to stand the expense.

In closing, Mr. Street called attention to the lodging house regulations of England, under which the keeper of each lodging house is required to take out a license. This allows a very close supervision of lodging houses and helps to prevent evasions of the law. Mr. Street suggested the adoption of such a measure as a means of controlling conditions such as are to be found in South Chicago, where there are sometimes many beds in a single room, kept warm by successive relays of lodgers.

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THE BUDGET OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

At a long-table luncheon of the City Club, on Saturday, the 18th instant, the series of talks on the budget estimates of the various city departments was inaugurated with a discussion of the needs of the Department of Health. Those who took part in this discussion were Professor William E. Watt, Principal of the Graham School at Union Avenue and Forty-fifth street, Doctor Augustus L. Craig, Medical Director of the Old Colony Life Insurance Company, Professor Edward S. Ames, of the University of Chicago, Doctor Theodore B. Sachs, of the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute and Doctor William A. Evans, Commissioner of Health for the city of Chicago. Dr. Henry B. Favill presided.

During the open discussion, following the main addresses, the Civic Secretary of the Club, Mr. George E. Hooker, took occasion to state somewhat more carefully than had been done before the scope and purpose of the series of budget talks inaugurated by the Club.

Mr. George E. Hooker

"In this course of budget discussions which we are having, it is not our purpose, I think, to undertake to pass upon the sufficiency or the insufficiency of the proposed estimates for the next year, or upon the wisdom, the honesty or the good judgment displayed in the expenditures of the last or of any preceding year. These meetings should not in any sense be interpreted as undertaking to pass upon those questions. They are intended primarily as an opportunity—a platform, as it were—for a statement of the various city departments of the work they are doing, their needs, and the resources for which they are asking. They are to

attract public attention to the importance of these subjects. They do not undertake and should not be interpreted, by the press or by anyone else, as undertaking to duplicate the work which is already being done by an official body in respect to the city administration as a whole." (Applause.)

Doctor Favill introduced as the first speaker Professor William E. Watt of the Graham School.

Professor William E. Watt

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: The main things that we teach in the schools are 'readin,' 'ritin' and 'rithmetic,' the 'three R's.' There is another 'R' that ought to be taught that is worth more than the three we are teaching today and that is 'righteousness' or right conduct. And there is still another 'R' which is of more importance even than the teaching of righteousness or morality or ethical virtue, but to which even the schools are antagonistic. I refer to the 'R' which the doctors know as 'resistance,' *physical* resistance. It is more important that physical resistance be taught to all the pupils of every school than that righteousness or the 'three R's' should be taught them. What is the use of teaching righteousness when there are so many funeral processions going down our streets unnecessarily, taking short coffins to the cemetery? What is the use of teaching righteousness if the child is not going to live to use it? What is the use of teaching the 'three R's' if his crippled body is to be laid away as a useless thing before the time for that body to come to its fruition of usefulness?

"I want to say to you that this matter of imparting resistance to the school chil-

dren is of so much greater importance than the other things for which the schools exist, that it is almost a shame for me to stand before you and say that the city of Chicago is to spend thirteen million dollars next year to build school houses that will be partly wrong; to put a course of study into effect that will be partly wrong; and to have teachers working under circumstances that are very wrong. All these things for thirteen million dollars, when we know that they are wrong; yet it is but a mere bagatelle that is to go toward increasing the 'resistance' of the pupils and we are here today considering whether it is worth while to spend the money that the Department of Health is putting into the schools in the way of medical inspection. It is a ridiculous thing. (Applause.)

"I do not look on medical inspection, as I see it in my school, as inspection in the conventional sense, for inspection generally means a mere 'looking in' for medical purposes. The public has an idea that the medical inspection in the schools, which is given by the Health Department is of this superficial sort. This is not true. What we are getting in the schools is 'hygienic attention.'

"Day before yesterday, my nurse came into the office leading a little girl by the hand. The child's eyes were twitched out of shape and bleared; I doubt whether she had ever seen her mother. She knows the way to school and comes; she sees the book but never learns a lesson; she has eyes but she sees not. The nurse said, 'Mr. Watt, I am going to be absent today. I am going to see a doctor.' I told her that the doctor would soon be on hand, but she replied, 'No, I am going to the oculist. We must have these eyes attended to.' What would have happened to that child if it had not been for the nurse? She would have been put in a room along with the other children and the teacher would have taught her the regular curriculum. Not having the time to attend to her individually, she would have given her the regular course of study. What would that have done for the child? Nothing, but to make her miserable, to irritate her eyes, to make her worse than when she came in. The school would have ac-

tually been a curse to her. She would better have been in the street or playing in the alley at home, than to be treated as my teachers would have had to treat her under those circumstances. What the nurse did for that girl that day is worth more than what you pay one of my teachers for a whole year's work. She saved, perhaps, her life; she surely saved her future happiness.

"Yesterday, as I was going through the second grade of my school, I noticed the same nurse talking to another little girl. She said, 'You must put that on night and morning and you must keep at it. You must comb it out very carefully and don't come back to school until the last one is gone, because I won't have you around here in this school while you have those on you. It is not right.' What the nurse did for that girl in ten minutes was worth more for her than ten months of school-room instruction, especially while her scalp was feeling as it did when the nurse brought her out.

"My medical inspector, Dr. Schram, once went among the children in one of the school rooms and commented upon them something like this: 'This is a great child to learn.' 'This child is very bright.' 'This girl is ordinary.' 'This one you haven't pounded one word into since you got him here.' The teacher, much surprised, said, 'That is right, but how did you find it out?' He said, 'I looked first to see if the nose was clean; a child with a running nostril is handicapped, he cannot learn. I looked next to see if his throat was clean; if his throat is nasty with germs, he cannot learn. I looked then to see if the glands were swollen; if I find them swollen, I know that that child is handicapped. You cannot expect a child with a bad nose and throat and with swollen glands to learn easily; you cannot teach him; he is unteachable.' And he was right. Bad health is not the only thing that makes children unteachable but it is one of the things.

"What is Chicago doing for those three things, bad nose, bad throat and swollen glands? The bad nose can be cured in a few weeks by open air. Fresh air will cure that nose; fresh air will cure that throat; fresh air and proper feeding will cure those swollen glands. In two rooms we are violating the rules

in order to treat the children in the open air. I am liable to be called on the carpet for violation of the rules down there and also for opening my mouth here but I want to lose my job in this cause if I can. (Laughter and applause.)

"What are you doing in Chicago to cure these children? Not a thing! You merely give them a course of study and force the teachers to stay in heated rooms and jam that course of study into them. It is a shame, a damnable shame." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN FAVILL: "I did not overstate it, did I? (Laughter.) It is not so remarkable as it is interesting to note the attitude which has developed among the life insurance companies in the last few months (it hardly runs into years) upon this subject of the maintenance of public health, prolongation of life and all the allied subjects. I am going to introduce to you, Doctor Craig, Medical Director of the Old Colony Life Insurance Company, and ask for his views upon this proposition." (Applause.)

Dr. Augustus L. Craig

"Health is the greatest asset financially and commercially which either an individual or a community can possess. The greatest of our national resources is the health of our workers.

"Life insurance companies are interested in the maintenance of a high standard of health and the prolongation of the life of the insured. Insurance companies are not concerned about the death rate of those above sixty years of age. That rate is probably a fixed one for long years to come but not so with the mortality of those of tender years. A baby today has in prospect a much longer average lifetime than did the baby of even one generation ago, but a man or woman of sixty years of age has in prospect an average after life time no greater than formerly. The dangers to which children are subject have in a measure been removed or controlled, while on the other hand the death rates from diabetes, heart disease and Bright's disease have perhaps doubled in the last thirty years.

"Industrial insurance companies are especially interested in the lives of the young, as they insure them by the hun-

dreds of thousands. A longer tenure of life means a larger contribution to the company carrying the risk.

"From the Chicago Health Bulletin of August, 1908, I quote the following relative to the work of the Department of Health of this city in protecting the lives of the young: 'The systematic efforts to save the lives of the babies of Chicago were begun by the Department of Health in the year 1895. During the previous twelve years there had been 67,932 deaths of infants under one year of age, or more than six out of one thousand living at all ages. In the twelve years that measures have been actively prosecuted to stay this enormous slaughter of the innocents, the death rate has been practically cut in two from 6.13 to 3.18 per thousand of the total population. If the death rate of the earlier period had prevailed during the last twelve years there would have been, with the increased population, 130,733 deaths instead of the 67,717 that did occur. In other words, the lives of 63,016 babies have been saved in the twelve year period in which measures to safeguard the babies' health have been actively carried out.' The chief agencies that have operated in the reduction of Chicago's infant mortality are the education of the mother, open air sanitariums for babies and an improved milk and water supply. The Health Department under the efficient management of the best equipped and most active health officer the Chicago Health Department has ever had, has effected a remarkable decrease in infant mortality in the last year, notwithstanding the long continued high temperature of the summer just past.

"Legal Reserve Companies and Fraternal Beneficiary Societies pay out millions yearly on account of policies matured by tuberculosis. In the year 1908 the fraternal beneficiary orders paid out the enormous sum of \$75,000,000 on eight thousand lives sacrificed to tuberculosis. These orders, awake to the fact that tuberculosis is preventable and curable, are establishing sanitariums for the outdoor treatment of the disease and have also started a campaign of education in the society apers.

"Pneumonia is a close second to tu-

bercuclosis in the list of preventable diseases that mature the policy of the adult, with typhoid fever next in line. The causes contributing to deaths by pneumonia, typhoid fever and some other adult's diseases, as well as children's diseases, and their preventability are not so well understood and appreciated as in case of tuberculosis. Industrial insurance is hard hit by the losses entailed by deaths, due largely to the entirely preventable, or at least postponable, and in a large measure controllable children's diseases such as scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles and whooping cough.

"Health is wealth" and no city budget should be more liberally supplied with funds or those funds more unstintingly but judiciously disbursed than that of the Health Department. The best possible investment the city of Chicago can make is to liberally endow its Health Department and to co-operate with its alert and efficient health officer. It takes money—and lots of it—to provide pure water, pure food and pure air. The inspection of the schools and the maintenance of an effectual quarantine costs money but the returns are of incalculable value.

"It is estimated that there are always 3,000,000 persons in the United States on the sick list, of whom about 1,000,000 are in the working period of life. About three quarters of these are actually workers and must lose in the aggregate more than \$500,000,000 in wages and an additional \$500,000,000 as the direct expense incident to their sickness, one half of which is preventable. It is further estimated that the annual mortality cost which is preventable fully equals \$1,000,000,000. The annual cost of preventable deaths in the city of Chicago alone runs up into the millions of dollars. There is only one way to meet and reduce the present mortality, and that is through the financial and moral support of every well-meaning, intelligent citizen. The city needs thoroughly equipped sanitary officers, men who are specialists in their profession. They should be so compensated that their entire time and attention can be unrestrictedly devoted to the interests of public health.

"As an abstract proposition, life insurance companies of whatever kind are in-

terested in any plan or movement that has for its object the improvement of health conditions and the prolongation of life. A man's energy is his best asset and its full value depends on his health and length of years. If this be true, the potential strength of the nation is lost to a large degree by the needless waste of countless years by the early and preventable deaths of babies and of the young and middle aged.

"Every influential agent, wherever he may be found, in Chicago or elsewhere, should contribute his vote, his money and in every way his hearty co-operation to bring about such a condition of things that age and not disease shall be the determining factor in the matter of our demise. A campaign of education and control is most promising. At the same time it was never more needed than now." (Applause.)

Professor Edward S. Ames of the University of Chicago, spoke with special reference to the attitude of the churches on questions of public health.

Professor Edward S. Ames

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Club: It is greatly appreciated by me, as a representative of the ministers and the churches in the city, that we should be taken seriously at all in so practical a matter as the formation of the city budget and its administration. I think it might be said with reference to churches, as well as with reference to the schools, that a practical interest in such matters as are here represented, is a recent affair. And yet I can assure you very heartily that, so far as my observation goes in the past ten years in practical church work in this city, there is an ever increasing tendency to support such movements as are represented by our Department of Health and the practical problems it undertakes.

"In the first place, the church feels itself increasingly bound to become more practical and more humanitarian and it finds in these matters of physical health a real sphere for its interest and its activity. It realizes that while it is important to have a beautiful city and to have streets well paved, that it is also the first of all essentials to have healthy and hap-

py people in the streets and in the homes of the city.

"In the second place, it is more and more apparent to this group of institutions in our city that these high ideals of a new order of society must effect themselves upon a scientific basis, as well as upon a basis of optimism and faith; and, therefore, the churches, I think, increasingly are disposed to feel that they should not simply resign themselves to the operation of disease under the impression that it is the way in which Providence necessarily operates, but that, in quite a contrary way, they should conceive themselves as the agencies of Providence to regulate and reduce and obliterate disease.

"In the third place, we are feeling that it is the business of the religious forces to operate in practical ways with the agencies of the municipality and to realize that while we relate ourselves to ideal kingdoms, we must also know how to operate in the immediate practical kingdoms that are here upon the earth. Consequently, we appreciate increasingly the work of sincere and efficient public officials, and regard them as representatives of an ideal order in the community, quite aside from party lines and from limited sectarian interests.

"In my observations of church meetings in this city, they have never been more interested nor more alert than when our Commissioner of Health has come to address them with reference to ways and means by which the public can become efficient in the defense of itself, particularly against contagious diseases.

"This growing appreciation of practical matters is ready to be supported also by rather efficient and practical agencies. It is sometimes true that ministers are rather put to it to find subjects to preach about, and practical—yet very humane and ideal—interests like this furnish the best of material. The church press is another efficient educational agency. I once asked the publisher of one hundred and fifty monthly church papers, which go into one hundred thousand homes in this city, whether matter relating to the interests of public health would be welcome in the columns of his papers. He answered, 'Most certainly.

It is particularly that kind of material which we are seeking to have included in our publications.'

"I take these things as evidence of the fact that, so far as the church constituency is concerned, it would most heartily support a more ample appropriation than that indicated for the work of the Department of Health under its present administration." (Applause.)

The chairman next introduced Doctor Theodore B. Sachs of the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute.

Dr. Theodore B. Sachs

"The tuberculosis problem of Chicago is a problem of large dimensions. In the first place, it is large in the number of deaths the disease produces. In the twelve months from December 1, 1908, to December 1, 1909, the lives of 3,839 men, women and children were sacrificed to this disease. A large proportion of this unnecessary sacrifice occurred in the most productive periods of human life, the period between twenty and forty years of age.

"The problem is large, in the second place, because of the ever-present existence in our midst of an army of from twelve to fifteen thousand tuberculous sufferers, in whom the disease is in the open, transmissible stage (chiefly by means of sputa). These persons will continue to serve as carriers of infection in homes, working places, public buildings, conveyances and other places, unless dealt with in a comprehensive, efficient and humane way.

"In the third place, the problem is large because of the presence of a similar army of tens of thousands of men, women and children, infected in the surroundings above mentioned but still in the non-active, not transmissible stage, which, nevertheless, impairs their general resistance, their working capacity and their chances of life. From this large army, thousands of recruits are added yearly to the first class—the so-called carriers of infection.

"Lastly, the problem is large because of its dependence upon social and economic conditions in general, upon the food and milk supply, upon conditions and methods in the public school system, upon the

hygiene of working places, of public conveyances and homes, and upon the communal and individual standards of hygiene.

"Thirty-eight hundred lives unnecessarily sacrificed to tuberculosis! This can be done away with only by giving the City Health Department all the necessary machinery and money to combat the disease in a comprehensive and systematic way. During the last two years, the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute, a private organization of enthusiastic men and women, have worked hand in hand with the City Health Department, in order to make headway against the white plague in Chicago. The Christmas Stamp and individual contributions furnish the necessary funds. Every one here should see that this year should be the banner year of these stamp sales. Every stamp is a bullet against tuberculosis. Every stamp is so much more justice and kindness to the tuberculosis sufferer.

"What the City Health Department has done during the last two years in the fight against tuberculosis, it has done because of the personality and enthusiasm of its workers and regardless of the lack of funds; this is applicable also to the Department's fight against every contagious disease in Chicago. New York, with a population not twice as large as Chicago, has eight times as much money to maintain a proper standard of community health.

"The present city administration did well by appointing the committee of public spirited physicians, which suggested Doctor Evans for the position of Commissioner of Health. Doctor Evans was called to an office that needed a man thoroughly conversant with the health problems of this city—one of great capacity as a fighter (when it is necessary to fight). Doctor Evans is such a man and so it is with a number of his co-workers, able, trained enthusiastic men, who render great service to the community, though they are greatly underpaid for their work.

"The City Health Department has waged an unrelenting campaign against so-called 'impure air' diseases (tuberculosis, pneumonia, bronchitis). Lectures given before all kinds of organizations had to be given outside of working hours,

thus adding to an already heavy burden. The same kind of campaign was waged systematically through the Bulletin of the Department of Health, through newspapers and through other agencies of publicity. The department pressed the agitation for better ventilation of homes, public places, and public conveyances. An agitation, with plenty of fight in it, developed in unexpected quarters, in the case of the unwillingness of the people of Austin to part with the ill-smelling, sputa-covered 'smokers'—and this from one of the most intelligent parts of this community. The great fight for a purer milk supply was largely the work of the Department of Health. The present Department of Health has introduced compulsory registration of all cases of tuberculosis and has also undertaken the disinfection of premises vacated by consumptives, through death or removal to other quarters. In the last twelve months 4,080 cases have been registered and 3,728 premises disinfected. Registration of tuberculosis cases and disinfection of premises are 'sine qua non' conditions to a successful campaign against tuberculosis. The arrest of 'spitters'—which ought to be more frequent and more exemplary in its effects—was another phase of the work of the Health Department. All this was supplemented by a constant, persistent, systematic campaign of public education.

"The Department of Health should have sufficient funds to cover the situation comprehensively—and this means it should have workers, able, well trained and well paid. We must achieve efficient control of every case of tuberculosis in this city, through hospital, dispensary, home and sanitarium care. Control of the situation would gradually result in the saving of thousands of lives and millions of money. The loss through tuberculosis last year amounted, in the estimate of the Department, to twenty-three million dollars. The time to create the necessary machinery for a comprehensive fight is, now when we are fortunate enough to have the best Department of Health Chicago ever had. We must give the Health Commissioner and the Department our full support. It is our duty." (Applause.)

Doctor W. A. Evans, Health Commis-

sioner of the city of Chicago was the last speaker.

Doctor W. A. Evans

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I want to thank you very sincerely for those references that are personal to myself; and I also want to thank you equally sincerely for the references that you have made to the helpful interest the head of the department has always had from those who constituted the department. In my judgment the head of the department has received too much of this credit; perhaps, because of the fact that he is more in the open and appears more frequently before the people. In consequence of that more frequent appearance, it is not possible for the people to understand the proportions in the case and to see how much of the credit due to the men who work in the department, regardless of hours of beginning or hours of ending, regardless of season of any sort or kind.

"I am sure that you are duly impressed with the fact that this health work means more to the people of Chicago than does the work of any other department of the city government. I am quite certain that, while you appreciate the fact that here and there a bridge may be needed, the neglect of bridge construction is far less harmful than the neglect of those preventable diseases that should be stamped out.

"The harm that comes from the present inadequacy of police and fire protection is far less than the harm that comes from the inadequacy of the efforts expended for the protection of the public health. The Health Department watches as many things as does the Police Department; it watches them as well and it does it for less than one tenth of the appropriation. The Police Department watches that which is on the street; the Health Department watches that which is within the home. The watching is on this account infinitely more difficult and yet it must all be done on an appropriation of about one tenth that which the Police Department receives.

"Last year consumption cost Chicago twenty-three million dollars and consumption is but one of a large group of diseases that is taking away human

beings at a time when they are needed by their families. That which a health department should stand for is the preservation of the life of an individual to a period when he will have matured his family and will have rounded out his days, so that his children, being grown, can take their proper places in society and discharge their maximum of usefulness. What a health department should at all times stand out against is the dissolution of the family by the death of the father at a time when his children must, by reason of his death, be scattered in asylums, amongst friends, or put to work when they should be at school. The best interests of the community demand that businesses should not be interrupted abruptly by death.

"When you look on that side of the picture, I want you to take cognizance of how insufficient are the forces that are fighting to overcome these agencies that are working for the harm of the community, how few and futile are the weapons that are at hand with which to combat them. But the situation is not so hopeless as it seems. The Health Department is not the only arm of offense or defense that the community has at its disposal. We recognize the support of the men in the schools and in the churches, in the insurance companies and in the medical profession. Through these agencies work is being accomplished which is out of all proportion to the work which the community is paying for through taxation.

"Now I am going to talk on three divisions of my subject. I am going to talk, first, of the history of the department from the financial standpoint; then of the budget for next year as compared with that for this year; and lastly of what the department could do if it had double its present appropriation.

"The first appropriation for the Department of Health was made in 1851 and amounted to two thousand dollars. In 1855, this had grown to thirty-four thousand dollars—which however included an item of twenty-five thousand dollars for the building of what is now the county hospital. That hospital was sustained for one year by the city, but as it was felt by some that it was rather the duty of the county to maintain the hos-

pital, it was later transferred to the county. The per capita cost of the Health Department in 1856, before the hospital was established, was twenty-two cents. The year after the hospital was established the per capita cost was 40.8 cents. The cost during 1909 has been twenty-five cents. Each individual in Chicago, therefore, was spending fifteen cents more for the Health Department in 1856 than he is at the present time.

"After the hospital was passed over to the county government, the appropriations gradually diminished, until, in 1861, the city appropriations for the Department of Health were 1.2 cents per capita. Perhaps you will remember that along in there we had a lot of cholera and the town came pretty near being wiped off the map, so the next year the appropriation jumped to eight cents per capita. In 1866 it rose to 10.5 cents, and in 1867, to 34.5 cents per capita. In 1874 the appropriation was \$91,000 or 23.2 cents per capita; in 1887 it was \$322,160 or forty-two cents per capita, the maximum amount in the eighties. The maximum amount in the nineties was in 1892 when there was an appropriation of \$566,740 or 46.4 cents per capita. Since 1902, the appropriations have run as follows: 11.7 cents, 11 cents, 11.6 cents, 15.7 cents, 16.1 cents, 27.8 cents, 28 cents, and 25.3 cents.

"I wish now to give you the figures for gross expenditures during the more recent years. You will understand that these figures do not refer to the amounts appropriated. Some years ago, it was the custom to appropriate a certain amount and to ask for more when necessary. In the last three years, it has been the custom to appropriate and turn back several hundred thousands of dollars unexpended. If we could find a way to spend the money of the department in such a way as to show a fair co-efficiency of return, with a possibility of continuity of effort rather than a sporadic outburst here and there, we have spent the money. If we could not do it, we have turned it back into the city coffers entirely regardless of whether it had been appropriated or not. The follow-

ing figures represent the gross expenditures in the more recent years:

1902.....	\$211,000
1903.....	206,000
1904.....	224,000
1905.....	311,000
1906.....	329,000
1907.....	585,000
1908.....	606,000
1909.....	562,000

"Of the appropriation of 1907, nearly four tenths had been spent by April 15th. I might say that this was largely by reason of an ostensible appropriation for the control of scarlet fever, but a great part of it was spent for the dissemination of political documents.

"Forty per cent of the \$585,000 expended in 1907 was spent in four months and sixty per cent in eight months. The total number of men carried on the payroll of the Health Department in the month of March, 1907, was 1,183. It was necessary, at the beginning of this term of service, to lay off the nurses and several hundred medical inspectors. We also cut down the force by laying off a considerable number of men who were neither nurses nor doctors. (Laughter.) By June, the staff had fallen to 406. The total number of men carried on the rolls of the department at the present time is 460.

"Comparing the \$585,000 spent in 1907, the \$606,000 spent in 1908 and the \$562,000 spent in 1909, a considerable part of the increase of our expenditures in 1908 was due to permanent improvements that were started in 1907. Of the \$48,000 for permanent improvements, \$42,000 was carried over from 1907 and only \$5,737 was from the original appropriation for 1908. The Health Department is now doing on a lesser sum of money many things, which in its earlier years it did not do at all. For instance, a diphtheria hospital with an average of 36,500 bed days per year is maintained. The school inspection service, the ambulance service and the nursing service are comparatively recent.

"The Department of Health, independently of the fact that it is also a protective agency, is something of a revenue producer. In 1907 the Department originated licenses of \$133,000, and in 1908 of \$136,005. The city collector is,

of course, entitled to a part of the credit of this return, but I believe that a fair adjustment would credit the Health Department with two-thirds of the effort put forth in connection with the securing of this revenue, and I believe that the one-third, which by this adjustment is assigned to the city collector, is infinitely fairer to him than to the Health Department. In this respect, therefore, the Health Department is a revenue producer and it, thereby, very considerably decreases its cost to the tax-payers.

"Again, during 1908, we were responsible for fines that amounted to \$22,088. Generally speaking, the credit for this can be properly divided between the Department of Health and the justice courts; but I think that, of the work that eventuates in these fines at least two-thirds is done by the Health Department, and that, in consequence, the Health Department is entitled to at least two-thirds of the credit. When these items are added together, we find that the Health Department annually returns to the people of this city nearly ten cents per capita. The expense to the tax-payer for the Health Department is, therefore, only about eighteen cents. This item of the direct productiveness of the Department of Health has been increasing with the years.

"As to the present budget, the city administration finds itself in a very embarrassing position. For the most part the taxes go to bodies other than the city and yet the city is more directly responsible to the people than is any other local governmental body. In consequence of this greater responsiveness to popular opinion, rectification of the errors which result from the complex conditions of society are sought most frequently at the hands of the city government. Thus gradually, bit by bit, the city government is being forced to take over the functions of the other local bodies. That means that there is necessity for the closest economy.

"I believe, gentlemen—and I believe it with every particle of sincerity in my nature—that the Health Department is being run as economically as any business in the city of Chicago, private or public. I believe that in the Health De-

partment every single dollar is buying as much of material and as much of service as anybody's dollar anywhere in the city of Chicago. When I went into the department I started out on the principle that a city's dollar is as good as anybody's dollar and is entitled to just as much of a return whether in materials or in labor. We have tried, all of us, to work together to that end, some in directing the energies of others, and others—the less conspicuous fellows who could contribute nothing else toward the common good—by staying there and working there and working their heads off, Sundays, holidays and all other times. They have done their share; in giving credit, do not forget those fellows. (Applause.)

"We were told that, as an absolute necessity of conditions, we must cut our appropriation for the next year ten per cent. We have tried to meet this request as best we could. We have tried primarily to cut all unnecessary duplications. Some duplication is rendered necessary by statutory requirement. We found that every death certificate was being copied twice, that is, that three copies of the death certificate were made. Nearly two years ago, we found a way to cut out one of these unnecessary copies. The state law demands this double duty by reason of the necessity for accuracy in death certificates, but it means a very expensive service. With the beginning of the year, we are going to make an effort to cut out that duplication by asking the undertaker and the doctor to send us two copies of the certificate, one of which will be sent to Washington for tabulation. The government, with this tabulation as a basis, will analyze the causes of death and send to us such analytical tables as we may want. One of the advantages of this procedure is that other cities may follow the custom, and thereby put the tabulation of deaths and, in consequence, the comparative study of the mortality rates in different cities on a basis of uniformity, thus doing away with the diverse methods and standards that prevail in this country at the present time. We are hoping by cutting out duplication in this bureau to save eight thousand dollars.

We have it so entered in the estimates for this year.

"There is an item of saving of \$17,500 in the contagious disease department. Now that we have the contagion under better control we ought to be able to hold it down. There has been less contagious disease in Chicago this year than the city has ever known—although, I dare say, you have seen more signs of it than ever. The amount of contagion is largely in inverse proportion to the number of signs you see. A fair part of this saving in the cost of controlling contagious diseases is to be in the cost of printing. By printing, I mean the printing of the circulars, dodgers and cards of instruction, we get out telling the people about contagion. We have found that these are not very productive, for the people who should read them, generally do not read them. Doctor Gerstenberg of Cleveland came to the conclusion that but one in six hundred of such dodgers is effective. We are organizing a publicity bureau which we hope will, in an organized way, get at the people with lectures, demonstrations and talks, rather than with these circulars. We hope to be able to do this more cheaply and at the same time more effectively than we have reached them through the circulars.

"We also expect to save about ten thousand dollars on hospitals. On public baths we are trying to economize to the extent of seven thousand dollars. We have been using firemen at these baths but the work—which consists for the most part in watching the stream of water, keeping it at the proper temperature and cleaning up the place—is properly janitor's work. We hope to save some money by replacing these firemen with janitors.

"In the Sanitary Bureau we have an item of saving of two thousand dollars. In my judgment, just as soon as Chicago is ready to expand its health service this is the bureau which it is most vital to the interests of Chicago to expand. We cannot, however, see our way clear to expand this bureau during 1910.

"We expect to save five thousand dollars in the laboratory by eliminating unnecessary duplication. By not sending out a written statement where a tele-

phone message, which seems to have been clearly understood, has been sent we can save about \$20 a week on postage—to say nothing of stationery, stenographers' services and the like.

"These economies, with a saving of \$5,787 in extraordinary expenses and of twelve thousand dollars in miscellaneous expenses make a total of sixty-five thousand dollars of savings. Comptroller Wilson dug out seven thousand dollars more but we managed to get back two thousand dollars and there we stand. Gentlemen, my honest opinion is that there is not going to be very much saving this year for this reason: Our estimates and appropriations in the past have been larger than our expenditures and at the end of the year we have turned back what we could not use. Now we are whittling our estimates down to a point where I do not think there will be a sou to turn back next December.

"I wish to take this opportunity to say a word concerning Doctor Frank W. Reilly, for whom we are today preparing an obituary number of the Health Bulletin. Dr. Drake has made a comparative average of what was accomplished in the fourteen years prior to Doctor Reilly's advent in the department and in the fourteen years since that time. He found that the saving in the deaths from contagious diseases, in infant mortality, in the deaths from impure water diseases—you know how closely Doctor Reilly's name was linked with the control of our water supply—and from impure food diseases was around sixty or seventy per cent. As compared with this saving the saving in impure air diseases was but five per cent. The great effort of this community for better water, better food and better control of contagious diseases, has returned sixty-five per cent, and has demonstrated its utility; but the necessity for and the probable value of a like effort to control the impure air diseases are also demonstrated by these figures.

"The New York Health Department, as has been indicated, gets about four and a half million dollars a year; about three and a half million dollars of which is in the form of a direct appropriation. Tenement house regulation is not a function of the New York Health Depart-

ment as it is here, where it is a part of the work of our Sanitary Bureau. In New York, there is a separate Tenement Department which receives \$800,000 a year. Moreover, the regulation of plumbing is outside the work of the New York Health Department, though here it is a part of our work. When, therefore, you are comparing the figures for the respective cities, you must add these items to our expenditures. New York has 4,200,000 people and we have 2,250,000, so you see that our Health Department is very much less expensive to the people of Chicago than the Health Department of New York City is to the people of New York.

"I would not claim that our Health Department is as efficient as that of New York. It is not. There are some things in which our department is more efficient than theirs and there are other things—and most of the things belong in this other group—in which their department is more efficient than ours, but the difference in the standards of these two departments is nothing like the difference in the amount of money that is appropriated for their respective use. The Chicago department has a territory of one hundred and ninety square miles to cover, whereas that of New York has, I believe, only ninety.

"To come to the question of salaries: There are many chief clerks in the city hall who are getting more money than bureau heads in the Department of Health. When we compare the salaries of the doctors in the Health Department with the salaries of the lawyers of the Law Department—well, we stop. (Laughter.) I do not mean to say that those lawyers are not earning their salaries; but I do mean to say that those fellows in the Health Department who get to work at seven o'clock in the morning, who are working there this Saturday afternoon when a large number of the people of this city are not working and who will be working there tomorrow, are not being paid what they should be paid. They are not being paid what men of lesser mental calibre, of lesser energy and lesser efficiency are being paid in other branches of the city government.

"What would we do if we had twice

our appropriation? There are many things we would do. First, we would have an engineer. We have come to the point where we must fight with the same kind of weapons that are used against us. We are fighting for better ventilation; but those who are against us have engineers with whom to fight us. We have no engineers to fight our side of the battle. What is the result? When the problem of ventilating the street cars came up, we could do nothing until we did engineer's work ourselves and figured our problem out from the engineering standpoint. Now we are face to face with the problem of improving the ventilation of school houses, hospitals, restaurants and bakeries all over this city. We have had to desert the health end of the work for the time being and to tackle the problem from the engineering end instead. We ought to have an engineering corps, because these problems of housing, which are becoming now the great problems, are essentially engineering problems.

"This year the New York Health Department asked for \$750,000 for new exploitation work; \$250,000 for consumption, \$250,000 for safeguarding the lives of the babies, \$250,000 for other purposes. \$250,000 could be well spent in a campaign against infant mortality. Our infant mortality is fifteen per one hundred thousand living. There are cities that do not claim to be more civilized than our city that have an infant mortality of only eight per cent. When it has been demonstrated that a civilized community can have as low an infant mortality of eight, when our own is as high as fifteen, we must look to our civilization; our community life is at fault.

"Last year, we spent something less than \$10,000 on this campaign for saving the babies. This year we are going to save more than five hundred babies under one year of age—that is about one twelfth of our infant death rate. We are going to save about eight per cent with an expenditure of \$10,000; New York wanted \$250,000 to spend for this purpose. If our appropriation were doubled, we ought to be able to save at least two thousand babies.

"It is not enough to say that the people whose babies die are pitifully igno-

rant. That is not enough. The duty of society cannot be said to stop at that point. To say that they are ignorant and dirty and careless, that they do not know what hygiene means for themselves, still less for their babies, does not end the question; it merely puts the question.

"So, if our appropriation were doubled we would spend some of the increase on our campaign for the babies. We would spend most of it, I think, on the control of 'bad air' diseases. The ten thousand deaths a year from 'bad air' diseases we accept with complacency; we believe we should be satisfied if we break even at this figure. Now, gentlemen, in the sight of Almighty God, it is not right to be contented to break even with ten thousand useless deaths a year. Think of that and then think where your Christianity comes in; think how your civilization and your government are succeeding. You cannot figure it in.

"These, gentlemen, are but a few of the things that press down upon the conscience of any man that has the responsibilities of my office on his shoulders. I hope that when you consider your relation toward these diseases in this community, while you give to every other factor its due, you will not forget that in yonder office is a group of men who are charged with responsibility for these conditions, who see clearly how they can be controlled, but who also see just as clearly that they are not being controlled. And, in considering the other factors that will go to determine your attitude on this question, give some little weight to the feelings of the fellow that has this matter on his conscience." (Applause.)

The meeting being thrown open for discussion, the chairman called upon Mr. Edward A. Filene of Boston, to express his views upon the matter under discussion.

MR. EDWARD A. FILENE: "As that address was being delivered, I was wondering how it is possible for men to oppose this work in the interest of the public health. With a cause like this, defeat and denial ought to be impossible. Over in Boston, we met with a great many disappointments of this sort and finally came to the conclusion that, however good a cause, however undeniable

the facts, they can be ignored and defeated by an appeal to religious, class or racial prejudice. These are the real enemies which we have to fight.

"If your Health Department is to get the backing it needs, it behooves you to get at those sources of power by which men prevent you from triumphing. The Health Department is dependent on the help of many outside forces—the commercial organizations and the churches and the citizens' associations—and on getting these forces together in support of the movement for the betterment of the public health. On this co-operative effort, you must base your hopes of ultimate success.

"Such organizations as the City Club, which bring men together, not as a class of rich or influential men or men of a certain religious or intellectual type, but men of all types, who have a conception of fundamental democracy, will not accept anything except victory." (Applause.)

Mr. George L. Wilson of the Rotary Club spoke with particular reference to the petition which that organization is circulating.

MR. GEORGE L. WILSON: "A while ago, the civic committee of the Rotary Club came to the conclusion that the reason the Health Department did not receive more recognition and support was, not that the people did not care, but that the people did not know. One of the fundamental ideas, as we understand it, of American government, is the right of petition or protest. We have noticed that many times a properly prepared petition will accomplish results. So a petition form was prepared and circulated, not, however, with any large hopes of doing anything on this year's budget except, perhaps, to maintain the entirely inadequate appropriation of last year, namely, \$606,000. In handling that petition, the surprising thing to me has been that there are many men who really hesitate to sign because they are afraid of higher taxes.

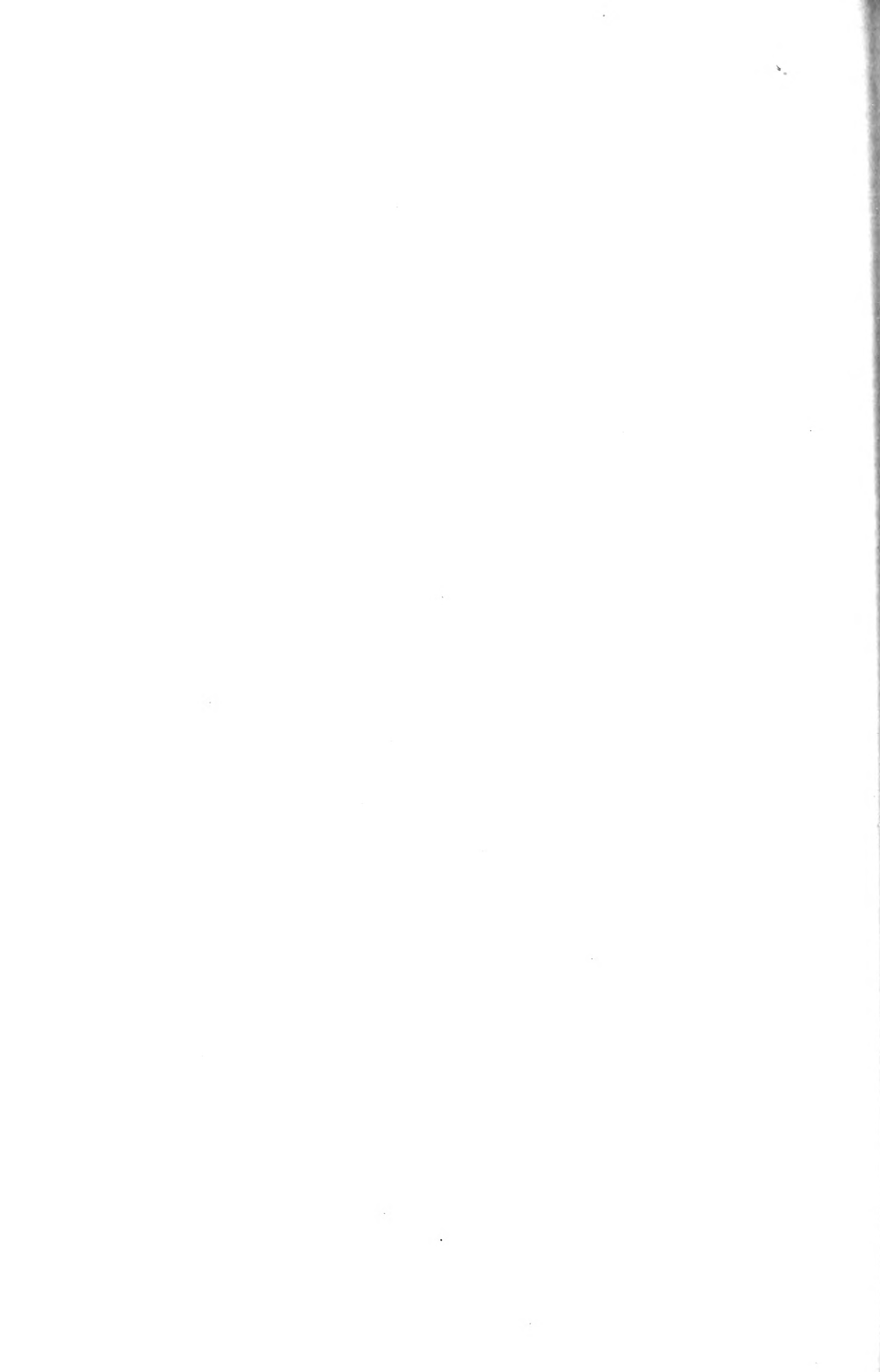
"This is not a contest for higher taxes. It is a demand for readjustment in expenditures. The city of Chicago has an appropriation for garbage collection and disposal almost as big as the total appropriation of the Health Department—

something like \$485,000. The records show that the cost per ton for garbage collection and disposal in the past year in the city of Chicago is almost double what it was in the city of Cleveland. It is possible also that there are other city departments where money is wasted in the same way. What is the matter with giving a part of that money that appears to be wasted to the Health Department, where it could be used to excellent advantage?

"At the city hall every other department than the Health Department has its special pleaders. The Police Department has the policemen's union. The Fire Department has the associated fire insurance interests of this city. Everywhere you will find these special plead-

ers, many of them thoroughly sincere, but others 'patriots for revenue only.' But the Health Department is made up of civil service men and it hasn't a friend on earth. There is nothing to hand out to anybody; there isn't a chance to 'shoot' anybody into a job; there is simply 'nothing doing' from the point of view of most of the men who are pushing these appropriations.

"Now, my question is, will you get up a petition for yourselves or will you work on ours? During this coming year let us demonstrate to the city administration that there are some people in Chicago who do care about the work that the Health Department is doing." (Applause.)



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THE BUDGET OF THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY

The third of the City Club budget discussions, which was held on Saturday, the 8th instant, was devoted to a consideration of the budget of the Chicago Public Library. Those who took part in the discussion were Mr. Henry E. Legler, the newly appointed librarian of the Chicago Public Library, Mr. Julius Stern, Dr. Graham Taylor and Mr. Frederick H. Rawson, members of the Library Board. The discussion afforded an opportunity for these officials of the Chicago Public Library to make a public statement of their plans for constructive reform in library methods and for vigorous extension work, through branch libraries and in co-operation with the public schools and other cultural agencies of the city.

Mr. Henry E. Legler, who spoke first, has held the position of city librarian only since last October. Previous to that time, he was secretary of the Wisconsin Free Library Commission, in which capacity he achieved notable success in the field of library extension. The civil service examination which brought him to Chicago—the character of which was suggested

in large part by the City Club committees on Education and on Civil Service, acting jointly—has received wide attention as a demonstration of the fact that civil service methods, if intelligently applied, constitute no bar to the selection of men of the high professional standing for positions in the public service. Since Mr. Legler's appointment, a comprehensive scheme of library improvement and extension has been worked out and the first steps have been taken toward making this scheme effective. Mr. Legler, in his remarks to the Club, directed most of his attention to an exposition of these plans and to a statement of the financial support which will be necessary if they are to be finally realized.

Professor George H. Mead, the chairman, in his introductory remarks, referred to the policies which are being inaugurated under the present administration of the library.

Professor George H. Mead

"During the last year, Chicago's public library, through its Board of Directors, has taken a distinct step in advance. This advance has consisted

in the introduction of better library methods and in the beginning of a well directed effort toward bringing the books and the resources of the library closer to the people, where they will be of the maximum service to the community. With these things especially in view, a librarian has been chosen who comes to us with a reputation already made for effectiveness in bringing the library, its books and its resources to those who need them. I have pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Legler, who will speak to us of the public library from the point of view of the city budget."

Mr. Henry E. Legler

"Preliminary to any scientific budget making, there must be a survey of the conditions prevailing in the various departments and an assembling of the data as to the revenues and the resources which determine the policies which are to be followed in meeting their respective needs.

"For the carrying out of any policy that shall have stability and permanence over a long series of years, there must be some degree of certainty as to the sums that will be available in successive budgets. This, unfortunately, is not altogether the case as it relates to the budget of the public library. Under the operation of the laws whereby the funds are provided for the maintenance of that institution, it becomes the duty of the library board to submit to the city council annually an estimate of the funds required for the following year.

"Were the library board to define its policies and its needs for the ensuing year and upon this basis to estimate the sum that could legitimately be expended during that period, it would submit a budget to the taxing body for which the available revenues would be entirely insufficient. Under the operation of the laws which affect the limitation of funds for the various purposes, each of the several taxing bodies, including the library board, is restricted to a certain percentage of the assessed valuation. There is, however, an aggregate, beyond which these various limitations, taken together,

cannot go and the sum total of the individual limitations is far in excess of the aggregate permitted. Consequently, when the estimates are submitted, there is a scaling down process, which reduces the various budgets to an amount which will come within the available revenues. The result is that the library board is compelled to ask for a sum very much in excess of that which it can expect to receive unless it is willing to allow its revenues to be scaled down below the amount which is absolutely necessary if the institution is to be properly maintained.

"To reduce this proposition to exact figures, the tax levy for 1909, collectable in 1910, included an original appropriation for library purposes of \$500,000. The reduction under the law, through the scaling method, as described, amounted to \$157,575, leaving a tax levy for library purposes of \$342,425, instead of the amount originally certified.

"Because of the fact that the various taxing bodies work independently of each other, it is necessary for all of them to enter into what might be very well termed a guessing contest. They secure the facts as to the present assessed valuation, estimate the possible additions to this during the ensuing year and, from this data, figure out a sum exactly equivalent to the percentage which they are allowed under the law, well realizing at the time that this will be ultimately scaled down to conform to the amount of revenue available.

"This process, of course, makes the various taxing bodies uncertain of the amounts which they are to be allowed to spend during the ensuing year. For instance, this year, had not one of these taxing bodies deviated from its usual course by asking for a sum very much less than that to which it was entitled under the law, the public library would have had about \$70,000 less to spend in 1910 than it had in 1909. The disarrangement of permanent and even of immediate policies, for which this uncertainty as to income is responsible, is not conducive to the best administrative results.

"The library budget amounts to

about \$340,000 a year. In proportion to a total budget of about \$55,000,000, this may seem trivial but it is of the greatest importance for the proper conduct of the institution. Out of every eight dollars collected from taxation the library secures approximately seven cents.

"So much for the finances. What, now, are the problems out of which must grow the policies of the library board, and which determine in what manner these funds shall be expended? The library, as, you know, is located very near the loop district, and the zones radiating from that institution, at intervals of a mile, show that some of the people who live in remote sections of Chicago, must come miles to the library, if they are to utilize its resources. North, the city extends a distance of about ten miles from the library; south, it extends sixteen miles; west, nine miles.

"Now, a library does not consist merely of a beautiful building and a large collection of books housed within it. Behind the books themselves, well chosen as they may be, must be skilled intelligence and organized service, which can bring the books in the institution to the point of their greatest effectiveness. All the people of the community, who can legitimately use the resources of the library, should be given ready access to the books. The easier the access is made, the greater will be the good which the institution is able to accomplish.

"The city of Chicago has a great and beautiful central library building, housing a collection of 325,000 books and one branch library, containing from eight to ten thousand volumes. Outside of these sources of distribution, the people have been compelled—until a short time ago, at least—to rely upon a most unsatisfactory system of call stations, distributed in drug stores and similar establishments, where the only custodians were the clerks and where the finding lists were the only means of selecting the books. As a matter of fact, twenty per cent of the requests of the people from various sections of this city for books from the central library were returned unfilled. The problem,

therefore, which has confronted the library board has been: How shall we establish in this immense area, which is included within the corporate limits of the city of Chicago, the distributing centers—either in the way of branches or of other auxiliary agencies—whereby the people may have closer access to the books and a wider choice in selecting them.

"The city of Chicago covers one hundred and ninety square miles of territory. The most populous city in the world, London, covers only one hundred and eighteen square miles. Most of the cities of this country have a very much more limited area than the city of Chicago. Brooklyn contains approximately seventy-seven square miles. Yet Brooklyn has twenty-three branch libraries in independent buildings and is now striving to reach the number of forty. Cleveland and Pittsburg, covering an area of about forty-five and thirty-six square miles respectively, are each provided with from seven to nine fully-appointed branch libraries. The larger cities of the country, ranging in area from twenty to fifty or sixty square miles are nearly all provided with branch libraries in proportion to the area covered and to the population to be served.

"One of the very important problems, therefore, which has confronted our library board has been to devise suitable means for securing branch libraries and in the meantime, to employ other agencies to serve in lieu of them. There has been included in the mayor's proposed bond issue the sum of one-quarter of a million dollars to provide four branch libraries in different sections of the city.

"If the bond issue is approved by the voters in April, it will, even with the greatest expedition that can be exercised in making that amount available and in securing the plans and organizing the libraries, be many months before the new branch libraries will be ready for use. In the meantime, it has seemed best to the board to devise other ways for taking the books in this great central reservoir to the people. It has made arrangements at this time and is planning for an extension of the

work in the future, to open circulating centers where in the past there have been only reading rooms, that is, in some of the small-park field-houses, in store buildings rented by the library, and in such institutions as, for instance, Abraham Lincoln Center, where the hospitality of a very fair share of the building has been offered to the library, rent free, with no cost for lighting, heating or janitor service, the condition being simply that there shall be installed a branch library, fully organized, with trained people in charge and a suitable collection of books upon the shelves. These steps are now in a very forward state and, within the next two months, we expect to have about fourteen of these distributing centers in various sections of the city.

"Another very important phase of library work is that done within the schools. I need not point out to you the importance of that work, especially in a city where there is a composite nationality even more pronounced than is to be found in almost any of the large cities of the country and where the young people who enter the schools are often compelled, by force of circumstances, to cut their education short and to rely, for their future intellectual development upon such resources as are afforded by the public library. The work in the public schools, therefore, becomes of primary importance.

"Unfortunately, for lack of financial resources and for other reasons, it has not been found possible, heretofore, in Chicago, to bring about any very close co-operation between the public library and the schools. The library board has now, however, authorized a beginning. Last year, in the city schools, the circulation of books was only six hundred. In New York, with the same appliances which are readily at hand here—except that New York has the books and we have not—the circulation of books through the same channel was six million. There is, however, a great responsiveness, not only among the principals and superintendents of the schools of this city, but even among the rank and file of the teachers, in co-operating with the

public library. The expressions of desire on their part to co-operate to any extent that may be found feasible and possible makes it certain that a system can be installed here that shall be as effective and as useful as those of Buffalo, of Milwaukee and of many other cities of this country. A beginning has been made by the installation of class room libraries. Small groups of books are supplied to the class room where the teacher serves as librarian and issues the books to the children for home circulation.

"This is only one of the many sources of activity which a library can undertake. Many people have an idea that only in its recreational features is a library of much value to the community. On the contrary, there are no elements in the community so remote or so detached from library influences as to fail to receive some benefit from the institution. Business men have found it possible to utilize the riches of a public library in material ways in their own concerns. The failure to create specialized libraries to serve the interests of certain groups of people has been the result of neglect and of lost opportunity on the part of the libraries themselves or else of the lack of means to pursue that specialized work.

"A significant instance of this I may cite in connection with the ordinance now pending before the city council creating a bureau of publicity for the purpose of assembling, for the use of the law-makers of the city, authoritative information, which shall serve as a basis for the enactment of ordinances and for the solution of the great civic problems which come before them. The question was asked: Is not the conduct of such a bureau a legitimate function of the public library? In my opinion, it certainly is, the only difficulty being that the library has already undertaken certain activities which it must carry on and that, for anything more than these, there must be provision in the way of the extra funds. The library, therefore, faces the unfortunate situation of being willing to undertake this work, of having the machinery already installed whereby it can be done on effective and serviceable lines, yet

of lacking the necessary means to undertake it.

"So, in many directions, the library can find channels of usefulness. One of its chief functions, of course, is to take the books to the people by means of branch libraries, school libraries, sub-branches, branches installed in schools and in mercantile and industrial establishments—such as have already been authorized in a number of instances by the library board. Where a mercantile or an industrial establishment, employing a large number of people, manifests its willingness to set aside a room or a suitable place for a collection of books and to appoint a custodian to take proper charge of them and to give them out to its employees for home circulation, the library has installed a deposit collection, which is changed at intervals so as to provide a constant circulation of new books for the people there employed.

"Within the limits of the time at my disposal, I can, of course, refer only incidentally to these things, but perhaps even this fragmentary and rambling account of some of the library activities carried on under the conditions that hedge us about here locally, may serve to indicate to you the very large place which the library must fill in the life of the people as a whole—in furthering civic development as well as in promoting the material and educational interests of the city." (Applause.)

Mr. Julius Stern of the library board spoke upon the expenditures required in the purchase of books.

Mr. Julius Stern

"The dissemination of reading matter is, of course, looked upon as the main function of the library, and the purchase of books, therefore, of all the items of library expense, is the most generally recognized and the best understood. But though the sums expended for the purchase of books are considerable, they do not make up one-half of the expenditures necessary in the work of providing and keeping intact the reading matter of the public. The preparation of the books for distribution, the continual repair necessary to

keep them in proper circulating condition, the re-binding, the cleaning, and the disinfection are items of considerable expense. In addition to these the salary list and the expense of housing and circulating the books, and of carrying them back and forth from the delivery stations to the central library are a very heavy drain upon the income of the library. Although the library owns its own building—and to this extent makes a very great saving—the constant wear and tear on the building and the cost of heating, ventilating and lighting partially make up for this saving.

"The necessity of providing the increasingly larger funds which must be had in order to carry out the plans of which Mr. Legler has just told you will no doubt bring about, at some future time, an increase in the taxing limit fixed by law—one mill on the dollar. In the charter, which was proposed but which unfortunately fell by the way-side, an attempt was made to increase our taxing limit from one to one and one-half mills. To my mind, it will undoubtedly be a matter of absolute necessity in the near future to make some provision of this sort for, otherwise, it will be impossible to secure the necessary material and the necessary care and labor which are involved in the handling of the books and in the carrying on of the work of the new branches.

"A few figures will indicate the expenses incurred in the purchase and preparation of reading material for the library. The cost of the books, the binding and re-binding—which is for the most part done under contract—the covering and the labeling of books, and work of other sorts done in our own repair department, form very heavy items of expense. The cost of the books and the binding of the periodicals and the newspapers in our newspaper room in 1907 amounted to forty-six thousand dollars, in 1908 to fifty-six thousand dollars, and in 1909, to sixty thousand dollars. The wear and tear upon the books is so great that there were rebound in the year 1907, twenty-seven thousand volumes; in 1908, thirty-five thousand volumes; and in 1909, forty

thousand volumes. In addition to this work—which is done under contract—there is a special repair department in the library, which attends to such matters as the mending of torn pages and the cleaning of soiled books. This repair work, in 1907, covered forty-eight thousand volumes; in 1908, forty-four thousand volumes; in 1909, forty-six thousand volumes. Sixty-six thousand volumes were labeled by our repair department in 1907; sixty thousand in 1908; some fifty odd thousand in 1909. This work involves careful supervision by highly trained persons and the expenditure of a large sum of money for salaries and other purposes.

"The salary roll for last year amounted to \$177,000 out of a total expenditure of \$287,000. That includes, of course, the cost of janitor service—which is a very considerable item—of our machinery and electrical departments and of the labor necessary to maintain our system of automobile deliveries. The balance of the \$287,000, beyond the amount which went for salaries, went for the purchase of books and for sundry expenses necessary for the proper maintenance of the library and its branches.

"Another item which, no doubt, ordinarily escapes public attention is the diminution of the number of volumes on the shelves of the library, due to the constant wear and tear. There were condemned as unusable in 1908-9, thirteen thousand volumes and in 1909-10 it is estimated that about sixteen thousand volumes will be so condemned. When these books are too badly damaged to be fit for circulation, they are carefully examined, condemned and finally turned over to such charitable and reformatory institutions as may apply for them.

"In view of all these considerations, gentlemen, it becomes quite patent that the resources of the library are even now severely taxed. It requires, on the part of the library board, the utmost care, circumspection and economy to make the income cover the expense and yet, in spite of all, the board has succeeded—especially within the last two years—in laying by a little money out of its income, for the purpose of raising

a fund for the establishment of another branch library. Since the establishment of the Blackstone Memorial branch library in Hyde Park, in a building presented by the widow of the late Mr. Blackstone, other portions of the city have been demanding similar facilities and a small sum has been carefully economized and laid away as the nucleus of a fund for the building of other branches. This amount together with the \$250,000 from the bond issue already alluded to will enable us probably to build five instead of four branch libraries in widely scattered sections of the city. But when those libraries are established, when they have to be stocked with additional books, the demands upon the board will be heavily increased. A body of citizens such as this, which has the interests of the city at heart, should bear this fact in mind so that, when the time comes for necessary legislation along those lines, there will be plenty of men scattered through the community who will work for it, earnestly and intelligently." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN MEAD: "We are all of us aware that the efficiency of municipal service is one of our great problems. We have lately had our attention called to the fact that an important means of securing greater efficiency among public employes is the classification and re-classification of our civil service. We have with us the chairman of the committee of the library board on branches and classification of the service, Doctor Graham Taylor, who will speak to us upon the re-classification of the employes in the library service."

Dr. Graham Taylor

"The Chicago public library affords the most encouraging example of the value of constructive criticism and of the co-operation between private and public individuals and agencies that we have in the city of Chicago. The Library Club began this constructive criticism and co-operative effort years ago. The Woman's Club and various other bodies of women put into effect some constructive work in the line of story telling, which was soon followed

by the response of the South Park commission offering us library rooms in the park houses; and that, in turn, by the Board of Education offering us the experimental use of two of the school buildings for branch library stations. Then the City Club Committee on Education, under the able leadership of the chairman of this meeting, produced some facts and figures which greatly strengthened the position of those of us who were entirely dissatisfied with the moribund condition in which our great public library had been allowed to lie for years and years.

"I will have to compress in four or five minutes the work of our committee on branches and re-classification of the service, which came to a successful and—I am very happy to say—a unanimous conclusion last Thursday in the adoption of the report on re-classification, which had been slowly and patiently worked out during the year.

"There are two hundred and thirty-four employes in the Chicago public library and one hundred and seventy-six of them are affected by this new classification. Their salaries amount to \$129,510. There are fifty-eight of the employes who are janitors, window washers, engineers and automobile chauffeurs, who are classified under the regular classification for similar work in the other city departments. Their salaries aggregate \$54,650. But the amount of money involved in their work, the heating and cleaning of that one library building, amounts to twenty per cent of the entire income of the library or to over \$50,000 a year. So you can see how very important the efficiency of these so-called subordinate employes may be.

"To conserve public interests and to safeguard the personal rights of old and valued employes has been a very delicate and difficult matter to adjust. Moreover, the nomenclature of our service, as indeed of our classification of books, was recognized by no library language or 'lingo.' The Dewey system has never been introduced into the library of Chicago and, consequently, we had to create an opinion that would warrant the conformity of our nomen-

clature to that of scientific library systems and regulations.

"The library staff had many holdovers, including the librarian. So we had an extremely difficult and delicate situation to manage. There were no recognized lines either of promotion or for the increase of salaries. The board had no standard of efficiency on which to judge the merits of requests for salary increases. Some time before the annual meetings, a scrub woman would come to one of us, a window washer to another and a door-keeper or a clerk to still a third and each of the members of the board would be asked to exert his influence toward having such employe's salary raised. This situation became absolutely intolerable to all of us, and I suppose that it had something to do with the interest and the energy which we put into pushing this re-classification scheme through.

"I want to say, however, that, having served under two administrations and having a rather wide-open eye for political interference, and an extremely resentful soul at any such thing, I have yet to discover any such interference with the liberty and the business efficiency of the entire library service, under either administration. The civil service commission of the city has been at all points very intelligent and cordially co-operative.

"We wish to raise the occupations of those in the library service to the grade of professions. We wish to change the helter-skelter method of rising in status and salary to some automatic method of promotion and compensation within grades, based on efficiency reports and upon a promotional examination from grade to grade.

"In brief, the classification of the library service includes divisions, classes and grades, ranging from the librarian and his assistant down to the page. Department heads are grouped under four grades: Grade A, including the order, cataloguing, registry, schools and training class departments; grade B, periodicals, publications, binding and evening service; grade C, circulation, reference and branches; grade D, stations. Senior assistants are those whose

duties involve accountability for the work of others or independent judgment in the execution of specialized or expert duties. Junior assistants are those whose duties do not involve initial responsibility, but require special training, skill, and individual responsibility. Advancement within these grades is annual and automatic, on the basis of seniority and efficiency. But entrance examinations to these grades are open to others than those already in the library service. The position of page, involving the performance of simple, routine duties, does not lead to the other grades, but the salary increases automatically and annually on the basis of seniority and efficiency. These consistent lines of progress supersede the merely commercial classification of the library service on the basis of the salaries received. The new system goes into effect on May 1st.

"Several new positions have just been created by the library board. There is to be a director of a training class for increasing the efficiency of the present staff and for promoting the eligibility of applicants for appointment under civil service. This training begins on the first day of February and we have the good fortune to secure Miss Faith Smith from the training schools of the Carnegie Library at Pittsburg to take charge of this work. The other positions are, first, a supervisor of the library work in the schools, who is to promote the use of library books by pupils and teachers, second, a supervisor of home education who is to have charge of traveling libraries, such as Mr. Legler sent into every hamlet of Wisconsin, and lastly, a supervisor of branches and an editor of publications.

"Let me say just one thing more. The civil service examination in the case of the librarian proved so successful that the state civil service commission followed the same procedure in the appointment of an executive secretary for the state commission of charities. Having served on the examining board for this place and also being very closely related to the city civil service as chairman of this committee on re-classification, I wish to say that, as far as

the civil service law was administered in these two instances, nothing could have been squarer or fairer or more effective in giving tests and in attesting worth." (Applause.)

Mr. Frederick H. Rawson closed the discussion with an appeal for the private endowment of branch libraries in the city.

Mr. Frederick H. Rawson

"I am sure that you will all agree with me, after listening to the addresses which have just been given, that the public library of Chicago is at last experiencing better days. As Mr. Legler has pointed out to you, our great problem now is the establishment of the branch libraries and the co-ordination of the work of the library with that of the public schools.

"This work is entirely a question of money. The city of New York has, I believe, eighty-four or eighty-five branch libraries and we have but one. We have been fortunate enough this year to save out of our current income between fifty and sixty thousand dollars which can and which soon will be used in the erection of a branch library, somewhere in the city. This is, of course, but a small beginning but we hope to have in addition to this the appropriation of \$250,000 for branch libraries out of the proposed bond issue, already referred to. We hope that this bond issue for the public library will be approved and we ask you, as a Club and as individuals, to do some electioneering for it.

"Besides public aid, another source of support is that of private contributions. The public library has had three considerable private contributions in the past. The Kelly Fund of two hundred thousand dollars, affords a substantial increase in the income of the library but this money must be invested and cannot, therefore, be used for building branch libraries. Besides the Kelly Fund, we have two other small funds, all three not totalling more than \$215,000 or \$220,000.

"The branch libraries will cost from \$50,000 to \$75,000. If we get one started, we hope it will be a nucleus for many others. Why do not men like

Mr. John S. Kennedy and Mr. Thomas Murdoch, whose bequests to charitable institutions have recently attracted so much public notice, leave their money to public institutions such as the library. In my judgment, it is because they are political institutions, belonging to the city or to the state, and, although this ought to be a sufficient safeguard, in these days when the efficiency of municipal administration is so frequently doubted, business men are cautious about investing their money where it may be squandered. I am glad to say that in this city there has been no effort on the part of the administration to interfere with our work. We have had its co-operation but no dictation. Under Mr. Legler, Doctor Taylor and Mr. Stern, your library is being efficiently managed. There is no reason why private individuals should not become interested in the branch libraries and be prevailed upon to provide for their assistance and support. These libraries could very appropriately be named after their donors.

"Institutions which secure money from private sources usually have an active board of directors which keeps in touch with men of means and keeps them informed as to the conditions within their institutions. At the Presbyterian Hospital, of which I am a director, we were able to show Mr. Murdoch what we were accomplishing, with the result that he has left us a sum which will probably aggregate \$500,000.

"You need not feel ashamed of the public library. Our books are nicely kept, they are properly audited and, if you will make an effort to see that the proper men are put in as trustees from year to year, there will be no doubt but that the money will go where it ought to go. My final word to you, gentlemen, is that, if you have any friends who are benevolently inclined, bring them to the library, let them inspect our system and urge them to assist in carrying forward this great work which has just begun to take its proper place in our municipal life." (Applause.)

THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN CHICAGO

On Monday, the 8th instant, Mr. Jacob A. Riis, of New York City, was the guest and speaker at a special luncheon of the City Club, his subject being the "Housing Problem in Chicago." Mr. Riis has for many years been identified with the fight for housing reform in New York City and has popularized the story of that campaign in a series of books, the better known of which are "The Battle with the Slum," "A Ten Years' War," "How the Other Half Lives," and an autobiography called, "The Making of an American." Mr. Riis' interest in housing conditions was an outgrowth of his experiences as police reporter on the New York Times and later on the Sun, in which positions he was brought into personal contact with life in the tenements. His interests being thus stimulated, he enlisted himself in the fight against the "slum" and through his newspaper and magazine contribu-

tions, his many books, and his personal effort he has been able to arouse public sentiment in favor of closer regulation of the living conditions in the tenements and has helped to secure the abolition of some of the worst of those conditions. Mr. Riis has taken active part in the agitation for small parks in the city of New York, in 1897 being made chairman of the Small Parks Commission of that city.

Doctor W. A. Evans, health commissioner of the city of Chicago, was chairman of the meeting at which Mr. Riis spoke. In his preliminary remarks, he referred to Mr. Riis as follows.

Doctor W. A. Evans

"My first impression of Mr. Riis was received from the reading of his book, 'The Making of an American.' It was that of a man who was fighting on in the hope that he would leave his

fellows somewhat happier and somewhat better for the effort that had been his. Our city has been entitled, 'A city half free and fighting on.' Here in Chicago we are faced with problems which demand the best fighting blood that is within us and we are glad, on this account, to have Mr. Riis tell us of our problems and of his own experience in meeting similar ones and to give us a word of advice concerning them.

"But besides your interest in the problems which Mr. Riis is to discuss, another interest has served to draw you here today; an interest in the man, apart from our problems and, perhaps, in some measure, apart from his own work; an interest in the man who has so richly deserved the tribute of President Roosevelt, 'America's best citizen.' I have the pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Jacob Riis."

Mr. Jacob A. Riis

"Gentlemen, I can say without the slightest exaggeration, that far greater pleasure is mine in being introduced by Doctor Evans, for nowhere in this whole broad land is there a bigger, better man at the head of the most important department that any municipality can have, than Doctor Evans. (Applause.) I wish I could say with the same assurance that the applause you give his name here was evidence that the whole city appreciates him at his real value, but it does not. When I say it does not appreciate him, I do not mean that the people are not glad to shake his hand and to approve of him. By appreciating a public man I mean backing him up—as I would like to back up Roosevelt every time I have the chance—without any question of any kind whatsoever, sight unseen.

"I want to say a word about another of your citizens, namely, Mrs. Emmons Blaine. It is good to be here in the city of Mrs. Blaine; I am proud that you number her among your public-spirited citizens. I have just looked over your beautiful city plan. It is splendid. I approve of it all the way through, but I subscribe to what Mrs. Emmons Blaine said about it—

that fine as it is, it ought to be Volume II. Volume I should be: 'The Housing of the People.' It is fine to have bridges, it is fine to have boulevards; but it is better still for your citizens to be safely housed. That is the fundamental problem, friends. Do not let us forget it. We cannot overlook the fact, which is set forth in the first sentence in your city plan, that city life is hereafter to be our way of living.

"If it is true that we are to live hereafter in cities, if all the talk about 'back to the soil' is a beautiful dream, then we shall have to find some way of living decently in our cities. We do not live safely and decently there now. Of course those who live in palaces have a good time wherever they are, but I am speaking now about the working people. In New York City, we have four and a half millions of population and over three millions of them live in tenement houses. These are the people I am talking about. They live in layers, practically as herring are packed in a barrel—only the herring have by far the better time of it, for they are dead, while the people are alive and suffer the discomfort.

"We took up the problem of how to deal with the situation that confronted us in our city, some twenty-five or thirty years ago. We really began to accomplish something less than ten years ago. In ten years, friends, partly by philanthropic enterprise, though to a very small degree, we have housed a million of our people in decent dwellings built under the new law. We have done so much in New York City that, today, when you speak the word 'slum,' from the very slum that was rise up voices in angry protest. That is the finest testimonial we could have that we have downed the slum and raised the people out of it. Understand, we have not solved our problem yet but we are wrestling with it.

"We have failed lamentably in one respect, in a respect in which you, too, have failed. We have failed to reduce the congestion in our tenement houses. We have let light and air into them, but the light shines upon far greater numbers of people than were

ever there before. That, in itself, is a tremendous peril. It is due, of course, to the fact of the increased cost of living, particularly to the high rent. The rents of Manhattan are far too high. It is a safe, economic maxim that no man can afford to pay more than one-fourth of his income for the roof over his head. The poor always pay higher rents in proportion than do the rich; the tenement house dweller in New York City pays from one-third to one-half of his income for his shelter. That, friends, is an impossible condition. No man can keep it up for very long without some additional source of income.

"How does the tenement dweller meet this condition? He does the only thing that can be done under the circumstances; he takes in lodgers and crowds his dwelling in order to add to the income from which he can pay his rent. So, with all our progress, the prime problem of reducing the congestion in the tenements is still unsolved; it is a great deal worse than it was in the beginning. We will have to find some way out of it. I am not enough of an economist to know just how to tackle the problem, but if it becomes necessary to adopt the socialistic plan of saying to the landlord: 'So much you shall make on your house and no more'—as in the past we said, 'So many people shall be in a given space (and afterwards reduced the standard of air space to suit conditions)—very well, the socialist is not to blame for it, but the landlord.

"This problem of congestion is one of Chicago's problems, too, and there is one aspect of it which, as it grows acute, you must take to heart. In my city we crowd one thousand people to the acre, but you cannot on that account say: 'Ah well, in Chicago our crowding is only three hundred to the acre; we are away behind New York.' Do not let the figures mislead you. When you crowd three or four hundred people to the acre, you are worse off than New York with a thousand, because your houses are smaller than ours; we build them up in the air. Don't let your optimistic statistics get away with you on that score, my friends.

"Twenty years ago, in a series of articles which I wrote for a newspaper in your town, I warned Chicago then that it was going exactly the way New York had gone; that your crowding problem was becoming involved in precisely the same way. You have kept faithfully to the course I laid down for you twenty years ago as the one you ought not to take.

"In twenty years your city has grown big and metropolitan; it has become a world city. How many of those who have come to you in that time are immigrants, who have to be taught how to live? The biggest part of them, I should say. You cannot dismiss the fact of their ignorance by saying that they are foreigners and do not know any better. *You* know better, and it is your business to see to it that they are taught better, or you should not have let them come in. You should not brag of the growth and size of your city, if you insist on letting your people in some quarters be herded together like swine. Mere growth is nothing to brag of, my friends, for the homes of the people, after all, are the cradles of good citizenship—or of bad. If civic virtue exists at all, it springs out of the people's homes and from no other place.

"I have read in one of your papers that your health commissioner warned you once that bad housing in Chicago kills more people than the contagious diseases you are afraid of. It is your own fault, friends, if you permit these conditions to exist as have existed in the past. What, exactly, is your situation here? Here are some of the facts that I have been able to gather about your situation.

"First, there are more houses crowded on the lots in your city than there used to be. I do not know whether your building law prescribes, as it does in New York, that no more than sixty-five per cent of an interior lot can be covered; the fact is that you crowd in all you can. Your houses are not big like ours (six or seven stories high), but they are jammed together on lots without the slightest reference to anything else than to whether or not you can find a few

more inches of space upon which you may put another post. That, friends, means mischief. How are you going to elevate the ideas of the Jews, the Bohemians, the Poles and the Irishmen that come in here, and make them good citizens, when you permit them to live in places like that?

"I am told that when you build a new school-house in this city, you sell the old houses that stand upon the lots. In New York we sell them too, but we sell them to be torn down; you sell them to be moved away and dumped on a vacant spot on some other lot, where the chances of those who already live upon that lot will be, by so much, reduced.

"You have more houses to the lot than ever before. Your rooms are more crowded than they used to be. This is true of New York also; but here—I understand—a factor enters in, which makes your situation particularly hard. Many of your tenements, I am told, are owned by persons who occupy the poorest flats in their houses and rent out the others. How are you to convince these people that the tenements which they rent are not good enough for their tenants, when they themselves are living in the cheapest flats in the place? They answer that the others are as well off or better off than themselves and that they ought to be satisfied. This situation develops wherever the poor tenant acquires an equity in the house. This sort of owner often turns out to be the worst of landlords. There was a time when tenement house property in New York was largely held by great estates and moneyed institutions, but we scared them out of it, and we hoped things would improve. It was made a shameful thing to own the old rookeries. But the change was not all we had hoped for. The tenant landlord of today who starts out with only a little equity in the house and gradually acquires more and more, often proves a harder landlord than the old ones were. We hoped for better things and did not get them. May you have better luck!

"It is said that statistics are of three kinds, white statistics, black statistics

and lying statistics. I am afraid it is a little stronger than that, but statistics are necessary; without them to start from you will never get anywhere. Here are several things your health department says you do not know and that you must know before you can set your own house in order:

"First, how many families in this city are living under bad conditions? How many of them live in filthy, bad, unfit houses and are developing a sort of citizenship that must inevitably degrade both you and your city? You do not know. Until you do know, what can you do? The City Homes Association, ten years ago, canvassed two or three small districts and ascertained the facts there. But you ought to know about every disease-breeding, ramshackle tenement house in the whole city and exactly what is the matter with it. This information ought to be in the possession of the health department, filed away in a special envelope, so that you can see whether or not the law has been enforced in each particular case. I know that the School of Civics and Philanthropy is conducting that kind of an investigation but you need in addition to this a census of your tenement houses, taken by the authorities of your city.

"Secondly, how many dark, unventilated halls are there? The question tells its own story; you can not answer it.

"Thirdly, how many rear tenement houses are hidden away at the bottom of blind alleys, without enough sunlight or air? When we made our first real investigation of tenement houses in New York, some fifteen years ago, under the splendid leadership of that man who has just passed away from among us and whom we shall long miss and mourn—Richard Watson Gilder—we ascertained that the infant death-rate, which is always the barometer of desperate sanitary conditions, was more than twice as big in the tenements which stood two houses to the lot as in those which stood alone, which had air in front of them and air behind them. The babies need sunlight and air; they can not get along without it. If you make

a baby live where you cannot raise a potato plant, you are going to have either a sickly baby or a dead baby, one of the two; and either of them, apart from the human sorrow and misery it causes, is a very expensive thing to any community.

"Fourth, how many families are there in one-room tenements? Albert Shaw in a book called 'Municipal Government in Continental Europe,' written years ago, tells of the investigation of housing conditions in the city of Berlin, made some twenty-four years ago. This investigation has always stood and always will stand as typical of what crowding means, where whole families are packed together in a single room. 'In 1885,' says Mr. Shaw, 'it was found that 73,000 persons in Berlin were living in the conditions of families occupying a single room in tenement houses; 382,000 were living in houses (I mean by 'house' the distinct apartments of a household) of two rooms; 432,000 occupied houses of three rooms; and 398,000 were quartered in the luxury of houses having at least four rooms.' And in that city of over thirteen hundred thousand souls, nearly half the entire number of deaths was among the 73,000 one-roomers. Their mortality was twenty-three times as high as that of those who lived in three room houses and thirty times as high as among the well-to-do in the four and five room houses. Those are the facts.

"All this, of course, is not to be laid to the single room alone. But when you find whole families packed in a single room, you are at the bottom of the social scale, with all that implies. You have the sickly, the under-fed and all that, and you also have the result. But a large share of the responsibility must go to the one room dwelling. That is the sort of a dwelling of which you, here in Chicago, know absolutely nothing as it applies to yourselves. You do not know how many families you have living in the city in that condition. Imagine contagious disease in that kind of surroundings. It does not stay where it is; it goes out and wanders about. It doesn't respect lines of boulevards or anything of that sort.

What burrows today in an humble shack on the west side, may tomorrow turn up on the north side in one of your fine palatial mansions.

"I have not forgotten an experience I had once when speaking before a joint committee of Congress about the nuisance of the blind alleys in Washington. The legislators were rather indifferent; they did not seem to care particularly about the matter. There was one senator with a close-shaven face who especially tried my patience until I told of Willow Tree Alley, which was right under the nose of the Capitol, and which had been a terrible breeding place for contagious diseases. I told him that I had noticed hanging across the alley numerous lines with little white squares of cloth upon them, and that, on inquiry, I had found that they were the towels from the Senate barber shop. At that my senator sat up suddenly and took notice. Then the contagious disease record came home to him. It is not always you can probe it in that way, but it comes that way, whether you see it or not.

"Here is another thing you know nothing about: How many dark rooms are there in your tenement houses? Let me tell you how many we have in New York. Of course, you understand that in New York City the tenement houses are built flat up against one another with a party wall between them and that, in the old times, all the middle rooms were dark. We invented a way of sinking an air shaft down the middle and thought it was fine until we found out that the air shaft did not bring down any appreciable quantity of light or air, but did bring up a mass of foul stench from below, and when a fire broke out in the middle of the night, it served as a chimney to bring up the flames. Then we did away with that 'improvement.'

"We have been twenty-five years at work over our problem down there. Two months ago, if I remember right, our last Tenement House Commissioner's report was printed and it told us that there are yet 300,000 such dark rooms, in which boys and girls are growing up into men and women, who will reflect into the civic life about

them the darkness in which they have lived. There were, I think, 107,000 rooms that were absolutely windowless—bed rooms, every one of them—and there were over 200,000 rooms that opened upon the airshafts, which I have just described. That is the situation which we have before us and which constitutes our problem.

"Are you ambitious to follow our lead in that respect? You know what it means. We have ten thousand deaths from tuberculosis in New York City every year, and fifty thousand people in the incipient stages of it, not to mention the one hundred thousand children who, we have been lately told, are going about with the seeds of tuberculosis already waiting to develop. Can't you see the connection between those dark rooms and those thousands dying, in our city, in the great metropolitan city of this Christian land? Are you going to perpetuate that sort of a thing in your town? If you are, friends, then Chicago is riding for a fall, and it deserves to.

"You do not know how many overcrowded bed rooms you have. You ought to have, as we have in New York, a staff of police officers, whose business it is to go out at night and rout the people out, count noses and measure the rooms, to see if the law is enforced or not. Even then, however, they cannot get all the facts. I have been with them on their excursions when, as soon as the report spread in the tenement house, that the midnight squad was there, the people went down the fire escapes and came up again after we had gone. But still we got an idea of what was going on in some of those flats.

"How many people live in damp cellars in your city and are a constant menace to your city and to its health? You do not know.

"When you know those things, friends, you will be on the up-grade. How are you to find them out? In the first place, you have a city that is growing healthy in this, that it is shaking off the grip of politics. It may be a slow process—it was with us—but it is coming about all the

same. There will come a time when there will be a man among you who can say, as Colonel Waring, who cleaned the streets of New York, said, 'I just put a man, instead of a voter, behind every broom.' The time will come when you will have men behind every broom and no longer voters amenable to politics and political leaders.

"Then you have a mobile public opinion. Then mobilize it! Make use of it! Such an organization as this ought to be able to make that public opinion effective, so that it should be felt from one end of your town to the other and should compel attention and, finally, action. Nobody is asking impossible things of you.

"Then you have a splendid, courageous health commissioner who is not afraid of anything. And your health commissioner has for his lieutenant a man whom I knew in New York, whom we very reluctantly loaned to you. His name is Ball and he is a 'cannon-ball,' as you will learn if you give him a start. (Laughter.) Are you listening to what these men are telling you? Are you backing Doctor Evans up and giving him all he asks for? No, you are not. Instead, you cut his appropriation. Shame on Chicago! Think of it! Spending \$500,000 a year for your whole health department and spending ten times that amount for your police department. That is a survival of savagery. Ten times as much money to keep people from flying at each others' throats as to care for the health and happiness of your homes!

"'But,' you say, 'how can we afford to do these things?' You cannot afford to leave things as they are at present. It is the last thing you as a city can afford. You must make a decent Chicago; you must make a safe Chicago. You are not doing it. You are a business people. It is not good business to let your housing go down as it has or rather to maintain it in its present bad condition. The interest that you receive in increased mortality, in vitiated manhood, in degraded citizenship, is much too big and too expensive.

"In what I have said, I have simply

pointed out to you certain lines along which you are not doing as well as we have been doing in New York. You are younger out here than we are; your way of doing things is younger. You may hesitate a while before you take action, but when you do take it, you press it vigorously. Witness what you did in the matter of the playgrounds. Of course, you are proud of the playgrounds, but I doubt if you know the scope of what you did. You did a thing which then was seemingly impossible, which, even now, seems a veritable Utopian dream. You set the pace for the entire world in doing justice to the children and I take no back track on that, friends. You did exactly that. The thing you did gave such an impetus to the new view of the children's rights, which, after all, lie at the root of the growing manhood, that this last year two great sovereign states, one on the Pacific Coast, the state of Washington, and the other on the Atlantic Coast, the state of Massachusetts, passed laws demanding that all cities of ten thousand and over should provide public playgrounds for their children, at the public expense. Do you know, that was altogether due to the pace you set out here?

"That is what you can do when you try. Do with your housing question exactly what you did with your playground question. Do not drop your city plan; go on with your city planning, but as Mrs. Blaine said, include in it—as Volume I, the safe and decent housing of your people. Apply the energy that you applied so splendidly to the city plan to the more important problem that means a rescue of the home and then your problem is solved. The money—you can raise that if you want to. It is simply a question of

getting together and saying, 'This thing shall be done.' And if you want to make me live twenty years longer, go ahead and do it and I *will* live just on purpose to see the final outcome." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN EVANS: "What Mr. Riis has told you about the conditions in Chicago is true, every word of it. Not only is it true that we have overcrowding that has resulted in death, but it is also true that we have overcrowding that is resulting in the production of men who are to solve great questions of state but who are not getting the physical or mental development which they should have. That means, as Mr. Riis has just said, that we are riding for a fall.

"We have not discovered just where we are in these matters. We do not have the machinery for finding out. We do not know how many people in this city are living and bringing forth children in quarters that children should not be allowed to live in. Mr. Riis has told you that infant mortality is the barometer. What he said is true. The young people who live in bad quarters die at an abnormal rate. The elderly people who live in bad quarters feel the bad effects just the same, though they do not die so frequently. The harmful result is not missed in the one instance any more than in the other.

"I am sure that we are all grateful to the speaker for having brought these things so forcibly to our attention and I trust that out of what he has said will come a realization of his wish, that a systematic study of these great problems will be made and followed out by action on the part of the city of Chicago." (Applause.)

RESULT OF EXAMINATION FOR SUPERINTENDENT OF STREETS

On December 31st, the results of the examination for the position of superintendent of streets, which has been noted in the City Club Bulletin from time to time, were announced by the Civil Service Commission. The outcome of the examination amply justified the stand taken by the joint conference of civic organizations, that the examination should not be limited to residents of the city. Out of an eligible list of sixteen who passed the examination, four were non-residents, three of them standing within the first five at the head of the list.

The successful candidate was Mr. John T. Fetherston, superintendent of street cleaning in the Borough of Richmond, New York City. Mr. Fetherston passed with a grade of 92.8 per cent, a margin of 8.65 points above his nearest competitor, Mr. John B. Hittel, engineer of the Board of Local Improvements of this city. Mr. Fetherston is a recognized expert on the subject of garbage disposal, having been responsible for the installation of the English system of garbage reduction in Brooklyn. He received his training in street matters under Colonel War-

ing, whose revolutionary methods when in charge of the cleaning of the New York streets, achieved for him a national reputation.

It is to be regretted that the litigation which has arisen over the outcome of the examination will prevent Mr. Fetherston from accepting the position, which he has won. Almost at the same time that the announcement of the examination was made, proceedings were started in the circuit court to compel the civil service commission to hold a promotional examination for the position, within the next lower grade of employment in the city service. Although the outcome of these proceedings is in doubt, the risk of an unfavorable outcome has appeared too great to Mr. Fetherston to justify him in accepting the position. Mr. Fetherston has therefore waived his right to first place on the eligible list in favor of Mr. Hittel, who received the second highest grade in the examination. Mr. Hittel has not yet been certified to the position, pending the outcome of the proceedings.

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PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO ILLINOIS ELECTION LAWS

Senate Bills Nos. 31, 32 and 33, being respectively House Bills Nos.
27, 28 and 26

One of the subjects included by the governor in his call for the special session of the legislature, now meeting at Springfield, was the amendment of the state election laws, particularly with reference to the manner of appointing election officials and to the method of registration. This subject was made a part of the governor's call at the request of a number of persons and organizations interested in the amendments to the present law. Judge Lewis E. Rinaker addressed a letter to the governor with reference to this matter. The City Club Committee on Political Organizations, Nominations and Elections, on November 12, also sent a communication to the governor on the same subject.

After the opening of the special session, bills were introduced in both houses of the legislature looking to the amendment of the election laws in the points above specified. Senate bills numbers thirty-one, thirty-two and thirty-three and the corresponding House bills numbers twenty-seven, twenty-eight and twenty-six, deal respectively with amendments to the ballot law, amendments to the election laws and the repeal of the tallying act. The Senate bills have already been reported favorably, but the House bills are still in committee.

The fact that primary legislation is of such overshadowing importance in the work of the special session has aroused some fear that these measures will not receive the consideration they deserve at the hands of the legislature. In order to stimulate greater public interest on the subject, a discussion was held at the City Club on Monday, the 17th inst., participat-

ed in by a number of men interested in the bills from various standpoints. Mr. Frank D. Ayres, attorney for the Board of Election Commissioners, outlined in detail the principal features of the proposed changes and the reasons why they should be adopted. Others who took part in the discussion were Judge Lewis E. Rinaker of the County Court, State Senator Frank P. Schmitt of the Senate Committee on Elections and Mr. Frank J. Loesch, who presided. A general discussion followed the more detailed remarks of the principal speakers.

The chairman in introducing Mr. Ayres spoke as follows:

CHAIRMAN LOESCH: "We are to discuss today certain bills which are pending before the special session of the Illinois legislature for the amendment of the Illinois election laws. There are three of these bills drafted, as I understand, at the instance of Election Commissioners of Illinois. Mr. Ayres, who has had much to do with the drafting of these bills, will explain to you in detail the provisions of the election law as it now stands and the reasons why it is thought necessary to amend it at the present time."

Mr. Frank D. Ayres

"The bills of which Mr. Loesch has told you have been prepared at the instance of the Election Board, in fact, at the instance of all of the election boards of the state, such as we have at Springfield, Galesburg, Danville, East St. Louis and Cairo.

"House Bill No. 28, which is like Senate Bill No. 32, is a bill to amend what is known as the Election Commissioners

Act in several important particulars. The first amendment is in Section four, where a slight change is made to provide that when a board of election commissioners has been organized, town and city clerks as well as county clerks shall turn over their books and the paraphernalia to the newly organized board of elections. The present law was, in fact, intended to cover city and town as well as county clerks within the jurisdiction of these boards.

"The first important modification of the present law is in Section nine, pertaining to the appointment of judges and clerks. Those of you who are at all familiar with the conduct of elections in this city know that competent judges and clerks are very essential in order to have a correct and an honest election. The law at this time provides that the judges and clerks must be taken from the precincts in which they reside. The proposed amendments provide that although these officers must, so far as practicable, reside in the precincts for which they are chosen, they may, in the discretion of the commissioners, be selected from other precincts.

"The reasons for this change are several. In the first place, we found that in some districts it is impossible to get men who are thoroughly familiar with the election law and who are competent to keep the official records correctly. In our judgment, there ought to be some method by which competent men who are able to keep public records in a satisfactory fashion can be selected for the positions of judges and clerks of election.

"To guard against the possibility of any person or board abusing this privilege of assigning judges and clerks to precincts in which they do not reside and at the same time to safeguard the appointment of any person who may be acting in such a precinct, the amendment provides that before such person can so act he must go into the county court and secure an order allowing him to serve in such precinct. In addition to this he must have a commission issued under the seal of the county court. The county court is specified in this case because it is this court which has been designated by the legislature as the head of our election machinery.

"Extreme care and caution are provid-

ed for in the appointment of persons who may be required to serve in precincts in which they do not reside. In the first place, the selection must be made openly and above board, with all the safeguards that come by way of publicity; in the next place, a court order is required, which will stand as a guarantee to the honesty and integrity of the officials and which will furnish a public record of exactly what has been done. There is, therefore, no chance for anything to take place other than in the open, with full opportunity for any one so minded to criticize and to object.

"It will, no doubt, surprise many of you to know that in some of the so-called 'silk-stocking' districts of this city, it has at times been impossible to secure men belonging to a given party to represent that party in all of the precincts of those districts and that it has, therefore, been necessary on these occasions to appoint men belonging to other parties, in order to comply with the legal residence requirement. On the other hand it is also true that in the lodging house districts it is sometimes impossible to secure men who are competent to take charge of the records. Men who have been operating in those districts have in the very best of faith rented rooms and paid board there, week after week for months, because the organizations that are trying to hold the elections are unable to find men in the lodging houses who are competent to keep a set of books or to conduct the necessary official business of the elections.

"Now that a special session of the legislature has been called, we are trying to amend the election laws so as to cover points where they previously have been deficient. The first provision looking toward this end is that just described, by which the election commissioners are authorized to select judges and clerks of election from precincts other than those in which they are to act. Wherever possible, however, they are to be taken from the precinct in which they serve. It is only in the case of an emergency that we desire to take them from other precincts.

"The next change is in Section ten, where it is provided that after a judge or clerk has been selected and notified to appear at the office of the Board of Elec-

tion Commissioners, he shall, if he fails to appear and if it can be shown that he was served with process and has maliciously and intentionally evaded responding thereto, be made an officer of the court. He may then be brought into court upon proper information and punished, if the court finds he has treated the process with contemptuous indifference.

"At the present time it is a lamentable fact that many of our best citizens have received the impression that a summons from the Election Board to appear and serve as judge or clerk of election amounts to nothing. In my judgment, if this amendment is adopted, there would not be more than two or three prosecutions, until every person would realize that he has a public duty to perform and that he must appear when called, unless he has a reasonable excuse, in which case he may be released in the proper way. The indifference of these people to the law and to the intention of the legislature would thus not be left entirely to their own discretion; neither would the court be without power to inquire into a man's action in that regard. In other words, if we have a law, we ought to have some way of enforcing it.

"Section eleven, as amended, makes it discretionary with the judge to act, but the law is left so that service is compulsory upon the man whom the Board wishes to have act as a judge or a clerk. We believe that is not only a desirable change but a very necessary change. Every year it becomes more difficult to obtain men to serve as judges and clerks. Prices are so high and salaries are so high that men who are qualified to fill those positions will not come out at six o'clock in the morning and work hard all day—and possibly all night, as many of them do before the votes are finally counted—for the paltry sum of five dollars.

"The next important change is in Section fifteen, which requires the chief of police or by the sheriff, to serve at the Board of Election Commissioners by the time the polls are open, a list of officers assigned to polling places. At the present time, under the present law, those officers who are detailed by the chief of police or by the sheriff, to serve at the polling places or under the supervision,

direction and authority of the judges of election, are under the jurisdiction of the Election Board. But we have found by experience that it is necessary for us to know, in case of an emergency, what officer is serving at a given place.

"The chief of police, just prior to the day of election, makes his assignment of a portion of his force to the different precincts. The proposed amendment requires that a list of the assignments so made shall be turned over to the Board of Election Commissioners. The purpose of this is, that on the day of election, when the commissioners are answering questions from all over the city, they may have before them not only the names and telephone numbers of the judges and clerks, but the names of the police officers as well. We would like to have a copy of the record which is kept in the police department lying on the table before us, so that in case of complaint about the officers or about a disturbance at the polls or in case of any other emergency, we would be able to get a particular officer on the telephone and get such information or give such instructions as might be necessary. At the present time, the officers who are under the direction of the Board are practically disconnected from us, so that we cannot reach them quickly. If we have this record, we know who are serving in the different precincts, police officers as well as judges and clerks of election. We believe that this is an amendment which should be adopted.

"Under Section twenty, the Board is given authority at the present time to make all necessary rules, not inconsistent with the law, for the conduct of elections. Under that section the Board has sometimes had occasion, in case of complaint, to send out men from the central office to certain precincts for the purpose of advising the judges and clerks how to count ballots or how to conduct the election in some other particular or for the purpose of settling some disturbance.

"There has been some question as to the right of the Board to do this, although I do not think that any one seriously believes but that under Sec. 20 as it now stands the Board has ample power in this regard. But in order to make that

point clear, we have added to Section twenty an amendment to the effect that the Board may have the power to take charge of and to control any election precinct, if necessary, and to appoint inspectors and send them to these precincts to make this control effective.

"These inspectors are not to take the place of the judges and clerks. They cannot sign the rolls or perform any of the duties of the other election officials, except to exercise a special police power. Those persons who in the past have been sent out to places where there have been disturbances have been particularly cautioned not to take any action themselves in reference to any difficulty unless such action was positively necessary. All we asked of them was to learn the conditions and to report to the Board for instructions. We have not sent any general into the field with 'carte blanche' in-

If he cannot sign his name, one of the judges must attest his mark. Finally, when he returns to vote, he must sign again in a space provided for that purpose. The form of this book is substantially as shown below.

"I have no doubt but that almost every one present has heard arguments on both sides of that proposition. The Election Board believes it is an advisable safeguard and, therefore, we have asked the legislature to impose upon us that extra duty, which we would be very glad indeed to perform. We will be able to arrange a very convenient method of doing this, whereby it will not take too much of the voters' time. They can sign very quickly and directly under the eyes of the judge. I believe this amendment would be an important factor, in connection with other information received, in determining whether or not a

REGISTRY OF SIGNATURES

Signature of Person Registering	Signature of Person Voting	Signature of Person Voting	Signature of Person Voting
Date	Date	Date	Date
R. W. JONES
F. H. ROOT
AARON FOX

structions. Instead, after receiving the report of our agent, we have called one of the judges to the telephone and given our instructions direct. In that way we have usually been able to quell disturbances, settle controversies, restore peace and permit the election to proceed. That is all with reference to Section twenty.

"Now we come to one of the most important phases of the law—namely, registration. In some places in this country, the provisions for registration have been so far-reaching as to require not only the signature of the voter, but also a great deal of information, such, for instance, as the name of his father and of his mother, his mother's maiden name and his father's and mother's first names. In our proposed amendments we have changed the present registration law by providing a separate book, which is to lie on the opposite side of the table from the judges. In this book each man, as he comes in to register, must sign his name.

man who offers to vote under a given name is the man who previously registered under that name and from that place.

"Mr. Loesch has told you that there were three of these bills pending before the legislature. One of these, however, is only a short repealing act. Under Section ten of Article four of the Election Commissioners Act, the legislature directed how the votes should be counted and tallied. This section was found to be inadequate in this city and in other places where elections were held; so an entirely new act, called the Tallying Act, was passed. It consists of one section and can be found in the present election laws as printed by the Election Board. This act had a repealing clause which set aside all other acts not in conformity with it. This left a part of the original Section ten in force and a part of it void. This resulted in considerable confusion, as the judges or clerks of election would

read Section ten as printed, not knowing that some of its provisions had been repealed by a later act. So in one section of our new bill we have embodied all the provisions of the Tallying Act. It has therefore been necessary to repeal the Tallying Act, all the points in that act now being included in Section ten as amended.

"There has been no change in the method of counting and tallying the ballots. The amendment is merely a consolidation of the two acts. The law will remain exactly as it is today, only it will be more simply put together and arranged so that no one will be misled. This change will remove a great deal of the annoyance to which the Election Board and the judges and clerks of election have been subjected in the past and will remove the occasion for some of the mistakes that have been made in counting the ballots.

"I hold in my hand a bill for an act to amend Sections 7, 10, 13, 16, 25 and 27 of the Ballot Law. Section seventeen provides for a place where certain petitions may be filed—namely, with the Election Board; the law has hitherto been uncertain in this regard.

"In the amending bill an exception is stricken out of the original Section ten. Section ten makes provision for cases in which a contest arises upon the certificate or petition for nomination, called the nomination papers. Under Section ten, all of those papers, except those for certain special elections, are submitted to boards of review. In the new law we have cut out the exception. The reason for this is that we have omitted Section twenty-seven of the Ballot Law.

"Section twenty-seven provides that a voter, who has moved into the precinct after the last registration, may vote by affidavit. That section has caused a great deal of trouble, first, because it has been impossible up to the present time to draft a law which would not be found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court; second, because so many men voted by affidavit, of whom we had never heard and whom we had no opportunity to investigate. The whole object of the Registration Law was to this extent defeated. In this bill, therefore, we have struck out the privilege of voting by affidavit and have provided in place

thereof a revision of the register before each election. If there were to be an election in only one ward, before that election took place we would send out registers to the few precincts in which it would be held and have them revised. There would not be any voting by affidavit.

"In Section sixteen of the proposed act, where a question of public policy, an amendment to the constitution or any other public measure is submitted, we have made provision for a change in the form in which those questions will appear upon the ballot. Under the present law they are printed in two ways. The ballot is divided into two spaces, with a line between. In the top space are printed the words, 'For such and such a measure,' and in bottom space the words, 'Against such and such a measure.' There has been a good deal of question about the meaning of the word 'No' written in by the voter after the word 'Against.' Does it mean that the voter is against the measure, or do the two negatives make an affirmative? In the proposed amendment, we have made provision for simplifying the form of these ballots so that after the statement of the substance of the measure, only the words 'Yes' and 'No' shall appear, with a space opposite each where the voter may make his mark. That in the judgment of the Board covers every demand. I believe that this is an amendment which should be passed.

"Finally, the provision for the destruction of the ballots by burning has been done away with. The amended law leaves the Board in a position where it may macerate the ballots and sell the pulp, which is worth about four hundred dollars, instead of paying about that amount to have them destroyed. We have tons of books and ballots which must be carried away and burned, at a heavy expense, and we must stand around officially day after day and watch them burned. Now we propose, instead of burning the ballots, to sell them and to turn the money back to the Board. I believe the difference of seven or eight hundred dollars saved on that one proposition is sufficient to recommend it. I thank you." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN LOESCH: "The next speaker will be Judge Rinaker, judge of

the County Court, who is officially at the head of the election machinery of this county."

Judge Lewis E. Rinaker

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: There is one point about which Mr. Rogers, of your Committee on Political Organizations, Nominations and Elections, spoke to me, and which I wish to touch on here. In one of these amendments the Election Board is defined as a 'public political body' and not as a 'municipal corporation.' In our opinion the Board is a 'public political corporation.' We and our predecessors have all had trouble with each successive administration because the claim has been made—no doubt, in perfect good faith—that the Board of Election Commissioners was a part of the municipal government of the city of Chicago. It has required much argument, time and trouble to explain that from a consideration of the entire law the Board is a separate body, charged with the duty of conducting elections. It is not only a part of the city of Chicago, but it is a part of the town of Cicero and a part of the county of Cook. It seems to me that that is sufficient justification for our claim. I believe that a clear declaration as to the character of the Board will save time and trouble in the future.

"The amendments which have been described to you embody practically all the suggestions I have heard with reference to changes in the election laws in the last two or three years. They embody our judgment of the changes which are really necessary. We submit them to you, to stand or fall on their merits. If you think, as we do, that they are good amendments, I am here to ask your assistance in helping us to get them through the legislature. If you do not think they are good amendments, then certainly do not help us, but rather to fight us in our effort to have them passed.

"If, however, you think they are worth while, I desire to say that it is a critical moment in the life of these proposed amendments. They are now out of the Senate Committee, on the floor of the Senate. They are still in committee in the House. The legislature may adjourn at almost any time. I will be surprised

if it does not pass a primary law very quickly, and when the primary legislation is finished I am afraid it will be almost impossible to keep enough members of the legislature at Springfield to give these and other bills a fair and square show. I therefore urge you, if you are in favor of these bills, to help us get them through the legislature.

"There is considerable opposition to these measures in the legislature. I will not stop to comment upon it except to tell you that it is there. You may imagine some of the sources from which it comes. I spent three days of last week at Springfield, neglecting other duties to go there. I expect to be there Tuesday and Wednesday of this week, to do my best to get the bills out of the House committee. I cannot give any more time than that. I will, however, do all I can to assist, because I honestly believe that these are real reforms. I honestly believe they will enable the Board of Election Commissioners to guarantee an honest election in the city of Chicago. I believe that this is the object the Board has in view, to give itself the right and the power to give you an honest election." (Applause.)

The chairman next called upon Senator Frank P. Schmitt, representing the Thirty-first District in this state.

Senator Frank P. Schmitt

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the City Club: I have examined these bills very carefully and I have heard them discussed in the Senate Committee on Elections. It is my deliberate judgment that the legislature ought to pass these bills. Perhaps they ought to be made the subject of some slight amendments, but they ought to be passed substantially as they are, because I am convinced after a very careful reading of them that they are intended to promote and will promote an honest vote and an honest count—and that is just what we are looking for.

"The bills are not going to have smooth sailing, however, because there are some men in the Senate, and perhaps a considerable number in the lower house, who will criticise them upon the ground that they enlarge the powers of the Board of Election Commissioners.

That criticism, indeed, has already been made.

"Speaking in reference to Senate Bill No. 32, which is identical with House Bill No. 28, the gist of that bill is that it permits the Election Commissioners to appoint non-resident judges and clerks of election; that it permits them to discipline recalcitrant judges and clerks of election or those who endeavor to escape from serving as such; that it vests in them more ample police power, including the right to appoint other guardians of the peace upon election days; and, finally, that it provides another safeguard with respect to registration—namely, the signature of the voter at the time he casts his ballot.

"It is said that the appointment of men who are chosen from outside precincts to serve as judges and clerks of election is against 'home rule.' This bill will very likely be attacked on the ground that it will deprive the people of a part of their liberty. That is only half true, but even if it were altogether true, we know that it is one of the conditions of life that what we call our liberties, particularly those of less importance, must often be surrendered in order to make fast and secure our larger and more substantial rights. That is the principle upon which this bill is based. It proposes to appoint Uitlanders, as I might call them, to serve in your precinct or mine and, strictly speaking, this is against the spirit of home rule. Actually, however, it will promote home rule in the highest and best sense of the term.

"We are a strange people. We are the most hopeful people in the world in respect to our government and yet at the same time, we are desperately skeptical about it. I know of no other people in the world who press upon their legislatures with such a volume of proposed legislation. We appear to have the greatest faith in the efficacy of legislation but when we get it we have not a particle of faith that the administration of it is going to be undertaken in our behalf. We always believe it is going to be passed but not enforced or, if it is to be enforced in any way, it will be used to abuse and oppress us.

"What this bill contemplates is the vesting in the Board of Election Com-

missioners and in the County Judge of ample powers to secure an honest vote and an honest count—and we want it. We have all been clamoring for it for years and yet when we get to the point where we actually can have it, we stand by and say: 'Will not all these people who are charged with the administration of this law use it to deprive us of our liberties?' I believe we have now reached a point where we legislate upon the theory that when a good law is enacted, somebody will come along who will honestly administer it. That is the belief that I have and that is the reason I have always taken a position against wholesale legislation. I expect a good law to be enforced. I only want now to be sure that this one will carry." (Applause.)

Representative Morton D. Hull, who was next in the order of speakers, requested that in view of the shortness of time before the adjournment of the meeting, the chairman, Mr. Frank J. Loesch, be allowed to speak in his stead. The experience of Mr. Loesch as special prosecutor in the primary election frauds qualified him to speak with intimate knowledge of the conditions which have made necessary the reform of the election laws.

Mr. Frank J. Loesch

"Gentlemen, in response to this call I will say that these amendments embody practically all the amendments recommended by the special grand jury at the time of the primary frauds. The grand jury in its investigations found that the frauds committed in the first direct primary election were largely the result of defects in the election laws, which, under the first direct primary act, were applied to the primary elections. So far as I have been able to judge, these bills, do cover the defects in the old law, by permitting the appointment of non-resident judges in districts such as the first ward, by making possible the better identification of voters through their signatures and in other ways. The difficulty in the administration of any law of this sort is to provide for the man who does not have any signature but who makes a mark. One member of the grand jury suggested a system of identification by the making of thumb prints or marks.

In the election laws of one of the eastern states, there is a provision for identification by signature and by thumb marks. The proposed law in this state provides that the election judges shall identify the marks which the voter makes when he is registered. I am afraid there will be some trouble over this point. It will be almost impossible to identify the second mark as being made by the voter who made the first mark."

JUDGE RINAKER: "May I make a suggestion? The mark is to be witnessed by the signature of a judge or clerk of election. When the person who has been registered comes back to vote he will be asked which judge and which clerk identified his mark."

CHAIRMAN LOESCH: "A serious source of trouble in all of the election laws, as we discovered in investigating the primary frauds, which reached back into other elections, has been the illiteracy of the voter. He very often wanted to vote honestly but was often made to vote contrary even to his original intention. As long as the voter is illiterate, I hardly know how you will succeed in getting a true expression of his desires. This proposed legislation will, however, minimize the opportunities for fraud.

"The other provision of this bill, that the Election Board shall have the right to take control of an election precinct, I think is in the highest degree essential. I came to the conclusion from my investigation that the Election Commissioners had practically no control over a precinct. The precinct was controlled by the precinct captain. This law takes it out of the hands of the precinct captain and the judges of election and, if complaint is made by any of the voters in a given precinct, the Election Board may send one of its inspectors to take charge and to run the election. I think that this provision alone will secure an efficient and honest administration of the law."

Mr. Walter S. Rodgers of the City Club Committee on Political Organizations, Nominations and Elections, was asked to say a word with reference to the proposed amendments.

MR. WALTER S. RODGERS: "The City Club Committee on Political Organizations, Nominations and Elections has considered, with a single exception,

that is, the status of the Board as a 'public political corporation,' all the points brought up in the proposed amendments to the election law. The subject has been before the committee for over a year and a half. The members are all familiar with the amendments and think that, as they will greatly strengthen the election machinery, they should be adopted. The committee is of the opinion that the Board of Election Commissioners should be given full control over the election machinery and should have full power in conducting elections, so that responsibility may be definitely placed upon a single body." (Applause.)

Mr. Thomas Blythe was called upon by the chairman for an expression of opinion.

MR. THOMAS BLYTHE: "I have read this new amendment and I find only one objection to it, that is, with reference to the qualifications for judges of election. Under the old law the judges were required to be householders. That made it possible to locate the men quite definitely. In this ward, where it has been said a householder is hardly to be found, a man who ran a disreputable house and who held a city and government license, under one name went into another precinct, under a different name, to act as a judge of election. If he had been a householder, he could not have done that, because somebody would have known who he was. As it was, the other judges did not know him.

"I do not impugn the motives of the Board, but I think it will be imposed upon in this particular. Under this law, the name of a man may be sent in to to act as judge of election. He may go into the precinct and pay room rent, just as has been done before, but may never even sleep there. He may then come in and act as judge. If fraud is committed at the election, the judge cannot be found because he is not there under his own name. Now a householder can be found. Somebody knows him. He cannot leave his family or his household without somebody finding it out. He has something that ties him to his place. I can see no reason why the qualifications of the judges under Section nine should be changed."

CHAIRMAN LOESCH: "If I un-

derstand you correctly, you believe that, if the Election Board sends a non-resident election judge into a precinct, he should be a householder in the precinct from which he is called?"

MR. BLYTHE: "Yes. We could ask the legislature to permit householders to be appointed from contiguous precincts only. Of course, that is immaterial.

"But I know the Election Board will be imposed upon. Where does it get its lists of judges? Some of the committeemen send in lists. The Board does not have time to go over them carefully. If you had a corrupt Board the way would be open to all kinds of fraud. The Board could take a man from some lodging-house in the first ward and send him down to act as judge of election in Hyde Park, although in Hyde Park there might be many men who would be perfectly competent and willing to serve."

CHAIRMAN LOESCH: "The bill permits that, only in case no householder can be found. When a proper judge or clerk of election cannot be found, the Board may go outside."

MR. BLYTHE: "No, sir; if you will read, you will see that the matter is left entirely to the discretion of the Board. The law is discretionary and not mandatory. I think the qualifications of a householder should be retained, not only in the election law but in the primary law as well. It makes the man more responsible and more easily found."

Mr. Ayres was asked if he cared to make any statement with reference to Mr. Blythe's remarks.

MR. AYRES: "We have discussed the question of householders for several years. The precincts are numerous in this city where we have been forced to take inferior men in order to comply with the residence qualification but where, if it had not been for the requirements with reference to householders, we could have secured bright, intelligent young men who are able and competent to keep official records correctly.

"I do not believe that the Board will be imposed upon by this migration of judges, to which Mr. Blythe has referred. The election officials have been discussing that for some years and they have failed to see where they would be imposed upon in their effort to select good men, by having the word 'householder' eliminated. In many instances, we are unable to get householders at all.

"I do not believe that, because a man is not a householder, he is to be discriminated against, as an election official or in any other way. I do not think that it is a necessary qualification. It is the duty of the Board to select men who are competent and of good character and repute, men who are skilled in the four fundamental rules of arithmetic, and we are precluded in many cases from securing those men because of the word 'householder.' Otherwise, we might be able to secure both honest and capable men from almost any place in the precinct."



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ORGANIZED TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND GIRLS

On Saturday, January 15, Mr. Clifford G. Roe, formerly Assistant State's Attorney of Cook County, spoke before the City Club on the subject of the organized traffic in women and girls, commonly known as the "white slave trade." In his official capacity as Assistant State's Attorney, Mr. Roe was engaged particularly in the prosecution of pandering cases, and is at the present time giving a considerable share of his attention to this work. For some time Mr. Roe has been carrying on an active publicity campaign in the interest of suppressing the traffic in women and girls.

Mr. Roe's address before the City Club dealt principally with the domestic "white slave" problem. The other side of the question, namely the international traffic, has been described in some detail in a report on Importing Women for Immoral Purposes, transmitted to Congress a few weeks ago by the United States Immigration Commission. The facts disclosed by this report are so important and so pertinent to the subject discussed by Mr. Roe that a brief summarization of its main points is thought not out of place here.

The extent of this international traffic in women is hard to determine, but it is known to be large. The women are recruited from many sources, not

only from Europe, but from China and Japan. Many of them have already entered the business of prostitution before coming to this country, but many others have been trapped into coming by the promise of better employment or by misrepresentation of some other sort. The women who are imported, if accompanied by men, are usually passed off as their wives, sometimes being actually married, to avoid detection and deportation; if accompanied by women, they are frequently booked as maids. The officials are naturally reluctant to stop any woman except on very complete evidence as to her character and on this account investigation is quite inadequate and evasion of the law not so difficult as it should be. When the regulations are stringent and evasion difficult, these facts have an important bearing on the price which the women will bring, Chinese women, on account of the Exclusion Act, sometimes having a purchase price of two or three thousand dollars.

When a woman has been successfully brought into the country and has been placed in an immoral resort she is subjected to financial exploitation of the worst sort by the owner and by the procurer who has brought her there and on whom she is dependent for her very existence. The procurer or "pimp," whose

real name she often does not know, is at all times in absolute control of her, directing her business, furnishing her protection and taking her surplus earnings. Half her earnings ordinarily go to the house, the rest are taken from her by exorbitant charges for clothing and for other expenses and by her exploiter, the "pimp."

This control the procurer maintains sometimes through the girl's affection for him and sometimes by threats and by actual violence. He may threaten her with arrest if she shows any disposition to resent his control over her. If she shows any desire to escape, she may be warned that if she accepts work her employer will be notified of her character and she will be discharged. Although no evidence has been found by the Immigration Commission warranting the belief in a huge international syndicate for the procuring of women, it is known that there is close co-operation between the procurers and a girl who escapes is never entirely free from the possibility of detection in any part of the country. Should she escape, her photograph may be sent to procurers in other communities. If she is caught, an example may be made of her in order to block similar tendencies on the part of the other women. The immigrant woman particularly has a very slight chance of escape because of her ignorance of her surroundings and of the language and customs of the country.

The Immigration Commission in concluding its report makes a series of recommendations for closer control of the international traffic in women, involving the appointment of special agents abroad to secure information and to work in co-operation with agencies of other governments in suppressing the traffic—involving also the general tightening up of the administrative practice in dealing with imported women and the making of certain specific modifications of the law to make this control more effective.

Previous to the address by Mr. Roe, Mr. Joseph Burt, a representative of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigine Protection Society of London, spoke briefly of the slavery on the cocoa farms of San Thome and Principe. His remarks are printed elsewhere in this Bulletin. Mr.

W. H. French, chairman of the meeting, introduced Mr. Roe, whose address follows:

Mr. Clifford G. Roe

"Besides the slavery in Africa of which Mr. Burt has told you, there has developed in America and, in fact, throughout the world, a slave traffic in women. A few years ago there were those who doubted the existence of this traffic and who called those of us who affirmed it fanatics and visionaries, but now many of these persons have come to acknowledge that the traffic exists and are assembling to discuss ways and means of eradicating it.

"The slave traffic in America consists in the placing of a female person in an immoral house against her will, or in keeping her there against her will, even though she may have entered originally of her own accord. It is not contended for a moment that every inmate of an immoral house is sold into that house. After careful survey of the situation throughout the United States, I should say that perhaps 50 per cent. are sold. Those who are sold are kept under close supervision for perhaps the first or second week, or in more extreme cases from three to six months, until they become so hardened or diseased that they do not care to leave or so ashamed that they do not wish to face their parents and their friends.

"The procurer works along the lines of least resistance. He knows the human weaknesses. He goes into the department stores, into the factory communities, the amusement parks, the summer resorts, the country towns, even into the homes to procure upon one pretext or another the girl he is after. It is because this problem effects the home that we must study it, for we do not know at what moment it may reach our own homes. Reaching the homes it reaches the very foundation of our government.

"The procurers take the girls through three stages: First, they must become acquainted with them; second, they must take them some place; and, third, they must keep them some place. In becoming acquainted with the girls three methods are used—and I make this statement after having brought three hundred of these cases myself and after

having taken the statements of hundreds of the girls and of scores of procurers. The first of these methods is the 'love method'; the procurers pretend to be in love with the girls and promise to marry them—oftentimes do marry them and take them away. In the second place, the procurers use the 'vanity method,' which appeals to the girls who think it is smart to flirt; most of the girls who go to resorts of their own free will are procured by this method. The 'ambition method,' the third in this list, is the means by which the innocent girls are most often caught, that is, by the promise of better positions.

"Let me illustrate by a story the 'love method' of securing an acquaintance with a girl. On the 4th day of last July, in Forest Park, on the west side of Chicago, sixteen-year-old May McConnell, while celebrating the Day of Independence, met a fellow by the name of Jacob Jacobson. Jacobson went home with May that night and asked if he might call again. She said, 'Why, sure.' Two or three days later Jacobson brought with him Louis Brodsky and asked May to invite another girl in the neighborhood so they might take a walk in the park. May invited Adele Shubert, a girl of her own age, and the four went over to Garfield Park for a walk.

"As they roamed about the park that night, Jacobson and Brodsky told the girls that they had fallen in love with them at first sight. They said that if the girls would marry them they would take them back to New York, where their parents lived, and where they could have fine homes and beautiful clothes.

"May and Adele were fairly enchanted with the idea of the marriage and promised to elope with the boys. They met the boys next morning, as had been agreed, but instead of taking them to the marriage license bureau, the boys took them out to Dunning, on the northwest side, the object being to fool away the day until the night would come on. They could not get into the institution that day, so they came back downtown, stopping on the way at the office of the Western Electric Company, where Adele was employed, to draw her salary—which Brodsky put in his pocket. As the evening was coming on, they went into

Kohlsaat's restaurant, near the corner of Wabash avenue and Randolph street. While there, Brodsky excused himself and went to the drug store on the southwest corner of Randolph street and Wabash avenue and called up Abe Weinstein in South Chicago. He said: 'Abe, I have got those two girls I told you about over the 'phone last night. They are good lookers. I will be out with them right away. Meet me at the station.' Abe replied: 'Don't let them get away from you. I told you to hurry up and bring them out last night. I will meet you at the station.'

"Jacobson and Brodsky took the girls to the Illinois Central train at Randolph street. On the way out to South Chicago they told the girls that they were on the way to New York, but that they were going to stop off to say good-bye to a friend. At South Chicago they were met by Abe Weinstein and Jennie Sandusky, the proprietress of a house at 9010 The Strand. The girls went unsuspectingly with Jennie Sandusky and were sold into slavery. The taking of the girls to South Chicago was merely a ruse to deceive the detectives, who were watching the Twenty-second street district. May McConnell was finally transferred into that district. As she was about to be sold into a house in the 'red light' district on the south side, she was caught by one of our detectives. Abe Weinstein, the keeper of the place, and Jacob Jacobson, were arrested and found guilty of pandering and given high penalties. Jennie Sandusky is now awaiting trial.

"Louis Brodsky turned state's evidence and was given the lightest penalty, six months' imprisonment and a \$300 fine. In his confession Brodsky said: 'In May, Jacobson and myself met Weinstein at Van Buren and State streets. We were then selling new house numbers and Weinstein asked us if we would not like to go out and get some girls. He said there would not be any danger, that he was well protected and would see that we got along all right and be well paid for our trouble. He told us to go along the streets and out to the parks and bring in the young ones. We did, and these were not the first girls that we took out there.'

"You will say that the girls must have

been rather flirtatious or they would not have gone with Jacobson and Brodsky so willingly when they had known them only such a short time, and that the girls, unless they were bad, would not have promised to marry upon such short acquaintance. But however this may be, these procurers are making good girls bad and bad girls worse—and the latter seems to me to be just as great a menace as the former.

"The second method by which acquaintance is served is the 'vanity method.' For instance, a country girl may come into the city; she goes to the theater with the girl next door; she sees the beautiful and the brilliantly lighted streets; she likes them and goes down often. Perhaps she goes into dance halls which have saloons in connection or near by, not knowing that frequenting the dance halls are these panders ever on the lookout for a victim. Perhaps she becomes wayward and just wants to pull aside the curtain and look into the labyrinth of sin. Perhaps she goes with some fellow who tells her he will take her where she can make some money. She goes to make the money, but finds that she cannot get away. You may say, 'Let her stay,' but I believe we should try to help her. We all have made our mistakes and should try to help those who are making theirs.

"The procurer makes no distinction between the wayward and the innocent girl. The wayward girl is easy prey for him. The innocent girl adds zest to the game. The innocent girl, I said, is procured mainly by the 'ambition method,' by the promise of a better position. This is an economic problem as well as a social problem but I do not know whether it would make much difference whether girls were paid higher salaries than they now receive or not. When girls first come to the city, it is harder for them to get along than it is for the boys. It is hard for them to live in a hall room as many of the boys do, for they must have pleasant places where they may entertain company. Perhaps if the girls were paid higher salaries they would want better clothes. Some of you can remember when you thought five dollars a week was a fine salary; but when you got ten dollars a week, you dressed a little better, and when you got twenty-five dollars or

more you dressed still better. It is the same way with the girls, the more you pay them the better they will want to dress. So I am not sure that the salary has much to do with the problem, except that it is used as a means of getting the girls. Girls as well as boys want to improve their condition, to have better clothes and all that sort of thing. So when a procurer goes out to Elgin or some other town and promises a girl who is getting five or six dollars a week a salary of eighteen or twenty dollars as a chorus girl, she will very often go with him easily and unsuspectingly to get this higher salary.

"Parents sometimes cannot support their children and send them out to get work, too often without knowing the circumstances of their employment, or with whom they are going away. Parents sometimes do not really need the money but send their children out to get work merely that the father may line his pockets with more dollars.

"To illustrate: One year ago, on the 26th day of December, I took up the prosecution of a man for making an assault upon an old man with a deadly weapon. When I asked him why he had gone out to the home of this old man he told me he was after a woman. Finally, I found out that a year and a half before, in Benton Harbor, Mich., a phonograph agent had gone into the home of Eli Smith, who worked for the Pere Marquette road, and there saw Maggie Smith, a beautiful blonde girl of fifteen years of age. He told Mrs. Smith that he could get a very good position for Maggie in Chicago, and Maggie's mother, thinking perhaps that the money the girl might send home would aid them in raising their social condition in Benton Harbor, sent her to Chicago with this man, who gave his name as Frank Kelly. Kelly's real name, however, was Alphonse Citro. He was an Italian procurer, who had been in this country for about four years. He took Maggie by a rear entrance to Battista Pizzi's place on Clark street, where she was kept for a year and a half, surrounded by fourteen ill-fed, scrawny women, part of them Italian and part American.

"Finally, on the 21st day of December, a year ago, Maggie escaped and went to

a near-by barber shop, where she asked for protection. The barber took her to his own home and turned her over to his father and mother. When Citro discovered where the girl had gone, he went to the home of the barber, knocked on the door and demanded the woman. He said that every day she was gone he was losing money. When the old man, the father of the barber, refused to give her up, Citro drew a revolver. In the scuffle that ensued the revolver was lost. Citro ran down the street, but was caught and brought into the court, charged with an assault with a deadly weapon. I changed the charge to pandering. The man was found guilty and given the highest penalty under the law. He was given a new trial, and I had to try him again. Three times after that he was brought before various judges upon writs of habeas corpus, and I had to fight those every time. Now Battista Pizzi is awaiting trial on the north side. He escaped and went to Europe. His wife served time in the penitentiary, being convicted in 1900 for keeping a fourteen-year-old girl in an immoral resort. She was kept in the penitentiary one year, after which she was paroled and discharged.

"Another method of getting the confidence of the girls is by the offer of positions upon the stage. I am going to read you a part of the confession of a young man who is a graduate of one of the high schools of Chicago. His father tells me he is all right now, and has reformed. His confession, which was made in June, 1907, comprises about thirty-four pages. He says:

"Well, not long ago Billy McNamara and myself got several girls and shipped them out of the city. Billy came around to see me one day and said that there was a woman staying at the ——— Hotel whom he had met when he was in the south, and who was up here to get some girls to take back with her. He said that he would divide up with me if I would help get some. Between us we got fourteen girls in about a week and delivered them to this woman at the depot here in the city. I did not go to the depot, but Billy McNamara was there to take care of that end of it. We told the girls that this woman was a leading lady with a musical show that was to travel through the south, and that she was to

take them down to the place where they were to start out from, and that they were to be chorus girls in the show. This was the way we got the girls, because they were stage struck. McNamara said the woman was from Beaumont, Texas, and was going to take them down there. Her name is Myrtle Belview and she runs a house down there. The ones that I got I met in dance halls and by hanging around nickel theaters. At the dance halls I would size up a girl and get a dance with her and then see whether or not she was stage struck. If she was, I would tell her about the chance that was open to go out with this company through the south. There are always a lot of girls hanging around the nickel theater who are stage struck, and it is dead easy to get them. They didn't know who I was, for I gave them a fake name, and so I never heard from any of them after they went away. They may be down there yet for all I know.' McNamara was a prize fighter. Both he and the man who made this confession were convicted.

"The girls who frequent dance halls, which are connected with or are adjacent to saloons, are always in danger from the panders. I believe that there are more girls taken to houses of ill-fame from the smooth, glossy floors of the dance halls than from any other place. Dance halls, with saloon connections, where the procurers can get the girls tipsy, are especially dangerous.

"After the procurers have become acquainted with the girls by one of the three methods above described or by a combination of them, they must next get them away. To do this they will resort to anything from force to low cunning. Then, after the girls have been placed in the houses, they must be kept there. This is done sometimes by putting the girls in debt and sometimes by intimidation and force.

"The debt system is like this: Every girl who is taken into a house is put in debt, first for the money that is paid the procurer for her sale, whatever the amount may be, according to her age and general appearance; then for the parlor clothes that are placed upon her. Flimsy rags that they are, she is charged from five to ten times what they are worth. She must buy them through the house

or an agent of the house. She is not allowed to wear any other clothes. Finally, she is put into debt for the money that the procurer borrows upon her. The procurer keeps her in subjection by threats and by actual violence. Girls have been brought into my office with blackened faces and eyes, due to having been beaten and kicked by these fellows.

"The debt system has existed for a long time. As long as a girl is in debt to a house, she cannot leave it. In the old days, if she tried to leave without paying her debt, she would be arrested and taken to the police station; a bondsman in the employ of the house or a hanger-on about the house would bail her out and pay her fine; she would then be taken back and the bonds of slavery would be fastened around her more securely than ever before. She would be placed more heavily in debt; they would even charge her for the fine she had to pay and for the price the bondsman had received.

"You will say: 'That is a rather ineffective way of keeping them. Why don't they run away?' I will tell you why they do not run away. Every new girl that has been procured—this is not true of those that have entered the business of their own free will—is visited by a 'ringer,' as he is called in the vernacular of the underworld. A 'ringer' is a procurer or 'pimp,' who tries to find out if any of the women in the resorts are anxious to leave. He pretends to be a visitor. He sits down, buys drinks and talks with the girl in a sympathetic way. If she tells him that she wants to get away, she is likely to be beaten and intimidated by the procurer. In this way she is made afraid to tell any one that she wants to get away. She will be suspicious of every one for fear that he might be a 'ringer.'

"After a time, she may get confidence enough to tell some one that she wants to get away. She may strike a person who is not a 'ringer,' and he will either think that the girl is trying to work him for money or will promise to help her out. If he makes such a promise, he will probably happen to think before long, 'Now, if I tell the police about that girl I will have to be a witness; my name will

get into the newspapers, and my wife or my sweetheart or my daughter will find out that I have been on the wrong side of the city. I had better let that girl get out the best way she can.'

"The girl who has been told in this way so many times that she will be taken out and has suffered the inevitable disappointment finally gives up in despair and makes no further effort to get away.

"Perhaps you have read in the newspapers about the traffic between Chicago and various other cities. Within the last two months we have broken up the traffic between St. Louis and Chicago. The procurers have as fine a business system as can be worked out; they have their telegraph codes and their signals to give warning against the detectives. In the last three months, twenty-two panders and owners of houses who have been sending out gangs of procurers have been convicted in the City of Chicago. We even caught Dave Garfinkle, whose headquarters were in St. Louis, brought him here to Chicago and secured his conviction for collecting money in this state for sending girls here. That brought him within the jurisdiction of our courts. A week or two ago, Joe Boyo, one of his agents, was convicted.

"Mollie Hart, who had procured a girl by the name of Sarah Joseph, who had been working as a housemaid, testified in court that she would get the girls who were working in restaurants and department stores and would introduce them to the runners from Chicago. The runners told the girls they would bring them to Chicago, where they could get better paying positions than those they held in St. Louis. One of the runners was a man by the name of Mike Hart. He and Mollie were man and wife, Mike tending bar in Van Bever's 'Paris,' at 2101 Armour avenue and Mollie working as a procuress between Chicago and St. Louis. Both of these persons were found guilty. One man, Dick Tyler, jumped his bonds and ran away. Paul Auer, who had received the girls at the depots or the outlying stations—they are afraid to bring the girls into the cities directly now for fear they might be intercepted by the agents of the Young Women's Christian Association—ran away. Al Hopper was convicted. Thus we got rid

of the crowd that was working between St. Louis and Chicago.

"There are other gangs working between Chicago and other cities. But Chicago is not the only place where this traffic is going on. It is going on throughout the United States and throughout the world. In Boston, where I made an investigation last summer, most of the procurers are Canadians. In New York and, to a large extent, in Chicago they are Jewish, French and Italian. The traffic came to us from New York, about the time of the World's Fair. Women of loose character came here at that time and the cadets brought more of them after the Committee of Fifteen in New York had made its fight against the cadet system some years ago. Many of the cadets who were driven out came to Chicago, where they found an easy way of making money. Ten or twelve years ago it was almost impossible to find a Jewish girl in a place of ill-repute in Chicago; to-day the Jewish settlement workers tell us that at least fifty per cent. of the inmates of the west side houses of Chicago are Jewish girls. This change is principally due to the efforts of the cadets who came here from New York.

"You will ask me how I find out all these things. We get many tips from traveling men—and in fact from all sorts of people. Sometimes procurers will get to fighting among themselves and in a fit of anger will give us a clue to something important. We get many anonymous letters. I am going to read you one of these anonymous letters which I received through the United States mails on July 14th:

*"Mr. Clifford G. Roe,
State's Attorney,
City.*

"DEAR SIR: Did you receive a letter from my mother, Mrs. W., from Eloise, Michigan? If so, I wish you would come and see me, so I can tell you everything. I have not been out of the house for three months. I have not got any clothes to wear on the street, because I owe a debt. I wish you would come and see me and I can tell you everything then. I am a white slave for sure.

"Please excuse pencil. I had to write this and sneak this out. Please see to

this at once and oblige' (giving her name), '2001 Armour avenue.'

"When I got that letter, I sent out a detective who talked with the girl and found that her story was true. We then had the people in the place and also the owner arrested. We could not catch the procurer, but the owner was found guilty. The girl told this story in court: Her father, who was a doctor in Michigan, died, and her mother, after spending the little money that was left, was sent to the poor farm at Eloise, Michigan. The mother thought that her daughter was in Chicago making an honest living. She never knew where her daughter was until she received a letter which was spirited out at the same time that this one was addressed to me. A day or two later I received a letter from the mother. After the trial, the girl was sent home and was taken care of by relatives. That is a sample of the letters which we are receiving all the time.

"Gentlemen, these letters are not written to judges and officials only, but to every man and woman in this country. These girls are asking us for help, but up to the present time we too often have not cared to soil our hands with the problem and have left it to the prosecutor and to the judge. But without the backing of the people to secure the enactment and enforcement of laws this slavery will never be wiped out.

"I have told you thus far about the traffic in our own country. The larger part of the traffic is in our own American girls, but there is also an international traffic. I am glad that Congress a day or two ago passed a law to regulate this international traffic. I hope that this law will be put into operation, because the states alone cannot regulate the evil. Even should the states pass uniform laws, it would be hard for them to bring procurers back from other states and secure their conviction. This was done in the Missouri cases above mentioned, because Illinois was the first state to pass a pandering act. Since Illinois passed this act—which was amended again last year—six other states have passed similar laws. But the interstate traffic can be regulated only by the Federal government. The buying of tickets for the girls and their transportation for immoral pur-

poses from one state to another are as much interstate commerce as the shipment of goods. But what a travesty it is, gentlemen, to think that we have in the harbor of New York the Statue of Liberty welcoming the foreign girl to the land of the free, when she finds here a slavery far more debasing than any she could have ever endured at home—for the slave traffic of America is blacker and fouler than anywhere else in the world! What a travesty it is for our orators to extol virtue and purity, freedom and liberty, while these girls are being sold into a slavery, where their bodies become diseased, their minds depraved and their souls tortured and where in perhaps five years, the average life of a prostitute, they die!

"What is to be done? That is the principal question to-day. I do not believe in the system now in vogue in Chicago and elsewhere, by which the girls are looked by the police. It has not been a success. I do not believe that the girls should be sent home when taken from the resorts in order to save themselves and their families from the disgrace of a trial and publicity. They should be kept until the procurer or the person who has kept them in slavery is caught and prosecuted, and then should be allowed to go home. In this way we may be able to put these procurers where they cannot endanger other girls. The booking system, up to the present time, has meant only that the girls should be sent home when taken from the resorts and the panders allowed to continue their trade as before.

"I believe we should have a great central booking bureau which should be outside of police regulation, and, perhaps, under the jurisdiction of the Health Department. The girls should be examined by this bureau and made to state under oath how old they are, where they came from and whether or not they have been procured. The owner of each resort should be made to state under oath that he has paid nothing, has sent no tickets or taken no other steps to secure the girls in his house by way of sale or procurement. When this bureau is established, if the owner does make a false statement, he may be prosecuted for perjury.

"I believe that, besides fighting these

cases in the courts, you must have publicity and education. The newspapers and magazines have been very generous, and the people are becoming generally awakened. The Immigration Commission has made a report to Congress; representatives of the nations of the world are to convene at Madrid, Spain, in May, to discuss the traffic in girls. The issue of the recent campaign in New York was Tammany's protection of the so-called 'white slave' traffic.

"When I think of the great amount of time that we are spending upon our city and state problems, I sometimes feel that perhaps we are not giving enough attention to these moral issues. Our energies and our reforms are too often confined within the circumference of a dollar. We will not take the time to regulate that which has to do with the morals of the city.

"I am not a person who has gone about looking for something to reform. This matter was thrust upon me in the court room in the trial of a case over three years ago. It was then I began to investigate and learned of the existence of this great, systematic traffic in girls. I do not believe that any one great syndicate controls the whole business, but I do believe it is systematic. I do know that there is one lawyer employed by the whole crowd on the south side to protect their interests. This lawyer says: 'I do not care what you do with the pander or the procurer, just so long as you let the owners alone. I am looking after them.' But the owners are the persons we are most anxious to get. That is the reason we convicted Abe Weinstein, Van Bever, Garfinkle and the others of whom I have told you.

"This is a long fight. It is not a battle of days, but a warfare of years. It is going to be a campaign of education. In Chicago, we are trying to put the pander out of business by giving him a long sentence, but the highest sentence we can give him on first conviction is one year in jail and a fine of one thousand dollars. For rape, which is committed under excitement and passion, a man may be sentenced for a period of from one year to life; but for pandering, which is done deliberately and in cold blood, the highest sentence we can inflict is imprisonment for one year and a fine of one

thousand dollars. And yet, gentlemen, I myself helped frame that law, for the reason that under it we took the cases into the Municipal courts and did not have to go to the grand jury and wait a month or two for a trial in the Criminal Court. We wanted to get quick action, and this is the method we followed to secure it.

"I believe the time has now come when the people are becoming aroused. We could not get anything better than this law before, because there was no great popular demand for it, and the legislature will never give people anything that they do not demand. Several clubs, however—this club among them—the Iroquois Club, the Union League Club, the Jefferson Club, the Hamilton Club and the B'Nai B'Rith, backed up this law and the amendments and helped us get them through. When, as citizens of Illinois, we ask for a higher penalty, we will get it. We will never stop these fellows until we send some of them to jail for life: that will frighten the rest of them. The panders have continued in business in the face of all these prosecutions. According to the evidence which I read over a few days ago, Abe Weinstein told those fellows who acted as panders not to worry about getting caught, but to send the girls to South

Chicago and ship them around to the Twenty-second street district another way. So they keep right on in business despite the prosecutions.

"This campaign of education of which I have spoken must start with the homes. Too often the children are getting their instruction about the things they ought to know from the boy or girl next door, instead of from their father and mother, as they should. The parents of the poor children, in the country or the city, must be told of the existence and of the methods of these fellows who are procuring girls for disorderly resorts, so that they may be more careful where their girls go and with whom they are associating.

"All that I ask of you is to put the latent energy that is within you back of this fight. I am an optimist, not a pessimist. I do not believe the whole world is going to pieces because there is a traffic in women and girls. I am, on the contrary, encouraged because of the great success we have had against these panders. This is a matter which affects the integrity of the home. When the great body of the people come to understand this fact they will bestir themselves and the traffic in women come to an end." (Applause.)

THE COCOA SLAVERY

On Saturday, January 15, just previous to the address of Mr. Clifford G. Roe, printed above, Mr. Joseph Burt, representing the Anti-Slavery and Aborigine Protection Society of London, spoke briefly to the City Club on the subject of the conditions prevailing in the cocoa farms in the islands of San Thome and Principe in the Gulf of Guinea. Mr. Burt is making an extended visit to this country in order to interest the American people in the conditions he describes. He spoke as follows:

Mr. Joseph Burt

"America, of all countries in the world, uses the largest amount of raw cocoa for manufacture. One-sixth of the world's supply of cocoa comes from

two little Portugese islands situated right on the equator in the Gulf of Guinea. Only last April, America bought six million pounds of cocoa from those islands. The cocoa is grown entirely by slave labor.

"I visited those islands on behalf of four large cocoa firms who had heard that the cocoa was produced by slave labor. I, myself, have seen the slaves working on the cocoa plantations. There were some forty thousand of them. When I was there in 1905, not one of those forty thousand had ever been returned to his home. The climate in the islands of San Thome and Principe is very damp and hot, admirably suited to the growing of that tropical shrub, the cocoa tree. As a result of the hot, moist

climate and the hopelessness of these poor people who have been dragged away from their homes, the mortality is very high. On some plantations—and one particularly that I know well, where the management is good—the mortality is as high as ten per cent.

"After I had spent five months in those islands, the firms who sent me out said: 'Now, you must learn whence all these slaves are coming.' So I crossed over to the main land of Africa, to the great province of Angola, which also belongs to Portugal. This is a province of some five hundred thousand square miles in extent. There I saw for myself how these forty thousand slaves had been recruited. I passed up the greatest slave route in the world, which begins on the coast line at the ancient port of Dongola, and runs eastward into the very heart of Darkest Africa. Down that slave route thousands of slaves have been poured for generations. When I was there in 1905 they were being sent down at the rate of about three thousand every year.

"I had been on that slave route for only a few hours before I saw evidence of the compulsion which was necessary to drag these people from their homes. I found great wooden shackles into which their hands and feet and sometimes even their necks were put to prevent them from running away at night. I found skeletons spread along that route. As I lunched only an hour or two's journey from the coast, I noticed a very bad odor, and turning around I found the decomposing corpse of a poor slave who had perished as he had been brought down to the coast. Gentlemen, I want to say to you that those people are taken absolutely against their will. The system is called contract labor and the good laws of Portugal say that the people shall be absolutely free; but as a matter of fact not one of them goes to the cocoa farms of his own free will. Their freedom is no better than that of the man who hands out his purse when the highwayman puts a pistol to his head.

"The slaves are obtained by all manner of means. Some are raided in the far interior and are brought down for many hundreds of miles over that long,

painful route to the coast. What they suffer on that road no words can tell. I myself have traveled it month after month. I know, also, what it is to have fever, to be sick and weary and to be hungry and thirsty on that road. But if it is uncomfortable for a free man, who knows that in a few months he will return to his home, what must it be for a man who has been torn away from his home, who has a slaver behind him ready to beat him if he fails to maintain the pace, ready, perhaps, to drive an axe into his skull or to cut the sinews of his legs and leave him to perish? These things have been done over and over again.

"Gentlemen, I have been out to this place twice. I have spent over two years traveling in Africa. I speak Portugese and I have spoken to hundreds of people. I have seen these things for myself. When I was out there the second time, about a year ago, although the Portugese government and the planters themselves had promised to bring about reforms, these poor people were being brought into slavery at the rate of five thousand a year, never to return to their homes.

"England decided to find the facts and to give up the use of cocoa from these plantations. The great English cocoa firms have given it up, but the Portugese have said, 'America will buy our cocoa.' Think of that, free America buying slave cocoa! And in the month of April last year six million pounds of slave grown cocoa were bought by America.

"Gentlemen, I ask you, as men interested in clean commercial life, if this thing shall be allowed to continue. Already America is responding to this call. Your biggest firm, Walter Baker & Company, of Boston, although it uses large quantities of cocoa, has given up buying slave cocoa. Many of your other large firms have done the same. I ask you, gentlemen, to use your influence to make this matter known and to spread the news so that not only your great firms, but even your smaller firms will quit using this cocoa. The simplest way to bring this about is just to write a line to your Secretary of State, Hon. Philander C. Knox." (Applause.)

THE EXPRESSION OF ART IN CITY PLANNING

On January 12th, Mr. Alfred East, of London, Associate of the Royal Academy and President of the Royal Society of British Artists, spoke before the City Club on the "Expression of Art in City Planning." Mr. East is a landscape painter and etcher. His more important works have been placed in some of the leading art galleries of the world including the Luxembourg. He has exhibited at the Royal Academy since 1882. At the present time, he has an exhibit at the Art Institute of this city. Mr. East is a member of many important societies and orders, including the Order of the Crown of Italy and the Societe National des Beaux Arts, France. He is honorary member of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Meiji Bijutsu Kai of Japan and the Societe Royal d'Aquarellerts of Belgium. He is the author of the "Art of Landscape Painting in Oil Color," published in 1906.

Mr. East was introduced by Mr. A. B. Pond.

Mr. A. B. Pond

"Every American citizen prides himself before all else in being a practical man, endowed with common sense and with a keen eye to utility. It ought to be possible in the course of a generation to make this practical, common-sense, utilitarian citizen realize that an orderly, logical city is better than a disorderly, illogical city; that a city which functions easily and without friction is better than one which functions with difficulty and with friction; in brief, that a livable city is better than a city which one often seeks to avoid.

"If we find a city which is logical and orderly, which functions easily, and which is livable, we may be sure that we have found a city in which there are already elements of beauty, for all of these things are parts of that kind of beauty which should be characteristic of a city. But if we find a city in which there is an apparent conflict between beauty and some practical interest, it does not by any means follow that the factor which should invariably and inevitably rule is that of utility. The

reason for this is simply that beauty in itself—man being made as he is—is a use of the highest order and the city or life which does not take account of it, but which takes into consideration only mere practicality, is not a perfect city or a perfect life.

"There was once upon a time a certain John, a visionary, whose words are recorded in the Sacred Scriptures, who saw in one of his visions the New Jerusalem, the perfect city, let down out of the heavens. To him this perfect city seemed to be four-square; the length of it was exactly the same as the breadth of it, and it had three gates on each side. It must have looked very much like a typical Roman camp and its nearest approach to our own times must have been a typical western town. I venture to say that when this John died, if he really went to this New Jerusalem, he found there something entirely undreamed of in his philosophy. He would have found that the surveyor had worked along with the artist and that somehow or other beauty had crept in with the surveyor's work. I am not here to say anything against the surveyor; he is continually my co-partner in business. But the surveyor who has in his mental box only a straight edge and a right angle would be a very unfortunate adjunct to the architect.

"There have been times in America when the artist was supposed to be a person who was necessarily out of touch with real masculine life. If this has ever been true in America it certainly has not been true in Europe. The Italy of the Renaissance occasionally, when it wanted to find an architect, took an artist and set him to work designing its great buildings. Now an architect is an artist who is supposed to do utilitarian things sometimes, and because he has a business side to his art, the curse of the art is somewhat removed in the eyes and minds of some people. But in Italy the people went to the artists when they wanted an architect—and even when they wanted a military engineer. They drew upon Michael Angelo and Leonardo both for the building of fortifications and for the designing of en-

gines of war. They set such high score by the artist's work that, when he painted his great picture, the entire town turned out, put the picture on a cart and carried it through the streets in triumphal procession.

"This tradition of the artist as a real part of the community life has been handed down in Europe from that day to this. It is not a strange thing in Europe to see a mere artist consulted by very practical people in very practical problems, on the theory that what he has to say will be of real use to them in their work.

"We have with us to-day a European artist of this practical type, a man who is president of the Royal Society of British Artists, and who is an honorary member of the British Institute of Architects. I take pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Alfred East of London." (Applause.)

Mr. Alfred East

"Before I take up the main line of my remarks to-day, I wish to make a suggestion on another matter. I had the pleasure, about five years ago, of representing Great Britain at the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburg. At that place, as you know, there had been established an international exposition under the direction of Mr. John Beattie. Every year at Pittsburg there are gathered together a number of pictures painted by men who are eminent in Europe; Pittsburg in this respect is taking the lead of all American cities. I believe that you have in that scheme the germ of a great artistic idea. I believe that that institute may grow until it becomes a National Salon. This would be of the greatest advantage to your young artists who cannot afford to go to Europe to see the masterpieces of the modern painters. It would bring those masterpieces to you; it would establish your national reputation as lovers of art. I would suggest that you ask that this collection be sent *en bloc* to Chicago. It would be a great thing for the lovers of art in your city.

"My first impression of this great city of Chicago was of its enormous energy—the energy of men who have built within a hundred years a city whose fame has spread throughout the world. I was

struck with its remarkable situation on the lake front, its large area and its advantageous location in the center of a great continent. I said to myself, 'What tremendous responsibility rests with the civic administration of this city!'

"I have thought that you might perhaps derive some benefit from the experience of London. London, as you know, about two hundred and fifty years ago was destroyed by fire. Sir Christopher Wren at that time submitted plans for a 'city beautiful,' but they were practically ignored. Since then we have been beautifying the City of London in sections, the aggregate cost of which would have almost paid for Wren's original scheme. This is a warning to be ready when you have the opportunity.

"I have seen in your city plan some ideal schemes to make Chicago a 'city beautiful' in reality. It has occurred to me that this city, whose aesthetic approach is from the water and whose commercial approach is from the land, might perhaps form a model city for all the world. I can imagine such a city as this now, with its noble approach from the water—a splendid double boulevard leading up to a magnificent civic administration building, which in this country would take the place of a cathedral. A civic building would be the natural center of civic life and the center of your city. On the right, I should imagine you would have your technical colleges and schools, in close connection with your harbor, your work shops and your manufacturing establishments. On the other side might be the residential section, where I should expect to find the library, the museums and other buildings of similar character. A complete plan of the city would be one not only beautiful but in every sense, as Mr. Pond has said to you, useful. After all, usefulness and fitness of purpose always involve the element of beauty.

"As a landscape painter, I speak with diffidence when I draw this picture of an ideal city. I believe I have some justification in suggesting such a city to you here in Chicago because in our country we have little opportunity for such a thing. Our cities have been established for us. We are anxious to make beautiful that processional route from Buckingham Palace to Trafalgar

Square. It will be adorned by a magnificent group of statuary, by Mr. Thomas Brock, representing commerce and agriculture. The Common Council of London will not allow the erection of a building unless it is set back so as to widen the street.

"It occurred to me that the strength and courage of your people who have built this great city in so short a time, who have put up these enormous buildings and spread the city's trade throughout the world, should be turned somewhat toward the realization of artistic ideals. In the exuberance of your youth you may be inclined to overlook this aesthetic idea. Mr. John Burns, minister of the local government board, who has studied the question of town planning in this country and who introduced the Town Planning Bill which was passed by the House of Commons a short time ago, after it had been somewhat mutilated by the House of Lords, told me in response to a question concerning the attitude toward municipal art in America, that he had been astonished to find here a body of young men and women with high municipal patriotism, with good intellectual attainments and broad sympathies, who have a sincere desire to make their cities beautiful. He said: 'I have every faith that in America they will not make those blunders that some cities have made, in building to the exclusion of the aesthetic idea.' That was extremely gratifying for me to hear and I am sure that, coming from such a high source, it must be gratifying to you.

"Further than this I only wish to say that, in proportion to what you have done in the past, your responsibilities for the future are great. It should be your desire to see the City of Chicago become not only the greatest city of the Union—or, indeed, of the entire world—but the most beautiful city of the world as well. You have the force of character, you have the money; with these you can compel success. You have among you eminent architects, landscape gardeners, artists and sculptors. You have institutions such as the Municipal Art League, which have this matter at heart and are willing to lend you assistance.

You should bring about a diminution of these abominable bill boards, which I

am ashamed to say disgrace my own country as well as yours. It is an abuse of the privilege of citizenship that they should be foisted upon us. I look upon these bill boards as something like an open drain; they offend my sensibilities. Why should they be allowed to exist and to be placed at random, as they are, to offend the sensibilities of the public? In England we have established a society for the prevention of this sort of thing, consisting of many eminent men through whose influence we have succeeded in curtailing this outrage in some of our English municipalities. We have not succeeded entirely, but we are growing more powerful year by year, and are bringing home to the public that this bill board nuisance is an infringement of their rights as citizens.

"It would not be a bad idea for your city administration to put a very heavy tax on these bill boards; it might bring in a considerable amount of money which you might hand over to your Art Institute. If the advertisers are determined to have these bill boards, they should be made to pay for them. We do not get very many things without paying for them in these days, and I see no reason why these persons should have this privilege without charge. They do pay rent, of course, but let them pay for their aggression upon our notice. What can be more disgusting than to see in front of a noble building a big bill board which distracts your attention from the symmetry and beauty of the architecture?

"I am ashamed to say that we have not as yet been able to abolish the nuisance in our own country; over here, however, you can do anything you set your hands to. You have not so many vested interests as we have and you have the courage of your opinions. I believe that some of those advertisers have no idea that they are hurting our sensibilities. This matter should be brought before them. They should be shown that they are offending good taste and are hurting the entire city for their individual gain.

"I beg of you, in closing, to remember that in this country you have the opportunity for city planning we do not possess in London. We missed our chance two hundred and fifty years ago. Since

then we have been tinkering, but our tinkering has cost us a great deal of money. I believe that you should start, not with an imperfect idea, but with a scheme, grand in its proportions and noble in its outlines, regardful of sanitary features and useful, too, in the city's commercial life. I believe that this is within your grasp, although many things may have to be sacrificed. With such a noble lake frontage, with your magnificent location practically in the center of this great country and with your tremendous future your responsibility is great. It is to you that your country must look for the safeguarding of this wonderful City of Chicago." (Applause.)

MR. GEORGE E. HOOKER: "I would like to ask Mr. East if he knows of any effort being made anywhere to deal with this question of sign-boards and with the whole subject of commercial advertising on positive, affirmative lines. It has often seemed to me that all that has been done in regard to this subject from an idealistic standpoint has been to object—although a few years ago we did have a movement as a result of which all the signs that projected over the sidewalk on one of our principal streets were at once swept away. Similar action, I think, has recently been taken—at least has been planned—respecting another street.

"The question which I raise is as to whether this problem of commercial advertising can be worked out on constructive, legitimate lines. Everybody uses those signs; they are an accommodation to the public; they reach the people. If that were not true they would not be there. This function of giving notice is, of course, a legitimate one. Do you know of any effort being made anywhere to work out the problem along affirmative lines?"

MR. EAST: "As far as prohibition is concerned in London, the Common Council have power to prevent certain forms of advertising, such, I believe, as the sky-line advertisements, which interfere with the contour of buildings. I do not, however, know how far their powers extend. It is possible that in your own City Council such a thing might be done.

"I think that all advertisements, such as those on bill boards, are a pandering to the laziness of the people. If they want to find out where they can get certain things, it does not require very much effort to acquire that information in the newspapers as well as on the bill boards. There are other mediums of getting at the public besides that aggressive and vulgar system of public advertisements. As far as the advertising on bill boards is concerned, there may be signs of a standardized form and size which could be put in certain places and which would not offend public taste. This has been tried in certain parts of England, where boards have been made more or less artistic and placed where they would not be offensive. These bill boards have been standardized and not left to the crazy taste of the individuals who get them up.

"Of course, you have your own difficulties to solve and you have your own methods by which to meet them, but I do not understand why this particular class should be privileged to offend the public taste. Other men get along without this aggressive method of advertising. They succeed by reason of the merit of their goods, which is, perhaps, the best advertisement of all. I would renew, however, my original suggestion that the bill boards should be taxed and the fund derived from this source be applied to the purposes of your Art Institute." (Applause.)

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THE WORK AND PLANS OF THE UNITED CHARITIES

The work and plans of the United Charities of Chicago were discussed informally before the City Club on Saturday, January 22. Those who took part were Mr. Charles H. Wacker, president, Professor Charles Richmond Henderson, chairman of the executive committee, and Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley, general superintendent of the United Charities. Dr. H. B. Favill presided.

Dr. H. B. Favill

"Gentlemen, for a great many years the organizations in this community which have charged themselves with the responsibility of ministering to the poor have been doing their work quietly and without display, but, nevertheless, in an effective, philanthropic, constructive manner. The two leading charitable societies of this community have been the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, the oldest, and the Chicago Bureau of Charities, more recent. These organizations were formed for rather different purposes but finally came to discharge similar functions. When this fact became known; it was seen that there ought to be a consolidation of the two movements. This consolidation was effected about a year ago by the uniting of the two societies into a single organization known as the United Charities. This organization now has entire charge of the work of dispensing relief and of carrying on the constructive charitable work of this community.

"Besides taking over the duties of both of the older organizations, the United Charities has assumed new functions, one of which is the giving of proper publicity to its various activities and needs. No longer is the char-

ity organization of this city to run along without promulgating its plans and its needs and without asserting what it considers to be its rights to recognition in Chicago. Therefore, as a first step in this publicity campaign, we are to have presented to us today the facts about the United Charities and the relation of the organization to this community. We intend to keep on doing all that can be done to enlist the good offices of the community in the furtherance of this work.

"The United Charities aims to do three things: First, to dispense charity where necessary; second, to give constructive assistance to those elements in the community which need help, though not in so obvious a form; third, to act as a clearing house through which people of philanthropic disposition may make their contributions to charity without any misgivings that they may be misdirected. The details of this work will be explained by the president of the United Charities, Mr. Charles H. Wacker, to whom we will now have the pleasure of listening."

Mr. Wacker in his introductory remarks presented an outline of the organization and principal activities of the United Charities. This outline, which was in the form of a chart, is printed elsewhere in this Bulletin. Continuing, Mr. Wacker said:

Mr. Charles H. Wacker

"The United Charities of Chicago was established in April, 1909, through the consolidation of the Relief and Aid Society and the Bureau of Charities. This gives Chicago a strong, comprehensive, unified organization. Last year through eleven district offices, we

helped 13,965 families, numbering over 50,000 individuals. The principal causes of distress were sickness, accident, death, old age. Then there is desertion and intemperance and other misconduct which is just as disastrous,

ified milk were distributed to sickly children. In the laundry, sewing room and domestic science room, employment and instruction are given to mothers who must learn how to earn a living for their children. The Open

The United Charities of Chicago

A union of **The Relief & Aid Society**
and **The Bureau of Charities**

BOARD OF DIRECTORS, CONSISTING OF THIRTY-EIGHT LEADING CITIZENS	REGISTRATION	Application Registration Records Correspondence (outside references)
	WORK FOR NEEDY FAMILIES THROUGH THESE DISTRICT OFFICES	CENTRAL—1500 Wabash Avenue. ENGLEWOOD—226 W. 63d Street. LOWER NORTH—1116 Wells Street. NORTHERN—2304 Lincoln Avenue. NORTHWESTERN—1605 Milwaukee Avenue. SOUTH CENTRAL—43 E. 31st Street. SOUTH CHICAGO—9104 Commercial Avenue. SOUTHWESTERN—2123 S. Ashland Avenue. STOCK YARDS—723 W. 47th Street. WEST SIDE—940 W. Madison Street. WOODLAWN—6255 Kimbark Avenue.
		MARYCRANE NURSERY with these departments
		Dispensary Milk Depot Diet Kitchen Laundry Instructions to Mothers
	SPECIAL SOCIAL ACTIVITIES	INFANT WELFARE WORK
		Baby Tents Diets Classes for Mothers Home Instruction Visiting Housekeeper
		THE HOMELESS
		Home for Men Employment Relief
		SUMMER OUTING
		Camp (Algonquin) Outings Excursions
	GENERAL SOCIAL ACTIVITIES	Participation in State and National Charity Conferences Institutional Member American Red Cross Participates in Constructional Philanthropic Movements
	INQUIRY DEPARTMENT	Reports on character and standing of charitable and benevolent enterprises
	COMMITTEE ON PUBLICITY	Reports Pamphlets Charts
	FINANCE COMMITTEE	Appeals Funds Accounting—Auditing

and sometimes more so, to the women and children.

"The Mary Crane Nursery maintained by the Society is devoted to the interests of mothers and children. It contains a day nursery with a capacity for seventy-five children and gave 18,887 days' care to children of working mothers last year. In the milk depot, 120,000 bottles of pasteurized and mod-

Air School for children predisposed to tuberculosis is on the roof of the building.

"The United Charities called the meetings which led to the Infant Welfare campaign and took a leading part in the crusade. Through a donation from the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, we were able to maintain five tent stations for babies and

to keep twenty workers in the field all summer to care for sick babies.

"Over 2,000 homeless men and boys, some convalescent, some stranded in the city, were assisted. The Society maintains a home for such men and boys.

"The Society carries on a Social Service work at the Cook County Hospital in behalf of outgoing patients who have no home or money. It furnishes two workers who are in constant attendance and last year helped 1,858 people.

"Our Inquiry Department will furnish information to any inquirer concerning the character and standing of charitable institutions and agencies soliciting contributions.

"In the Registration Department is the index which makes a clearing house for the charity work of the city. 160,000 records are on file. This information, confidential in character, can be made of great service to those who are appealed to on the streets or in their homes if they will communicate with the Society before aiding. Whether a contributor or not, every citizen is requested to refer cases and to make use of this Department.

"The Society carries on an extensive summer outing work. 2,640 boys and girls were sent to the country for two weeks. 1,557 mothers and children were cared for at Camp Algonquin. The United Charities handled all the transportation for outings given in Chicago and kept an index of these guests — 16,375 in all.

"The Society covers the whole city and helps regardless of race, color or creed. We are unable adequately to meet the demands made upon us by the poor because of lack of funds. We were obliged to borrow \$30,000, and then could not do all that should have been done. We are seeking a pledged annual support that will enable us to do this work more thoroughly.

"To furnish timely assistance to the sick, the hungry and the homeless, to the downhearted, to the man out of work, to the mother struggling to keep her family together, to the children on whom the hand of poverty falls so

heavily, this is our primary function. But there is much more to do. There is work which we have not touched or which we have touched, at least, only superficially. We must take up certain problems which affect our social welfare and which we realize must be studied, in order that we may find and apply a remedy. I refer to such social problems as that of infant welfare. In New York City, following the work inaugurated in Chicago, baby work was taken up and pushed until now New York has a Bureau of Child Hygiene. Under this bureau are the school nurses, who are maintained throughout the year, in the summer being detailed to the work of visiting the babies. Other problems which should come within the scope of the Society's work are those of wife-desertion, vagrancy, regulation of bakeries and tenement houses, the establishment of a municipal lodging house for women and problems of a similar nature. There should also be a survey of the general field of charity.

"The people of this country should demand a more intelligent and comprehensive system of public relief and, as there is a large field for both public and private charity, great efforts should be made to bring these different agencies into closer co-operation and to make them component parts of one great system.

"In our country public sentiment is all powerful. It should be one of the aims of organized charity to ascertain the causes of distress, suffering and misfortune and to apply in an intelligent manner remedies for their prevention. The duty of ascertaining the cause, suggesting the remedies and indicating to what extent the government can be justly called upon to make private charity unnecessary, clearly falls upon the shoulders of settlement and charity workers and, in fact, upon all whose humanitarian instincts prompt them to work in that field of enterprise. Let them make careful investigations, spread broadcast their information as to the causes of distress and demand the necessary legislation. Let us hope that the day is not far distant when every good man will con-

sider it his duty to agitate persistently for the remedies pointed out.

"We now have endowments netting us annually \$18,000. We have secured \$55,000 annually in pledges and according to careful estimates, we shall need in annual contributions about \$100,000 more in order to be able to carry on the work as at present. A determined effort will be made to secure the amount necessary before we will recall the instructions given to Mr. Kingsley to help at once, amply and intelligently, wherever help is needed, irrespective of nationality, creed or color. We have the machinery and the will to do the work and it is up to the people of Chicago, who have the means and the heart, to enable us by their support to do so.

"Why is it a fact that in the many munificent bequests made by our rich men and women the United Charities have been forgotten? Do they not know that we have here in Chicago a charitable organization which is looked upon as a model by charitable workers in all large cities of this country? Let them learn it now and remember it in the future. Let them help us to make it an institution of still greater merit and of still greater credit to our city.

"We need a new charity building. Who is the man able and willing to erect such a monument to himself and to his city? Such a charity building would be made the clearing house of all charitable institutions in this community. The saving in expenses and in the preventing of fraud, duplications and impositions would alone make it a splendid investment. Think of how much money would thus be saved for the worthy poor! We all know that promiscuous giving is an evil.

"The consolidation of the Bureau of Charities and the Relief and Aid Society has united the field of effort and centralized the responsibility. It has made more than ever apparent the great needs that exist in this community. Our citizens were very desirous that this union should be brought about. Now that the officers have accomplished this, we feel it our duty to let our needs be known and also to call

attention again to the fact that we cannot do the work unless funds are received. We have the organization and facilities but we need the interest and co-operation of every one who can contribute. I thank you." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN FAVILL: "Gentlemen, now that you know the scope and extensiveness of this work of the United Charities, it is unnecessary that you should be told that the execution of this work, which is very largely a volunteer process, is very laborious. The executive committee of the United Charities is a hard working body. The chairman of the executive committee is a real chairman. It is my pleasure to introduce Professor Henderson, who is chairman of the executive committee of the United Charities." (Applause.)

Dr. Charles R. Henderson

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I take my cue from what Mr. Forgan has already said in public print in regard to the unique position which the United Charities holds in the city of Chicago. It represents the Charity Organization Society movement, which is practically the same as that of the municipal charities of the cities of the German empire, the so-called Elberfeld system. Indeed, this method developed in France, starting some twelve or fifteen years ago in Paris from the work of Mr. Le Febure, formerly a member of the French legislature, until it has extended to all the large cities of France except Lyons. I may, therefore, speak of this movement, not as something local or experimental, but as something which has attracted the attention of the most competent men and women engaged in charity work throughout the civilized world. I am not, therefore, pleading for you to invest in an experiment. I could do that with good faith but it is unnecessary now, after the movement has established itself and has shown by its fruits that it is absolutely essential to a civilized community.

"The proposition which I want to advance is this: That this charity deserves, in the very nature of the case,

to receive the consideration and support of every generous man and woman in Chicago. In saying this, I would not for an instant be understood as minimizing the worth and the imperative necessity of other forms of charity.

"In a directory of the charities of Chicago, published a few years ago by representatives of the principal charity organizations of the city, there is a list of nine different groups of organizations for the relief of distress. There were, for example, organizations for the relief of needy families in their homes. There were organizations and institutions for the relief, education and correction of children, and for the relief of the aged, the sick and infirm. These institutions were supported by the state, the municipality, the county, by endowed charities or by the annual gifts of generous people. There was also a large range of activities directed toward correctional work and toward the relief of the sick. There were many agencies of an ecclesiastical character; these alone occupying in the list something over one hundred pages of text. All of these agencies, together with the schools for the training of professional workers and the efforts made to improve the scientific foundation in the study of these movements, constitute an honorable chapter in the history of Chicago. All of those charities that are well managed deserve the contributions of those who are connected with them or who shall be connected with them. But the United Charities—by its very name a happy omen—has a position different from any of these. It has a purpose which encompasses the claims of all. It is of that proposition which I wish particularly to speak.

"The United Charities is necessary to the good functioning of every one of these institutions of which I have spoken, whatever may be its character, whatever may be the nationality or the religious affiliations of those to whom it appeals or to whom it ministers. This is true, first, because it is the only charity that professes even to try to relieve instantly, intelligently and adequately, any person, no matter

what may be the cause of his distress, no matter what may be his creed or his economic or moral relations.

"I know that it used to be said that we had to make distinctions. In the earlier stages of the Charity Organization Society movement there was a standing rubric of this character: 'A difference between the worthy and the unworthy poor.' Once in awhile, we hear that phrase still, but the Charity Organization Society has outgrown it. If there is any man, woman or child who needs the intelligent and patient effort of a charitable organization to save him, it is the so-called unworthy person. I know he may require a little different sort of discipline; in the one case, he may need a good square meal and, in the other, a term in the penitentiary; but, in either case, what society is under the obligation of doing is to transform character. Society must not stop merely because the man or the child is a pauper, a mendicant, a vagabond or a criminal. It should say: 'There is one door at which any man, woman or child may enter with any kind of distress and need not go to a second door to beg.'

"That is our ideal. Do we meet that standard which we, ourselves have fixed? That is impossible at present, but it is a magnificent social achievement to have set distinctly before us the ideal that there should be one society, one organization, representing the entire community of Chicago, which should say to the unfortunate: 'You need not wander another square; you need not make a second appeal; you need not tear open again the wound which gives us both distress.' One probe of the efficient surgeon is worth more than a thousand prodings of all of the uneducated charlatans and quacks.

"What we want is to have a place in the organization where we can bring any person who is on the downward road toward mendicancy and say: 'You need not go farther. You have no reasonable excuse for begging of a second person. Beg of us and we will take the burden of your need upon our shoulders from this moment

on.' You can see that this is a vastly different stand from that which is ordinarily adopted in charity work.

"We have come here, not so much to plead for the poor as to plead for a more sensible treatment of mendicancy on your part. A great many of us have damaged the poor by giving them a little and sending them on: by training men at our back doors, at our front doors and in our offices to be beggars—and the next step to beggary is criminality. We want one place, therefore, so strong, so well equipped with offices in the different parts of the city and with trained people at adequate salaries that we can handle this problem effectively. This matter of salaries is important, for other cities are taking away the people whom we have trained but whom we cannot keep because we do not pay them adequate salaries; this is one reason why we cannot do the work which we would like to do.

"I claim that it is an important thing to have one society that will not say: 'You must go somewhere else because we do not take up this particular line of charity. We are specialists.' That is a perfectly proper attitude for such an organization as the United Hebrew Charities. It is perfectly proper for the Cook County Hospital to refuse to take in orphan children that are sound in health or for the Home for the Feeble Minded at Lincoln to refuse to take aged people who are mentally sound. It is perfectly proper for any of your special denominational or national societies to help only certain classes of persons of whom they are the special trustees. The United Charities, however, has undertaken the work of helping instantly, effectively, intelligently and adequately anyone that may ask for aid. The fulfillment of that function requires not only that we should educate our public by wise, persistent and systematic efforts, but that we should come into close contact through our central office with every one of these special charities, sending them the people that they want to help, but do not know, and suggesting more effective methods of doing their work.

"In the second place, we claim a unique function for the United Charities because it alone is in a position to secure a central registration of those who are in need or to gather adequate knowledge concerning them—or information as to where that knowledge can be obtained instantly by telephone. It is able to gather information as to the resources of the city and as to the various societies and individual givers throughout the community, so that from the data in hand the superintendent or anyone of his staff can, without hesitation, direct a person to the place where he may be able to secure assistance.

"Gathering up, on the one hand, as in a central clearing house, the information about those that are in distress, and, on the other hand, the information about the resources of the city and bringing this data together, not by a process of slow and tedious investigation but by having the facts immediately in hand, form an important part of the work of such societies as the United Charities. Do we do this work as should be done? No, we cannot do it; we do not have the means. But does the artist ever reach his ideals? One great artist said near the close of his career: 'Today I am in despair. For the first time in my life I have painted as good as I could think.'

"In the United Charities we do not profess to have an absolutely perfect and complete registration. There is a good registration but it can be improved. In order to improve it, however, we must have more money and better trained agents—and we must keep them after we have trained them.

"In the third place, the United Charities occupies a singular position of great advantage in this city, in that it seeks not only to mitigate distress but to discover and remove its causes. It is true we have not proceeded in this part of our enterprise as far as has been done in the city of New York; in this respect we are behind the magnificent Charity Organization Society of that city, but does any true and loyal Chicago man think that we are going to stay behind a town like New

York? (Laughter.) Merely because the Charity Organization Society of New York has rendered such an amazing service in the prevention and reduction of death and sickness by tuberculosis, because it has grappled with the problem of vagrancy as no other organization in this country has done, because it has taken up many of the problems of those who are incapable of rendering an equivalent for their living, because it has undertaken many other things such as those, with funds specially designated for the purpose, shall we say that we can not do these things which New York has done?

"I was a student in Chicago in the times of the old University. I have been here now for fifteen years. I am proud of Chicago—of everything but its dirt. I am particularly proud of such a society as this which can say: 'These sources of distress must be dried up; these causes of misery in our industries, in our institutions, in our politics, in our legislation, are not to be regarded with equanimity and calm. These are things that we, with characteristic Chicago energy, will grapple with as soon as the evil is disclosed.'

"Two things the United Charities can do for this great movement to prevent the causes of misery, crime, vice and distress; it can furnish the information and it can furnish the trained workers to help carry out any plan which may be proposed.

"First it can furnish the information. If you study the tables that have been prepared by Mr. Kingsley, you may find the sources of distress in the city of Chicago—tuberculosis and illnesses of different sorts, want of industrial training, neglected morality, neglected family life, and so forth. If you want to know where Chicago most profoundly fails, look at the records of many thousands of cases now on our combined registration in the United Charities office, and at the facts which we have accumulated but have not yet had time fully and scientifically to study. There you will see the tragic story displayed before you; you will see the causes of distress and some of the methods by which it can be mitigated—including, sometimes, the nec-

essary legislation to remove them altogether.

"I said that, in the second place, the United Charities might furnish the inspiration and the trained workers to assist in removing the causes of distress. Our workers are scattered all over the United States. When anybody wants a person for a superior position, he comes to Chicago and takes him away from us. We are training people to look at things in a larger way. We are accumulating the facts which make their appeal to the common sense of the business community. Finally, we are making this appeal: Industry, transportation, manufacture, commerce and education can not get on with cripples. We can not afford simply to feed the hungry—and that we must to relieve the distress of sickness—but we must see to it that there are fewer persons who are ill, fewer who are left in times of sickness, accident, non-employment, old age, widowhood or orphanage, to carry upon their own enfeebled shoulders the burdens that ought to be shared—and when we are intelligent, will be shared—by all the citizens of a generous and enlightened municipality and commonwealth." (Applause.)

Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley, superintendent of the United Charities of the city, spoke further concerning the work of that organization. He said:

Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley

"Back of the chairman of this meeting is a large map on which are about fourteen thousand black dots. Each dot stands for a family that the United Charities dealt with in some way or other during its past year of service. On the map are also twelve or thirteen stars. Each star represents the location of the district offices, the outposts in this city from which the principal part of the work of the United Charities is carried on. These district offices, as you will notice, are located at the points of the city's greatest need.

"Each of these fourteen thousand black dots, as I said, represents a family and as each family represents an average of three and a half or four people, more than fifty thousand persons

are shown to have been dependent, in some way or other last year, upon the action that was taken through the offices of the United Charities of Chicago. I need not say that this matter imposes upon those who are in charge a very great responsibility. Never, I believe, since the organization of the Humane Society, has there been an agency which has had brought to its attention so much of human distress and misfortune as has come to the attention of our organization and of similar organizations in our modern cities.

"The City Club has committees on housing, on health and on various other social matters. The reason why you need these, gentlemen, is reflected in the condition of this map, for this map represents the places where the conditions that are wrong in our community bear the hardest.

"If you follow the streets and alleys that lead to the homes of the people we have helped, you will find yourself on the trail of the white hearse; you will find yourself on the trail of those who are burdened with distress all along the line of a diminishing and a depressed standard of living. Among the fourteen thousand families represented on this map are the homes of about fifteen hundred people, where the bread-winner has been removed, of about six or seven hundred where the bread-winner has deserted his family, and of other hundreds and thousands where the bread-winner lies ill and is waiting the time when death will overtake him.

"Doctor Henderson has pointed out the various phases of work in which we are very deeply interested. It is our business to meet the wants of the people as humanely and as promptly as it is possible for us to meet them. When you consider that every one of these cases I have told you about brings to us a particular problem which is never exactly like any other, you will realize that it imposes a burden upon us that can not be lightly discharged. You can not discharge the obligation in terms of shoes and red flannel or of any other material thing. These are often needed but, if you give them only and allow the conditions to

remain unchanged, the same conditions that produced the need will produce that need again. We have, therefore, a two-fold ministry. The first is the direct responsibility of relieving the distress; the second, the responsibility of discovering and relieving the situation as indicated by the calls at our offices.

"There is not a class of trouble that is not represented in the calls that come to the United Charities of Chicago. The families, whose incomes are so depressed and who have, on the other hand, a high cost of living to cope with, usually have the most trouble about their girls—in the way that Mr. Roe told of a week ago at this place. These families are the destination of the cheapest and poorest milk and of the stalest bread; they are situated where the streets are cleaned but little or not at all and where the sanitary conditions are the worst in our whole city. We would not be discharging our duty to the citizens of this great city, if we merely relieved the immediate needs and left unknown the conditions which are producing them. We construe it to be a part of our duty to attend to these things, on the one hand, and also to let you know, on the other, where things are most wrong in this city and where they most need attention.

"You have doubtless read in the book, which all of us perhaps read sometimes but do not read enough, that 'if a man compel you to go with him a mile, go with him twain.' The program of the United Charities is to go with him the second mile and also the miles that lie beyond. The immediate need of taking care of these creature wants is our first great problem and, as Doctor Henderson says, what we are asking the community to enable us to do is to meet those wants promptly and adequately and to do this day by day. Those are our instructions and those are the things we are attempting to do.

"But, I submit the question to you, gentlemen, if we are going to make the city of Chicago the kind of a city we want it to be in the future, it must be a city where the boys and girls will

have an increasingly better chance of leading normal, happy, successful lives. We are interested in giving to the people the rent, the food, the clothing and the other things that they need to tide them along, but I believe the city of Chicago is more profoundly interested in giving every boy and every girl a fair chance; more interested in that than in merely giving them charity." (Applause.)

MR. GEORGE E. HOOKER: "Mr. Chairman, the question of mendicancy has been mentioned by Doctor Henderson. It has seemed to me that street mendicancy has been increasing during the last two or three years. I would like to ask if there is any reason to be assigned for that. Is it due to any deficiency on the part of the police regulations or is it because there are more people who are in distress and who naturally resort to that means of relieving it?"

MR. KINGSLEY: "It seems to me that that is largely a matter of police regulation. I believe that there are possibilities of humanely taking care of able bodied persons found on the street. I mean that employment can be found for such persons at the present time. The immediate problem now is not the problem of the able bodied. The graver problem is concerned with the handicapped people, the cripples. It can be solved here as it has been solved in other cities.

"Many of the street beggars who represent themselves to be cripples are not so as a matter of fact. I know of a great many people, however, for instance, one old man up by the county building who has pencils for sale, whose injuries are exactly what they appear to be. The other side of the problem I would like to illustrate with an experience I had one time with a boy who was brought into my office in another city. He had a cane and a very high heel and sole on one of his shoes—which made him appear to be very lame. A gentleman had telephoned us, asking what he should do about the boy, who was in his office. He said he was asking for money, exhibiting a card and saying that he was a cripple and that he

wanted money. I asked the gentleman to bring the boy over to the office. When he came we had a long interview with the boy and became convinced that he had a story that he was not willing to tell. So I sent for an inspector from the police department. The boy was taken into custody, with the result that the city detected and arrested ten of the worst 'yeggmen,' holdups and crooks that had ever infested the community. They had kits of burglar tools, dynamite and all of the other accessories of the burglar's profession. Several of the other men who operated in this gang—this boy being one of them—were only apparently injured. 'Brooklyn Bill,' however, the man directing the crowd, had a permanently injured hand from the application of potash and other materials to the back of it. Several of the other members of the gang had sore hands and sore feet, which they could exhibit as proof that they were really in need. The boy who was responsible for these disclosures received on an average of about eight dollars a day from his begging.

"There is a great deal of that kind of thing in the city of Chicago and in every other city. It needs a special mendicancy squad; it needs plain clothes men; it needs splendid, first-class, efficient co-operation on the part of the police, when everybody is on the square, that sort of mendicancy can be done away with." (Applause.)

MR. WACKER: "Yesterday, a very healthy looking, able bodied young man accosted me on the street and asked for help. I stopped and talked to him and told him to go to Mr. Kingsley, the general superintendent of the United Charities, who could find him work. I told him he ought not to be asking for help when he was in good health and could get work. I do not know whether the man took my advice or not, but I wish people would give such advice more frequently. If those who are asking for help are really worthy and want to work, they will go to the United Charities when directed. This man was undoubtedly able to work and if, upon application, we found that he could do only light

work, he would be furnished with that sort of work. The United Charities today can furnish employment to every able bodied man who is willing to work. There is no question about it and we will do it if they will come to us."

MR. HOOKER: "What do you do with the man who has a story of distress out of business hours, when the offices of the society are closed?"

MR. KINGSLEY: "I think the United Charities ought to answer that question by keeping its office open until twelve o'clock at night. We have not done so as yet. That is a part of the program we have in mind, but which we have not yet been able to carry out because there is not a person in the office who is not already badly overworked. We have just got to a position where we can meet our bills week by week. We do not know how much longer that state of affairs will keep up."

MR. WACKER: "In other words it is up to the people of Chicago to furnish us the sinews of war."

MR. VICTOR YOUNG: "I have listened with a great deal of interest to the discussion today and I am sure it voices my own sentiment, but I really believe that the case has not been stated in strong enough terms. I think that if the people of Chicago knew the actual conditions that are prevailing among the poor, something would surely be done. In the County Agent's office we are taking care of, in one way or another, over four thousand widows with an average of from two to three children each. There are very few of the poorer families in this city that are really adequately cared for. I think that that is the principal cause of the distress and of the ills which arise on account of the families not being able to care for their children properly. The mother must earn her living by scrubbing or washing and she permits the children to run around and to go anywhere they please during the day. They get into bad

company and, perhaps, finally find their way to the Juvenile Court.

"I think that ample provision ought to be made to care properly for these widows and for those who are unable to care for themselves. This is the mission of charity in the city of Chicago, but it is something that the charitable organizations have not yet been able to do in an adequate way. I know they have not had the funds; I know they have done everything that could be done; I know they are prepared to do everything they can do; but the funds are not available. This is really a problem that in this day of advanced civilization ought to be taken care of. The need that this thing should be done can not be emphasized too strongly."

Mr. Julius Rosenwald asked Mr. Wacker with reference to the procedure for becoming an annual subscriber to the United Charities.

MR. WACKER: "In order to secure the subscriptions necessary, a finance committee has been appointed of which Mr. Frank O. Wetmore, vice-president of the First National Bank, is chairman. The people generally have been asked to send in their contributions to Mr. Wetmore."

MR. ROSENWALD: "I would like Mr. Wacker to state whether the United Charities are willing to accept annual contributions of ten, twenty-five and fifty dollars."

MR. WACKER: "The attitude of the society is, Mr. Rosenwald, to accept with thanks any amount from one dollar up. The smaller contributions often represent a greater sacrifice than the larger ones.

"There is one other point I desire to bring before you at this time. In the course of this work I have sometimes met the question: 'Why do you need more money in these prosperous times than you did before?' The only answer I can honestly and conscientiously give to this question is that we never at any time have had money enough to do our work properly. The people who ask that question have

never had the opportunity that we have had to see how much distress and poverty is always prevalent in a large city like Chicago. The \$200,000 for which we are asking is not, as a matter of fact, adequate to do all that we ought to do. Desertion, laziness and

vagrancy are always prevalent in large cities, in prosperous times or bad, and until we can get at the bottom of this poverty and secure legislation which will eliminate it, we must fight it, as best we can under the circumstances. More cannot be asked."



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PROPOSED LEGISLATION FOR CHICAGO HARBOR

All the issues in the controversy over the so-called City Harbor and Sanitary District or Ton bills now before the legislature, were elaborately discussed at a special luncheon of the City Club held on Saturday, January 26. Arguments in favor of the city bill were presented by Representative Anton J. Cermak, who introduced the bill in the House, and by Alderman Charles M. Foell, chairman of the Council Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges. The other side of the case was discussed by Representative Cornelius J. Ton, who introduced the Sanitary District bill and by Mr. Hoyt King, formerly in charge of the Real Estate Department of the Sanitary District. The main addresses were followed by an open discussion in which other phases of the questions involved were brought out. Mr. George Packard, chairman of the City Club Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Waterways, presided.

With the meeting of the special session of the Forty-sixth General Assembly, the question of harbor improvements for the city of Chicago has come to the front as an important legislative issue. The report of the Chicago Harbor Commission in the early part of last year gave a definite basis for the movement toward the extension of harbor facilities in this city. Since that time, the Harbor Commissioner, Mr. John M. Ewen, has continued the study of the question and Mr. George C. Sikes, expert investigator for the Harbor Commissioner, has presented a report on the "Chicago Dock Problem," embodying the results of an investigation into the harbor policies of a large number of American cities. The Council Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges is at present considering the advisability of granting a franchise for the development of harbor facilities to a private

corporation and is conducting negotiations to that end with the Pugh Terminal Company.

The conflicting ideas as to the proper method of obtaining improved harbor facilities for Chicago have crystallized in the Legislature into two bills. One of these, House Bill No. 31, introduced by Representative Anton J. Cermak of the Ninth District, calls for an extension of the city's power to proceed on its own initiative with the work of harbor improvement or to grant the same power to private capital. The other bill, House Bill No. 35, introduced by Representative Cornelius J. Ton of the Thirteenth District, calls for a grant of authority to the Sanitary District to construct and operate wharves and the necessary warehouses and terminal facilities or to lease such wharves and facilities to a private company. The city bill is the work of the Council committees on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges and on State Legislation, acting jointly, and has the approval of the City Council. The Ton bill has not been endorsed by the Sanitary District but President R. R. McCormick, in his annual message, submitted subsequent to the discussion, approved the idea of vesting control of the harbor situation in the Sanitary District.

The principal issues involved in the controversy over these bills are two in number: First, should the docks be publicly or privately owned? Second, granted that public ownership is both desirable and feasible, should the power to proceed with harbor development be lodged with the city or with the Sanitary District. Incidental to these broad issues of public policy are other important questions, for instance, whether the docks should be constructed immediately or more slowly, in proportion to the growth of traffic; also, whether a referendum on the vari-

ous propositions involved in the harbor problem is advisable or necessary.

There seems to be little dispute that public ownership of docks, as an ideal proposition, would be the proper solution of the question. But the financial status of the city would seem to preclude any immediate step in the direction of public ownership. The present margin of indebtedness which the city may incur is \$16,411,544, but \$12,098,163 of this amount is provided for in the proposed bond issue, leaving a total of only \$4,313,381 available for other permanent improvements. Mr. John M. Ewen, harbor commissioner of the city, recently estimated the cost of constructing a modern system of docks at a little over \$10,000,000. This estimate, however, included the cost of an assembly hall and certain pleasure facilities in connection with one of the piers, which could be dispensed with if necessary. It also included the cost of constructing three piers. If a gradual development were to be undertaken, the bonding power of the city might still be sufficient to make a fair start, although further extension of the bonding power would probably be necessary in the future to continue the work.

Allowing for outstanding contract obligations, the bonding power of the Sanitary District is such that about \$3,000,000 of bonds could be issued for the purpose of harbor improvement. About \$2,000,000 could be raised by taxation and the revenue from the sale of power—about \$350,000, last year—could, according to the supporters of the Sanitary District bill, be used for the same purpose. It is claimed, therefore, by the advocates of the Ton plan that the Sanitary District is in a better position financially to undertake the work of improving the harbor than the city, and that the only way to prevent the granting of a private franchise—which, in their opinion, would probably preclude the city from taking over control of the harbor, because of the city's inability to accumulate the necessary funds—would be to give to the Sanitary District power to go ahead with the building of docks and terminal facilities. In their opinion, therefore, the issues of the controversy line up around the central issue of a contest between public and private ownership.

Other considerations urged in favor of the Sanitary District bill are that the Sanitary District is already in possession of the machinery and the organization to proceed with the work and that, as the Sanitary District already has a certain control over the river and as it is involved in the movement toward a deep waterway for Illinois—of which the Chicago harbor would be the northern terminus—a divided jurisdiction would be undesirable.

It is argued, on the other hand, that to vest these powers in the Sanitary District would be to give additional and undesirable permanency to that body; that it would thus be a step away from the consolidation of governmental powers which for many years has been conceded as necessary to the progress of the city. It is also claimed that a private grant, properly drawn, would, by no means, necessarily prevent the city from exercising proper authority over the harbor and from eventually taking over the ownership thereof. It is also argued that the Sanitary District would be less amenable to popular control than the City Council.

There is a difference between the city bill and the Sanitary District bill on the matter of a referendum. The city bill, as originally introduced, provided for an optional referendum—on petition of ten per cent of the voters—on the grant of a franchise or on any proposition for the reclamation of submerged land. An amendment has been framed, however, by the advocates of the city bill, which provides a mandatory referendum on any ordinance authorizing a private company to proceed with the construction and operation of docks for the city of Chicago and which provides, also, for an optional referendum on any ordinance authorizing the acquisition or construction of docks by the city, a private lease of over five years or a contract with riparian owners for the reclamation of submerged lands. The Sanitary District bill, as at present drawn, includes an optional referendum on a lease of over five years to a private company. Mr. Ton, however, in his discussion before the City Club agreed to meet any amendments of this sort which the city bill might make.

Before introducing the speakers, the

chairman, Mr. George Packard, briefly summarized the situation as follows:

Mr. George Packard

"As Chairman of your Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Waterways, I am particularly glad that this topic of the harbor question has come up for discussion. There is nothing before the citizens of Chicago to-day that is more urgent, more pressing, further removed from the realm of iridescent dreaming, more capable of prompt solution than this harbor question. It is peculiar, too, in that it has so many angles of approach, all of which possess excellencies which commend it to careful consideration.

"Starting with the basic proposition that Chicago needs in a hurry some kind of harbor improvement, not only from the point of view of the commercial and shipping interests but from what seems to me the larger viewpoint of the need of the citizens for relief from the bridge congestion, which becomes increasingly annoying during the warmer months.

"As a relief, the following propositions have been advanced: In the first place there is a private corporation adequately equipped, which is ready at any time to begin the construction of piers and warehouses in the lake north of the Chicago river. This corporation is provided with a franchise from the state and is only awaiting a reasonable franchise from the city of Chicago.

"Secondly, the city of Chicago delays granting this franchise because it—the city—is seeking to obtain something which it does not yet have, the full power to construct, operate and maintain wharves and warehouses. But even if the city had this power, the question of the wherewithal to use it is not entirely apparent.

"Thirdly, it is sought to enlarge the powers of the Sanitary District to the same end. The Sanitary District has the additional advantage of having the machinery and the revenue at hand to undertake the work, should the Legislature grant it the necessary power.

"Fourthly, it has been rumored that

the United States government is ready to expend a sum of almost three million dollars for harbor improvements in the heart of Chicago. That, however, has nothing to do with this particular subject, for I do not believe the national government would assume to exercise any control except over matters which directly concern navigation.

"We are very fortunate in having with us this afternoon speakers representing both the city side and the Sanitary District side of the proposed measures of relief. I shall first have the honor to introduce to you, the Hon. Anton J. Cermak, who introduced the bill for the city." (Applause.)

Hon. Anton J. Cermak

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I am sorry that I can not go into the details of this bill as I would like to do. I am only the foster father of the bill; my colleague in the City Council, Alderman Foell, is the author of this bill and will explain it in greater detail than I would be able to do. I happen to be a member of the General Assembly and also of the City Council; that is how I came to introduce the bill in the legislature. The measure was drawn up by a sub-committee of the Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges, the Local Transportation Committee and the Committee on State Legislature. I introduced it in the House on January 11.

"The bill as drawn is entitled: 'A bill for an act to extend the power of cities in relation to harbors, wharves and harbor structures, facilities and improvements and certain utilities operated in connection therewith, to condemn private property and to authorize the use, occupation or reclamation of the submerged lands of the State in carrying out such power.'

"The bill was referred to the Committee on Municipal Corporations. In some mysterious way it was taken from that committee last week without my knowledge and sent to the Committee on Judiciary. Probably my colleague on the right, Mr. Ton, who introduced the Sanitary District bill, can explain that better than I.

"As I said, I am not able to go into the details of this bill. I wish, however, to say this; that I do not believe that, when the Sanitary District was created, the legislature intended to give such power as is provided for in the bill introduced by Mr. Ton. The gentlemen who are sponsors for that bill will have a hard time to convince me that the Sanitary District should have any such power. I am sorry that the bill was ever introduced because it has complicated the matter in such a way that I doubt whether either the city of Chicago or the Sanitary District will get any harbor legislation. The legislators from down state are not inclined to give Chicago any more legislation than they are obliged to and, inasmuch as we are wrangling over this question as to whom the power shall be given, they do not feel that either the city or the Sanitary District should get the legislation they are asking for at this time.

"Since January 11th, I have tried to get a hearing of the Committee of the House on Municipal Corporations, so that those who are interested in this measure might be given an opportunity to be heard, but up to the present time I have failed to get the consent of the chairman of the committee. I accused him on the floor of the house of not acting fairly, and to my surprise he pointed out to me that the bill was not before his committee. When I came to investigate, I discovered to my surprise that the bill was before the Committee on Judiciary, having been sent there from the Committee on Municipal Corporations, without my knowledge. That is about all I care to say at this time." (Applause.)

Alderman Charles M. Foell, Chairman of the Council Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges, spoke with reference to the city bill.

Alderman Charles M. Foell

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the City Club: Before taking up for consideration the details of the bill which has come to be known as the city harbor bill, it may not be out of place to say just a few words of an his-

torical nature regarding the harbor situation in Chicago.

"On the 13th day of January, 1908, the Mayor of Chicago appointed a Harbor Commission, composed of eight members, three of whom were members of the City Council, the others being prominent citizens of the community. Mr. John M. Ewen was made Chairman of the Commission. The members from the City Council were Aldermen Hoffman, Stewart and myself. The other members were Messrs. Charles H. Wacker, Charles H. Conover, Isham Randolph and Frederic A. Delano. For fourteen months or more that Commission held public hearings at which the commercial and all other interests of the city were represented. On the first of March, 1909, the Commission submitted its report to the City Council and the Council referred that report to the Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges.

"The immediate occasion for the appointment of that Commission was that steps were being taken by the South Park Commissioners to dedicate the only portion of the lake shore on the south side, not already in their possession, to park purposes. The Mayor in his message pointed out that practically the entire lake shore, with the exception of that portion lying between Twelfth street and Jackson Park, had already been dedicated to park purposes, and his reason for appointing the Commission was to ascertain, if possible, whether or not at some time in the future—if not immediately—there might be a need for harbor development on some portion of the lake shore.

"As the result of its hearings, the Commission accumulated a considerable mass of testimony. The report of the Commission, together with three special reports prepared for it and a digest of the hearings, covered a volume of some four hundred pages. Speaking with all modesty of the work of the Commission, I think I may say that the submission of this report was the occasion of the awakening of the people of Chicago to a realization of the need of better harbor facilities.

"The hearings conducted by the Commission disclosed the fact that, during a period of ten years, from 1897 up to and including 1907, the tonnage of practically all the Great Lakes ports had increased very materially, at some of the ports as much as five fold. At Cleveland, Buffalo, Milwaukee and other places, the tonnage had more than doubled during that period but Chicago—and, when I say Chicago, I speak of the port in its entirety, including the Calumet district—had stood practically still. Chicago proper had lost during those ten years while the Calumet district had gained, thus keeping the total commerce of the port at a practical standstill for that period of time.

"This was a rather deplorable condition, but it was a fact. In the report which the Commission submitted it recommended many things to better this situation, two or three of which are pertinent to the present discussion; to these I wish to refer. One of the recommendations was that steps be taken to construct piers just north of the river, between the river mouth and Chicago avenue, for the accommodation of passenger, package freight or fruit lines. This is the point where the private corporation which is now seeking a franchise from the city proposes to build its docks.

"Another recommendation of the Commission was that an inland harbor should be created on Lake Calumet, either by the city of Chicago or by contract with riparian owners, as might seem most feasible after a detailed study of the situation.

"A third recommendation was that steps be taken, if necessary, to secure a grant of power, from the legislature of Illinois for the city of Chicago to acquire, construct, maintain and operate or lease for operation, wharves, docks and levees, and, in connection therewith, elevators, warehouses and vaults; also power to acquire, operate or lease tracks and terminal facilities in connection with docks, together with the power to condemn such land as might be necessary in the creation of harbors or docks.

"Those, I think, are the three rec-

ommendations that are pertinent to this discussion. When the Council Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges took up the consideration of the subject, it first had a legal study made of the city's powers to carry out these various recommendations and, in order to enable you to understand the reason for the provisions in the city bill, it may not be amiss to state briefly the nature of the legal power of the city with reference to harbor development, and why we think it is necessary to have the enabling legislation which this bill asks for.

"The entire legal power of the city with reference to harbor construction is found in nine clauses of article five of the 'Cities and Villages Act.' They are short and I am going to refer to them seriatim. The thirtieth clause of this article gives the city the right to deepen, widen, dock, cover, wall, alter or change the channel of water courses. The thirty-first clause gives it the power to construct and keep in repair canals and slips for the accommodation of commerce. The next clause gives the city the right to erect and keep in repair public landing places, wharves, docks and levees. The remaining clauses, taking them in order, give the city the power to regulate and control the anchorage, moorage and landing of all water craft and their cargoes within the jurisdiction of the corporation; to license, regulate and prohibit wharf-boats, tugs and other boats used about the harbor or within such jurisdiction; to fix the rate of wharfage and dockage; to collect wharfage and dockage from all boats, rafts or other craft landing at or using any public landing place, wharf, dock or levee within the limits of the corporation; to make regulations in regard to the use of harbors, towing of vessels and the opening and passing of bridges; lastly to appoint harbor masters and define their duties. There is another clause giving the city the right to enact such legislation as may be necessary to carry out these powers which I have just enumerated.

"From this statement of the city's powers with reference to harbors, it is manifest that the city does

not have the power to do many things which are necessary for the proper administration of docks by the city. Docks without warehouses, without the proper passenger and freight terminal facilities and without lighterage and car ferries would not, I take it, be a profitable enterprise for the city, either to own or operate. Everyone, I think, will admit the necessity of providing for at least some of these facilities in connection with any harbor developments that may be made. Therefore, enabling legislation is sought to give the city at least this power to build warehouses and to construct the necessary terminal facilities, both land and water, in connection with any harbor that may be developed. It is also apparent from the enumeration of these powers, that it is at least doubtful whether or not the city has the authority to condemn the land necessary to construct these various utilities. It is to clear up these doubtful questions and to give the city the absolute power it now lacks that the city bill has been framed and introduced in the legislature.

"Now with reference to the manner in which the city bill was prepared, it should be distinctly understood that the city bill is not a political measure, in the sense that it is the pet of any political party or any faction of men. It was prepared, as Alderman Cermak has already stated, in a joint meeting of the Committees of the City Council on State Legislation, on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges and on Local Transportation. The harbor bill proper, however, is the result of the joint efforts of the Committee on State Legislation and the Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges. The bill, as sent to the legislature, was unanimously recommended for passage by these joint committees, unanimously passed by the Council and, thereafter, transmitted to the legislature through the chairman of the Committee on State Legislation. The purpose of presenting the bill in that way was to make it a city measure, not to impress upon it or inflict upon it any partisan or political coloring of any

kind. I want to take this opportunity of saying that any statement that may have been made to the effect that any city official has changed his attitude or shifted his position from the support of this bill to the so-called Ton bill, is, as far as I know, without foundation. The city bill represented the best thought of the committees that framed it and of the City Council and the city administration.

"Section one of the bill gives the city power to do some things which it already has the undoubted power to do, but it also grants some additional authority. It gives the city the right to acquire, own, construct, maintain and operate and, by ordinance, to authorize persons, firms or corporations to construct, maintain and operate harbors, wharves, docks, piers, slips, levees and all the necessary facilities and improvements for the development of the harbor. It also gives the city the right to grant a license to private capital to do this work and also to acquire, own or operate or to license private capital to acquire, own or operate certain other utilities, namely, warehouses and terminal facilities of various kinds, such as I have enumerated.

"In addition to the right of the city either to undertake this work itself or by license to authorize others to do it, section one gives the city the authority to lease these facilities. If the city does the actual construction work but does not care to operate the docks, this bill seeks to give the city the right to lease these utilities to private persons upon such terms as the city may see fit, for a period of not, under any circumstances, to exceed twenty years.

"Section one also permits the city to acquire submerged lands by purchase or condemnation in the manner provided by law for the taking of private property for public use. The only power of condemnation now possessed by the city, so our legal adviser informs the committee, is the right to condemn under the local improvement act. It is doubtful whether the city has the right to take private property for public use under the eminent domain act. This bill seeks to give the

city that right and also the right to reclaim submerged lands. As the lawyers here doubtless know that the fee to the submerged land under navigable waters is in the state, in trust for the use of all the people. The fee is not in the city; it is not in private individuals; the fee of the private individuals stops at the water front absolutely. The fee of the city probably stops there, although by implication the city may have the right to go out on the submerged lands of the navigable waters of Lake Michigan. That question, however, is not entirely free from doubt. This bill seeks to remove the doubt and to give the city the right to reclaim the submerged lands and build there whatever structures may be necessary for the development of dock facilities. It is calculated to give the city a title superior to that of any other party.

"There are three or four companies that now have special grants from the legislature to make harbor and dock developments. In other words, these special companies now have the right from the state which the city itself possibly lacks. The licenses, giving these private companies the right to go upon the submerged lands have been granted by special acts of the legislature.

"This bill is calculated to give the city right to reclaim the submerged lands from private parties and to make the city's title to these lands superior to that of any private individual, at least in so far as a private individual or company has not already exercised its right. That, in a general way, is the power which this bill seeks to give the city.

"In commenting on this, I may say that the bill itself is a general act; it is not an amendment to the 'Cities and Villages Act;' it is not a bill drafted under the constitutional amendment which gives the legislature the right to enact special legislation for Chicago. It is a general bill applicable to all cities in Illinois, enlarging their charter powers as granted in the 'Cities and Villages Act.'

"Sections two and three of this bill have especial application to Chicago

because of the Calumet district. You will remember that the Harbor Commission recommended the creation of an inland lake, either by the city or by contract with private parties. Lake Calumet is navigable water. The fee to the submerged land is in the state. Neither the city nor private owners on the lake shore have the right to build structures on the land under the waters of Lake Calumet. Sections two and three of this bill seek to give the city that right. It is general, applying to all other cities where conditions are similar, but it has special application to Chicago. It gives the city the right to take up negotiations with the owners of lands on Lake Calumet, to agree with them upon a dividing line a certain distance—one half or one quarter of a mile—from the shore, beyond which they should surrender all their riparian rights, in consideration of the city's turning over to them the made land between the line thus agreed upon and the present shore line. The provision in this respect is exactly the same as that in the special acts which have given the Park Board the right to fill in and boulevard the lake front. A line was established a certain distance from the present shore line, a petition filed in court and a decree entered affirming the line agreed upon with the property owners and giving the city the riparian rights beyond that line. The former riparian owners were given, on certain conditions, the title to the land between the line thus formed and the old shore line. Of course, the details of these agreements are always matters of contract.

"In this connection, it may be of interest to you to add that, during the hearings of the Harbor Commission, an offer was made by an owner of large property interests in the Calumet district to give to the city a strip three hundred feet wide from the Calumet river across to the northeast portion of the lake, for the purpose of creating a cut-off from the Calumet river into Lake Calumet. The proposition was made that a harbor could be constructed into Lake Calumet, extending in a northeasterly and south-

westerly direction, right through the lake, using the dirt excavated in creating the harbor, to fill in on the sides. It was assumed by the gentleman who made that proposition that a harbor could be constructed in that way at a cost of probably \$2,000,000. His own estimate was that the land formed in the manner described would be worth in the neighborhood of \$3,000,000. I think that under this bill the city would have the power, if an agreement of that kind could be made, to develop a harbor in the Calumet district without a cent of expense to the city.

"The last section of the bill deals with the referendum proposition. It provides that no ordinance for the acquisition or lease of dock property by the city, no ordinance giving to private capital the right to construct harbor facilities, no ordinance authorizing the reclamation of submerged lands in the manner I have indicated shall go into effect when passed by the City Council for a period of sixty days. If, within that sixty days, there is filed with the City Clerk a petition signed by ten per cent of the registered voters voting at the last general election, asking that the proposition be submitted to a vote of the people, the City Clerk shall within three days file the petition with the Election Officials, who are required to place the proposition upon the ballot at the next special or general election to be held not less than sixty days thereafter. We may have our individual views about the value of the referendum on general propositions and on concrete propositions; but with a question that has as many angles to it as this question, where different legislative bodies are considering the doing of work that might bring them in conflict with each other, I am inclined to think that the referendum is a decidedly essential and necessary feature.

"That, in a general way, covers the provisions of the city bill. Now, I take it, what you gentlemen are interested in is something that will enable you to determine between the relative merits of these two bills if one is to be passed, or, if both are to be enacted, how they can be correlated with each

other so as to avoid any conflict of authority, any serious complication of the situation. I believe that all will agree that the city is the proper governmental body to construct, operate and control the harbors within its limits. That is evidently what the Legislature intended when it passed the general Cities and Villages Act which is the charter of all municipalities which are organized under it. It gave the city very complete control over docks, harbors and wharves, both with reference to their construction and their supervision. It gave the city absolute power to regulate the service and fix the charges of docks, wharves and piers. I take it that no act passed at this time, giving the Sanitary District the power to go ahead and make dock developments, would repeal that provision of Chicago's charter and of the charter of every other city in the state acting under it.

"Admitting, as I think we all will, that between the city and the Sanitary District, the city is the proper body to conduct this work—the Sanitary District being constituted primarily for another purpose—the question arises as to what excuse, if any, there is, for giving the Sanitary District further power. The city is not in a position financially to build these docks. That might as well be admitted. A somewhat detailed investigation was made by Mr. Ewen who was acting as engineer and adviser of the Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges, and he estimates that the cost of such harbor development as would be necessary, if any substantial demand were served, would be not less than \$10,000,000. For the city at this time to expend that amount of money is out of the question, assuming that it would be a good business move for the city to build the docks if it had the money.

"On this proposition, I want to say that, personally, I believe that docks are a form of utility that should be owned by the municipality. That is especially true where there is a substantial demand for all the dock space that can be provided and where the docks could be owned municipally and

leased or operated on such a basis that they would not be a source of expense to the tax-payers but could possibly be made a source of income. Just what would be the financial results of the construction and the operation of docks in Chicago at the mouth of the river and to the north is, in my mind, an open question. There are those who say that, for a period of years, at least, after the construction of those docks, they would not yield any return upon the capital invested. There may be others who believe that they would be a source of great profit. In my own mind, as a member of the Harbor Commission and after a detailed study of the question, I am inclined to believe that, for a short period of years at least after the construction of those docks, until the transportation companies and interests which now have facilities elsewhere, can be brought to the docks and the whole situation readjusted, it is an open question as to whether or not the docks in themselves would be a profitable enterprise. Operated in connection with other utilities, warehouses, et cetera, I have no doubt but that they would prove a profitable investment.

"If we start in with the proposition that private capital must not be permitted to make this development on any terms and that the only defensible way of making the harbor development in the first instance in Chicago under all the conditions, is through public funds, enabling legislation for the Sanitary District may be the alternative that will provide the sinews of war. But Chicago, has the charter power to regulate and control fixed charges. The question arises, if the Sanitary District is given the same power, what will be the result? We have been afflicted with a multiplicity of governing bodies and all the work of men who are taking an interest in public affairs during the past five or six years or more and during the charter convention has been with a view to eliminating some of the governmental and taxing bodies. There is no doubt in my mind—and I do not believe there is any doubt in the mind

of any one here—but that a centralization of governmental authority, to a limited extent at any rate, is highly desirable in Chicago. I should look with some disfavor upon any enabling legislation that would tend to a further scattering of governmental authority rather than to a consolidation.

"Therefore my own personal view is that if the Sanitary bill is passed, it should not be passed unconditionally, so that the Sanitary District should have the absolute right to go ahead and spend its money for harbor development. I do not infer that the money would not be judiciously spent but in order that a conflict of authority between the governmental bodies in Chicago may be avoided, it strikes me as essential that the Sanitary District bill should not be absolute in its power but it should be an alternative

"If the Sanitary District is given the power to make harbor developments, that right should be limited, in my judgment, by the condition that that development should be undertaken by the Sanitary District, only after it is determined that the improvement shall be made out of public funds and after it is apparent that the city, which, I take it, is the natural body to make the development, is financially incapable of doing so. Then the **Sanitary District**, which apparently has not reached its limit of taxation and bonding powers, might undertake the work on terms that would enable the city to retain its charter power of control with reference to service and rates and to take over the property at a future time, if it should ever have the financial power to do so and if it should seem the part of wisdom to take that step. But I believe it would be unwise at this time to give any other body the power now possessed by the city and in this way to bring the two into conflict. Those powers ought to be correlated, if they are given at all." (Applause.)

HON. EDWARD J. SMEJKAL: "You said that the probable cost of this improvement was \$10,000,000. Does that include the whole river improvement in Chicago, South Chicago

and north of the mouth of the Chicago river?"

MR. FOELL: "The estimated cost of \$10,000,000, as reported by Mr. Ewen, is the cost of three piers only, together with the track and warehouse facilities on the piers themselves. It takes no account of any warehouses on the land or terminal facilities off of the docks proper. It does not include the Calumet development."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Can you give us the figure in round numbers on the probable outlay for the whole proposed improvement?"

MR. FOELL: "Private interests have estimated that the cost of building terminal facilities and warehouses, such as would probably have to be constructed, would be not less than \$15,000,000 or \$20,000,000."

MR. SMEJKAL: "While the hearings of the Harbor Commission were on, did the members of the Sanitary District Board, either officially or personally, appear before the commission with any plan, or did they ask for a hearing?"

MR. FOELL: "During the hearings of the Harbor Commission, the representatives of the Sanitary District appeared and discussed the situation. While I am on my feet now I want to take this opportunity of disclaiming any intention of wronging the Sanitary District in any way. The city of Chicago and the Sanitary District are in perfect harmony and my remarks have not been prompted by any motive other than one of determining the best governmental policy. Whether or not at any time in the future this harmony between the two governments might cease to exist is of course an open question."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Has the city any public landing places now or has it had any in the past?"

MR. FOELL: "We have some dock property on the river, which is rented; only a very limited amount, however."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Do you think that the Drainage Board has power or would have power, even with the

passage of the proposed bill, to do the things they propose?"

MR. FOELL: "That is a legal proposition which I have not studied. I do not know just what the terms of the bill are, but I assume that the Legislature has the power, if it cares to use it, to give to the Sanitary District the enabling legislation."

Hon. Cornelius J. Ton, who introduced the Sanitary District bill, was the next speaker.

Hon. Cornelius J. Ton

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I wish to correct the error that seems to have crept into this discussion, that this bill was introduced at the request of the Sanitary District. That is not a fact; the bill was never submitted to the Sanitary District for its approval. As a recreation on a Sunday afternoon, I read a part of the Harbor Commission's report and came to the conclusion that the Sanitary District should take over the power to develop harbor facilities. I believe the practical way of going about this problem is to give this power to the Sanitary District. We all know that the harbor facilities of Chicago are very poor. We know that Chicago in the last twenty years has doubled in population, yet its lake commerce has decreased; that, although some years ago it ranked first in the commerce of the Great Lakes, today it ranks fourth. There must be some reason for this.

"I claim that the city at all times has had the power to build docks, wharves and levees. I make that claim from the very phraseology of the statute which gives the city power to 'erect and keep in repair public landing places, wharves, docks and levees,' and 'to deepen, widen, dock, cover, wall, alter or change the channel of water courses.' The city has the power to do this work; it has the water front; it has the Calumet and the Chicago rivers by which it can exercise that power.

"I, personally, am in favor of municipal ownership of docks and wharves, though not of street railways or of other utilities of that character. I believe that docks, wharves and so forth

should be owned by the municipality. They are owned by many cities throughout the world, and I see no reason why Chicago, as well as other cities, should not own its docks.

"Alderman Foell has said that it might be a financial loss at first to do this work. When Liverpool built its enormous system of docks and wharves, providing for a tidal range of thirty-one feet, Manchester found that its commerce was leaving. Manchester spent \$80,000,000 to build a big channel, and today Manchester is drawing in the neighborhood of \$2,500,000 from the rentals and the leases of these docks and wharves.

"I believe that Chicago's lake commerce will never come back unless we build the docks and wharves which will draw the commerce here. I believe that purely from that standpoint, it would be a financial venture that would be worth while for Chicago. It might not be exceptionally profitable in direct revenue, but it would be profitable in bringing back to Chicago the commerce that is now deserting it.

"That the city should do this work is entirely in line with my own ideas. I do not for a minute claim that the Sanitary District is the ideal power to undertake this development. I believe the city should build the docks and wharves, but it has so far failed to do this. It has not even made a move in that direction. Alderman Foell says that the city owns but a very small number of public landing places. What is the reason? It has the water front and the authority to do the work. It may not have this authority as fully and completely as the alderman would like, but it has enough power to proceed without interference. The whole reason for the delay has been the financial inability of the city to go ahead. I agree with the alderman entirely in believing that the city should do the work if it can. I believe in centralization of power; I believe in wiping out these taxing bodies. I am going to vote some day, I hope, to wipe out the Sanitary District and to turn it over to Chicago. I will even go farther: I hope some day we will wipe out the Cook County government by unit-

ing it with that of the city. But let us look at this question from a practical standpoint.

"What is the Sanitary District? I believe every man in this room is a citizen of the Sanitary District as well as of the city of Chicago. The Sanitary District takes in Evanston, La Grange and Harvey, all of whose residents spend most of their time in Chicago. Outside of that, its boundary is co-extensive with the boundary of the city of Chicago. Let us not forget that the Sanitary District is just as large as the city of Chicago and that all of us who are citizens of Chicago are citizens of the Sanitary District. That body is organized; it has its officials; we pay them their salaries; they have their legal and engineering departments. It is true the District was organized for a special purpose, but it has almost completed the work for which it was originally formed. The proposed undertaking is in line with the work that the District has been doing and the kind of work that it ought to do. It owns about seventy miles of dockage property on its main channel and on the Chicago river. It has control, to a certain extent, of the Chicago river. If we ever have a deep waterway, the Sanitary District will own its northern terminus. I do not believe that to give this added power to the Sanitary District would bring it into conflict with the city. I believe it would help along the development of the northern terminus of the waterway. I believe it would make that property, that seventy miles of dockage, which you and I, as citizens of the Sanitary District, own, more valuable if the Sanitary District were to be given power to develop harbor facilities in the lake.

"I believe I am right—I have discussed the matter with some of the best lawyers in Chicago and they agree with me—when I say that the city of Chicago has the power today to build docks and wharves, but it does not have the power to grant franchises to other people to build them. This, gentlemen, is, in my estimation, one of the reasons for the introduction of the city bill. All through this bill I

see provisions like this: 'And the city shall have power to own, acquire and so forth, on such terms and conditions as the city council may see fit to impose, *or to authorize by ordinance duly passed by the city council, persons, firms or corporations,* to construct, maintain and operate harbors, wharves, docks, piers, slips, levees,' and so forth. Further on in the bill, this provision is to be found: 'On such terms and conditions as the city council may see fit to impose, *to authorize persons, firms or corporations to use, occupy or reclaim all such submerged lands* under the public waters of the state within the limits or jurisdiction of or bordering on the city,' and so forth.

"These are the things which the city now lacks power to do. It cannot grant a franchise to the Pugh Terminal Company and make it stick. I do not say there is anything wrong with the Pugh Terminal Company's franchise. I have confidence that the City Council will protect the city in every way. But I am looking ahead—I may be wrong in doing so—to a time some twenty years from now when that franchise will expire. Will the city then be the owner of this dock development? I do not believe so. I do not believe that the ordinance can be drawn in such a way that the city will ever have the ownership of the Pugh Terminal Company's property at the end of the grant. This belief may be due to my loss of confidence in the city's ability to save money for such a purpose. I think, therefore, that to obtain the power to grant these rights to a private corporation is one of the main objects of the bill. Of course, there are other objects. I do not believe the city has the right today to condemn the submerged lands for the purpose of building docks, but, even if this bill were passed, I do not believe that it would then have the financial power to go ahead with the harbor development. I have taken this matter up with city officials and others who are in a position to know and they have agreed with me that this could not be done. They have told me, on the other hand, that probably

the most practical course is to turn the harbor over to the Sanitary District.

"I claim that the Sanitary District has the financial ability to undertake this work. It is deriving at present a little over a half million dollars yearly from the sale of its electrical power. That half million of dollars, if used in the building of docks and harbors, would make possible a first-class start. I have been told that, in the course of two or three years, the District will realize a million dollars a year from its electrical power, and the improvement will not cost the taxpayer a dollar. If we taxpayers are willing to pay for this development—and I think that we are—there is a provision in the present law whereby the Sanitary District can raise about four million dollars a year on a tax levy. It can still issue in the neighborhood of six or seven million dollars in bonds without going beyond the debt limit. I believe that, if this bill were to be passed to become a law on the first day of July, the Sanitary District could tackle this proposition on the second. I also believe that the Sanitary District is better equipped from an engineering and legal standpoint to handle this problem than the city. Its engineering department has been working on the question of docks and channels ever since the organization of the District. Its legal department has, for the last number of years, been condemning property along the Chicago river for the widening of the river to a width of two hundred feet. I am told that if the District were given power to condemn property along the river for docks, it would be able to save money, because, if it needed a twenty-foot strip along the river, it could condemn the entire piece of property—say seventy feet in width—and save the District from damages for the loss due to the slicing up the property. In this way, the trustees would be able to save money to the taxpayers of the Sanitary District.

"I believe that the Sanitary District officials are just as amenable and as responsible to the wishes of the people as are the members of the City

Council. There are nine members, if I remember rightly, on the board of trustees of the Sanitary District. Those nine men are elected to perform a special task and we are watching them all the time. In the Calumet district they are so closely watched that they are blamed for everything that happens. I believe that if those nine men were to come up for election, the question with reference to them would be: 'What have they done in the line of their work?' On the other hand, I find in my ward—and I suppose the same is true in other wards—that an alderman who comes up for re-election is often chosen merely with reference to what he has done for his own ward, regardless of how he votes on other matters that affect the city at large. He may be elected merely because he is a good fellow around the ward and cleans out the alleys and the garbage cans a little better than some other fellow. There are a thousand and one things that bring him in touch with the people in his own ward and the voters often do not care a snap about whether he grants a franchise for one hundred feet on the lake shore or votes to condemn certain pieces of property on the river. I believe that the aldermen, on account of the restricted boundary lines of their wards, are less amenable to the people of the city of Chicago on questions such as this than the members of the Sanitary District."

MR. SMEJKAL: "How many Democrats are there on the Sanitary Board now?"

MR. TON: "I do not know."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Is it not true that there are many Democrats elected in Republican wards and vice-versa?"

MR. TON: "I will have to pass that question up to you."

MR. SMEJKAL: "On the other hand, isn't it true that the members of the board are all party men?"

MR. TON: "I don't know anything about the politics of the board. But I have yet to find a serious criticism of the present board of trustees of the Sanitary District, as to honesty, integrity or ability. That is a remarkable thing, in view of the tendency, so common nowadays, to criticise public offi-

cials. I have been surprised at the unanimous approval expressed as to the present policies of the board of the Sanitary District.

"I believe that if this matter of harbor development were to be turned over to the Sanitary District the situation would become similar to that of Liverpool, where young men are educated with a view to becoming members of the so-called Harbor Trust of Liverpool. That is considered the greatest honor in the gift of the city. I believe that, if this particular work were given to the trustees of the Sanitary District, attention would be so drawn to their work that they could not help but do the very best that is within their power.

"I have never been able to find out why some people believe that both of these bills should be passed. I am willing to say that the bill I have introduced is not correct in form and that, if both bills are passed, mine will be knocked out if taken to the Supreme Court. There is no question about that, but I assure you that the bill will be in correct form before it comes up to the third reading in the House, if it ever gets that far. I do not believe in the dual form of government contemplated in the proposition to pass both bills; let either the city or the Sanitary District have the power, but do not give it to both.

"If the Sanitary District were given this power, there would not be any conflict of authority, because the Sanitary District would start at once to build the docks; these docks the city could not build and there would, therefore, be no conflict at all. My bill does not provide that the Sanitary District will have the power to grant franchises to other people to build docks. The District must build the docks itself and lease them to the people who want to use them. I do not see where the question of a conflict between the Sanitary District and the city would ever enter. The city and the Sanitary District could each regulate the charges on their own dockage. This plan would, however, knock out any franchise which the city, if it were ever given the power, might attempt to

pass to a private company. At present, the city could not, in my opinion, grant a private franchise that would stick.

"In closing, I want to repeat just one thing: My only object in presenting this bill has been to give practical and immediate relief to Chicago. It has not been with any idea of taking any powers away from Chicago, but in order that the work should be done and be done immediately. I thank you." (Applause.)

MR. SMEJKAL: "Mr. Ton, do we understand that you are acting here independently of the Sanitary District?"

MR. TON: "Absolutely."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Do you know whether the Sanitary District wants this power or not?"

MR. TON: "I understand that there is a difference of opinion on this question; some of the trustees feel it would give them an added responsibility that they are not willing to accept, that people would be finding fault with them and that the added duties are not offset by an increase in salaries."

MR. SMEJKAL: "You know the original object of the Sanitary District?"

MR. TON: "I do."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Do you think it would be keeping faith with the taxpayers of the District to harness twenty-five million dollars on them for the purpose of developing harbors and docks without a referendum?"

MR. TON: "I take it the people of Chicago want this work done, whether the city does it or the Sanitary District does it."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Are you willing to include referendum, if necessary, as to this disbursement? Do you think that this twenty-five million dollars ought to be spent without a referendum?"

MR. TON: "That is not the question I am talking about; the city needs this improvement."

MR. GEORGE C. SIKES: "Is there a referendum on the disbursement?"

MR. TON: "No."

MR. SIKES: "You have a referendum in the city bill?"

MR. SMEJKAL: "We have, on absolutely everything."

MR. TON: "You haven't a referendum on bond issues?"

MR. FOELL: "Yes."

MR. CERMAK: "We have an amendment providing for that."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Are you willing to put a referendum on the financial part of your bill?"

MR. TON: "Ever keeping in mind the idea that the Sanitary District is to do the building, I am willing to accept any amendment that the city bill will make."

Mr. Hoyt King, for a number of years connected with the real estate department of the Sanitary District, spoke further with reference to the Ton bill.

Mr. Hoyt King

"The reason that this bill is called the Sanitary District bill is, I take it, because it is intended to confer on the Sanitary District certain powers and rights. It is not, as I understand, a bill sought by the Sanitary District. The Sanitary District has not had anything to do with it. I do not know what their feeling in the matter is. It is simply as a citizen and a common taxpayer, and not because I was formerly in the service of the Sanitary District, that I come here to speak with reference to this bill. I came because I thought it was a good bill and because I was asked to talk about it. I do not wish to say anything that might bring the city and the Sanitary District into conflict over this matter.

"I concede nearly everything that Alderman Foell has said. When we consider this question on a common basis, of course, we all know that the immediate need of the city is a development of its docks and harbors. We have no docks; a mere pile protection along the bank of a river is not a dock, although it is sometimes mistakenly called such. We need docks upon which warehouses are erected, to which run railroad tracks connecting with trunk lines and upon which machinery for the hoisting and handling of freight with facility and dis-

patch is erected. We all concede that such docks are an immediate necessity.

"It is not desired, I believe, on the part of the public that this attempt to get something that is so much needed by the city should result in a contest between the city and the Sanitary District. I cannot see that it makes any difference, from the point of view of diversified powers, whether the city or the Sanitary District is given the power to develop docks. Both organizations exist, and both of them will continue to exist. The Sanitary District cannot be wiped out. It is the owner of a great power plant constructed at enormous cost and producing an immense revenue. It is the owner of fifty-five hundred acres of dock area, scattered over seventy miles of canal. All this must be taken care of by some organization; the title at present rests in the Sanitary District. Now, if the Sanitary District's authority is increased by putting upon the trustees this power, which seems to be very much in consonance with their present powers and duties, that power would be carried with the Sanitary District into whatever organization or consolidation might be brought about. The change would probably not increase the machinery of the Sanitary District. That is another argument which I wish to bring forward in favor of the Ton bill.

"The Sanitary District is a machine; it is already equipped to do exactly the kind of work contemplated in the bill. Of course, the work it has been doing has not been identically the same, but it has had in charge the business of constructing dock frontages, of acquiring property, of excavating land and of developing its dock property by leasing to manufacturers and by furnishing railroad connections with their plants. There, of course, it stops short; it has not the power to construct docks. But it has, as I say, the machinery already developed and that is the great argument in favor of the Sanitary District bill. I think that argument alone ought to be enough to sway a great many who are not unfriendly to the District plan. If the bill should be passed, the next day afterward the Sanitary District could go right to work through its engineering and its legal departments in the work of

preparation. There would be no delay in forming an organization which would cost many thousands of dollars. There would probably be fewer mistakes—and mistakes in a great work like this may mean a loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

"Furthermore, if the Sanitary District does the work, it can formulate its plans in harmony with the whole canal and waterway proposition, which it now really controls. The lake front is, of course, the place for such dock development, because the shipping should, as much as possible, be kept out of the river; it is not an economical thing to navigate the river. Car ferries and proper hoisting machinery should be constructed. There should be machinery for the handling and transporting of freight from every railroad in Chicago, connected with the docks through the river and the Sanitary canal. The cargoes could be transferred to cars, the cars placed upon the ferries and taken down the river and the canal, where they would connect with the warehouses of the railroads lying along the river or the channel of the Sanitary District canal. At these points warehouses should be erected for transferring the cargo back to land.

"During the three years that I acted as real estate man for the Sanitary District, I always believed that the Sanitary District should have a specific grant of power to construct docks for the purpose of developing its lands. I have some belief that it already has the implied power, but that power should be made specific. The lands of the Sanitary District have a very much smaller value where there is no facility for connecting factory or industrial sites with the water by means of a transfer system. In other words, as it is now, the Sanitary District may lease a part of its dock property to a manufacturing concern. That manufacturing concern may go to an expense of hundreds of thousands of dollars to construct its own dock and warehouses. Necessarily all the money that that manufacturing plant puts in is deducted from the rental value of the land. One warehouse, built under the authority of the Sanitary District to construct docks and bridges, would serve hundreds of acres of dock property and

greatly increase its value. So regardless of the question of the construction of docks and harbors for the city, I think this power should be in the Sanitary District.

Furthermore, I think the power to proceed with dock development should be in the Sanitary District because the Sanitary District now has practical control of the flow of the Chicago river. The Sanitary District is frequently called upon to raise its dam and stop the flow—which it can do—in order to release some vessel which has washed up against the bridge. Thus, it seems to me that, in many ways, the work that is projected is in harmony with the work now being carried on by the District. On the other hand, the city of Chicago has for years had a harbor department or a harbor master. I had occasion some four years ago to investigate that department in preparing some data for the then Commissioner of Public Works and I found that about the only duty of the harbor master at that time was to issue permits for the construction of docks, or for the replacing of old rotten docks with new. I believe that the situation today has not changed very much in this respect. I merely cite this in order to show you that the city at the present time does not have the machinery to go ahead with this work. The Sanitary District has the machinery and it can finance the proposition. The proposition should be financed on a basis where the incoming revenue should pay interest on the investment and construction and maintenance cost, so that really it is a mere matter of borrowing money and placing it upon an earning basis. The public would not be out one dollar by this work, if it is properly handled.

"I know of no municipal or public organization in the state of Illinois that is more competent to take up the work of harbor development than the Sanitary District. Its efficiency is well known. It is an organization of experts, and the adding of this new duty would simply be to place in the hands of the proper organization the means of carrying out a good work that should be done at once.

"Furthermore, I agree with Alderman Foell and the others who have spoken

here, on the point that the docks and harbors of Chicago should be public properties. All railroads and all navigation companies should have equal rights. The cost to the shipping owners should be the very lowest; indeed, I believe that the tolls and revenues from this construction should be simply enough to carry the investment and to pay the maintenance charges. If this proposition ever gets into private hands, I do not know how a private corporation would be controlled so as to keep it from putting rates upon certain interests that would deprive them of a common privilege. The dock and harbor problem for Chicago is a problem for the whole city. The improvement of the harbor facilities is intended to promote commerce in Chicago, to bring the shipping here. That cannot be done unless the matter of rates is held down to a basis where water navigation can compete with rail navigation and where it can really co-operate with the railroads. I thank you." (Applause.)

MR. SMEJKAL: "Mr. King, you speak for yourself here? You do not speak for the Sanitary Board?"

MR. KING: "Absolutely for myself, Mr. Smejkal."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Can you tell what in your opinion is the direct cause of the decrease of water commerce in Chicago in the last ten years?"

MR. KING: "I think it is chiefly due to the want of economical shipping facilities."

MR. SMEJKAL: "The rates haven't anything to do with it?"

MR. KING: "The rates would have a bearing; in fact, the rates would be higher for water navigation where the facilities are absent."

MR. SMEJKAL: "All the transportation lines have their own docks, now, have they not?"

MR. KING: "Any transportation company that comes into Chicago must have its own dock or must make an arrangement with a private owner."

MR. SMEJKAL: "And there are no charges?"

MR. KING: "The charge would be the rental paid to the private owner of the dock."

MR. SMEJKAL: "But the docks are

now owned by the lake carriers who own the boats, such as the Goodrich and the Graham & Morton Lines, are they not?"

MR. KING: "Practically so; but you must understand that the cost of owning and operating a private dock, not in constant use, is very high. If a dock owned by one transportation company were used jointly by a number of transportation companies, all of whom paid for installing the machinery and handling the freight, and if there were a constant line of ships coming into that dock, the cost would be greatly reduced."

MR. SMEJKAL: "I understand that; but there are no charges now and all the docks are owned by the different companies. Is not that true?"

MR. KING: "I don't understand your position because there is a charge where the company owns its own dock."

MR. SMEJKAL: "If the city owned these docks they would charge for wharfage and dockage?"

MR. KING: "Yes."

MR. SMEJKAL: "But they do not do this now, because the companies own their docks. The reason for the commerce leaving is because of the difference between the railroad and lake rates."

MR. KING: "I believe the lake transportation, with proper facilities, can compete with the railroads. I believe a public dock, where many boats come in, which is in constant use, could be furnished at a less rate than private docks, furnished by the company itself. A public dock would be in constant use; the capital invested would never be lying idle. At present the shipping company must own its expensive dock, must have its organization perfected for handling the freight and must install its own machinery. The cost of labor, machinery and rental goes on all the time, whether the dock is in use or not."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Granting that that is so, do you think it is proper for the Sanitary District to go into the warehousing business, where everybody must store his produce and be at the mercy of this public corporation?"

MR. KING: "Personally, I do; I feel it would be entirely proper. Dock facilities have been a subject for public control

in many cities. Manchester has a canal board that is quasi-public in that half of the membership of the board are directors in the corporation of Manchester."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Is there any such instance on this continent?"

MR. KING: "Yes, New York controls its docks. It has warehouses, with machinery for handling the freight, with everything exactly as planned for the city of Chicago."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Do you know whether that is a paying proposition?"

MR. KING: "It is. There is a regular schedule for tonnage of all kinds. It pays very well."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Do you know what the cost of the improvement was in New York?"

MR. KING: "I cannot recall the figures. I think there is no question but that the revenue would pay the interest on the investment."

MR. FOELL: "Gentlemen, in what I said, I made no reference to the negotiations which have been pending or are pending between the city and private interests with reference to harbor development. I did not make any reference to this because I did not think it was part of the discussion as to the relative merits of these two bills. In view, however, of what has been said with reference to the apparent hopelessness of the city ever regaining possession of a dock if it should be privately constructed, I fear that an impression has been left that should not go out at this time. In justice to the committee that now has this work in hand, and in justice to all concerned, I ask you to hold your judgment and your criticism in abeyance until the work of the committee has been completed. At that time, I beg to assure you that we invite the fullest criticism and the fullest discussion. You will find that the committee is ever ready to incorporate any amendments that are reasonable, that are calculated to safeguard public interests. But until the committee's work has been submitted, in justice to all concerned and in the interest of the city's welfare, reserve judgment and do not create a sentiment which may do harm."

MR. E. E. BROWN: "In connection with the statement that the transporta-

tion companies own the docks, I do not believe that that is at all the case. The Goodrich Company's dock is owned by the city and leased to the Goodrich Company. The Graham and Morton dock is owned by an estate and leased to the Graham and Morton Transportation Company. I think the Northern Michigan Transportation Company's dock is owned by the Chicago Canal and Dock Company; I am quite confident at least that they do not own it."

MR. FLETCHER DOBYNS: "I would like to ask Alderman Foell, although it is probably a little bit aside from the discussion, if the plans he has in mind bear any relation to the plan for Chicago drawn up by Mr. Burnham? Has that been considered at all?"

MR. FOELL: "The representatives of the Commercial Club, which had in charge the formulation of the Chicago Plan, appeared before the Chicago Harbor Commission and in making its report the Commission says that there is not anything which it recommends which cannot be carried forward in perfect harmony with the Chicago Plan. There is nothing in the negotiations now pending between the city and private capital, which in any way conflicts with the Chicago Plan. In fact, Mr. Wacker, who is now chairman of the Chicago Plan Commission, was a member of the Harbor Commission and what is being done, as far as it has any relation to the Chicago Plan, has his absolute approval."

MR. DOBYNS: "Then your idea would be to work out your plans in harmony with the Commercial Club's plan for Chicago?"

MR. FOELL: "Absolutely."

A MEMBER: "In nearly all cities where the harbor is in charge of a board, the harbor boards are made up of various members of municipal bodies or institutions interested in the harbor. If this matter were turned over to the Sanitary District, would there be any idea of putting a member of the city government or representatives of other bodies on the harbor board?"

MR. TON: "No, the bill merely enlarges the power of the trustees. To attempt anything else, it seems to me, would lead to all sorts of complications in revising the law.

"I would like to ask Alderman Foell a question as to what a certain clause in his bill means, which says: 'And the right or license herein granted to cities to use, occupy or reclaim such submerged lands shall be superior to and take precedence over any similar right or license heretofore granted or hereafter granted to any person,' etc."

MR. FOELL: "The Chicago Dock and Canal Company and some other private companies incorporated by special charter are given the right to occupy submerged land. They have not been very strenuous in asserting that their right is superior to the right of the city or of anybody else; they have not openly asserted that their right is exclusive. For instance, the Chicago Dock and Canal Company owns property on the lake front, just north of the mouth of the river. Under their charter they have the right to build harbor structures out on the submerged land of the parks. Now the question arises whether or not, the state having given that right under a special act, this is an exclusive license. If it is, in so far as that license has not actually been acted upon, we want to revoke it by the terms of this bill."

HON. NIELS JUUL: "What powers of the park system would be revoked by that bill? They have had several grants of submerged land."

MR. FOELL: "I don't think there would be any revoked."

MR. JUUL: "Wouldn't this practice you mention make your newly created company superior owners of all the ground granted those former companies?"

MR. FOELL: "That is not my understanding; there has been no specific right of riparian ownership granted to any park board. They can preserve their rights substantially by entering into an agreement; such agreements have been entered into."

MR. JUUL: "There are grants made to Lincoln Park and to the South Park system also."

MR. FOELL: "To answer Mr. Ton's question as to why the clause he refers to was inserted in the city bill: It was included with special reference to the license granted to three or four corporations organized under a special charter,

who now claim the right to make use of the submerged lands. We merely want to get rid of any claim to an exclusive right under those grants."

MR. JUUL: "Mr. Foell, would you not consider it extremely dangerous if the legislature should grant to the city of Chicago the great power for which you are asking—namely, to immediately delegate the city's power to a private party? Isn't that what your bill is asking for?"

MR. FOELL: "I have confidence enough in the electorate of Chicago to believe that on any measure so framed as not to safeguard public interests a ten per cent petition of the registered voters can be obtained so that the proposition may be submitted to the people and voted down, if not meritorious."

MR. JUUL: "You are asking for one kind of a grant and the Sanitary District bill for another. You are asking for a grant which will give you the power to immediately hand that grant to somebody else. The other bill does not call for that."

MR. FOELL: "There is no doubt but that the city bill is calculated to give the city the right, if, as a matter of wisdom or business policy, it should not be deemed wise to make this enormous expenditure immediately out of public funds, to give a grant to private capital. The terms of such a grant constitute another question. If a grant cannot be made to private capital to take the initial chance of developing this harbor and at the same time to protect public interests, then no such grant will be made. But I submit that it is a fair question whether the people of Chicago are ready to justify the expenditure of \$10,000,000 or \$15,000,000, in the first instance, in the development of docks and piers."

MR. JUUL: "You haven't answered my question. I asked you if you thought it would be the proper thing for the legislature, at the present time, to grant to the city of Chicago the powers you are asking for, including the power to delegate to private capital the authority you have just received. Does not your bill, as introduced, mean that you do not want that power yourself, but that you want the power to delegate that power? Is not that the sum and substance of your bill?"

MR. FOELL: "The bill is clear; there is no attempt to interject anything surreptitiously. The bill is calculated to give the city the right to do the work itself and, if the city has not the money with which to do this, and if, as a matter of business judgment, the city should decide not to go ahead on its own initiative, it may grant that right to private capital."

MR. JUUL: "Still you do not answer my question. I am asking this because your bill is in my committee and I want to know just what you mean by it, if you will tell me. I want to know if you, representing the city, are asking the enormous power that your bill calls for in order that the city may immediately delegate that power to private corporations. That question ought to be answered either 'Yes' or 'No.'"

MR. FOELL: "I am not going to answer a question of that kind categorically. If you want to know whether our bill seeks to give the city the power to make harbor developments on its own account or to delegate that right to private capital, it does. Either course may be pursued, depending upon the decision of the city, after that enabling legislation is passed."

MR. HOPE: "Has not your committee reported out the Ton bill?"

MR. JUUL: "Yes, sir. This was done at the request of the introducer of the bill. The other bill would have been acted on in the same committee had there been a single individual who asked for a hearing. I want to tell you, in justice to myself, that there has not been a single human being in Springfield that has shown enough interest in the bill to ask the chairman to give it a hearing."

MR. J. B. MOOS: "In the discussion in which Mr. Ton explained his bill, he made the statement that the harbor improvement would not cost the taxpayer one cent. Those few words have been all that I have heard on that subject. As a taxpayer, I would like to hear a little more with reference to it. How does he propose to have the Sanitary District do anything that does not cost the taxpayer a cent?"

MR. TON: "I mean, in the first instance, that this work could be started

with the \$500,000 of revenue that the District is earning annually today."

MR. MOOS: "How long will it be, then, before there will be any real loading and unloading of ships, with all the machinery and the warehouses in working condition?"

MR. TON: "I imagine five hundred thousand dollars would go a long ways toward starting it."

MR. MOOS: "The preliminary estimates you quoted, I believe, were ten or fifteen million dollars?"

MR. TON: "I do not believe that any one would favor dumping five million dollars into a harbor improvement in a single year. Harbor facilities should be a matter of gradual development. I think five hundred thousand dollars would make a very fair start."

MR. MOOS: "Then you believe that, at the end of about twenty years, we would have the harbor finished, under your method of doing the work?"

MR. TON: "I said that at the present rate of installing machinery and developing the electrical power, the Sanitary District would, in the course of three or four years, be getting a million dollars annually from the sale of electric power."

MR. KING: "Manchester probably spent twenty years putting in its docks. Its first dock was a very small one; the last was very large. The Manchester docks did not grow in a day and notwithstanding their present development they are still growing."

MR. MOOS: "Do you think it would take a private corporation twenty years to build a dock?"

MR. KING: "It ought to take twenty years. You are not going to bring into Chicago in one year traffic sufficient to take care of one dock. Your facilities must be developed in proportion to the growth of your traffic."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Isn't it absolutely necessary for Manchester to have docks and harbors? Manchester is an ocean port and I hardly think that it is a parallel case."

MR. TON: "Chicago needs docks and a harbor just as much."

MR. KING: "The necessity is just the same, only on a different scale. Manchester is a seaport and Chicago a lake port."

MR. SMEJKAL: "Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: I have always been a very ardent friend of the Sanitary District. It is strange to me that a man on a Sunday afternoon should sit down by himself and draft a bill seeking to add power to a public body for the raising of about twenty-five million dollars by bonds and direct taxation, without that body seeking it or anybody else asking it."

"The Sanitary District was organized in 1889 for the purpose of purifying our water supply and was given certain rights to raise money by direct taxation and to incur a bonded indebtedness of twenty million dollars. The trustees went to work and built the Drainage Canal at a cost, I think, of about forty-three million dollars. As they were building this canal they discovered that, by building power stations at a cost of seven or eight million dollars, they could use the flow of water going down the canal for the production of power as a by-product, thereby raising revenue for the maintenance of their works. But, when the power houses were built, they found that, as the city was growing, there was not sufficient water. So they devised the scheme of building the Evanston cut-off and the cut-off from the south to the main channel. They came to the Legislature four years ago and told us that they needed more money and asked us to raise the limit of their indebtedness. I think their bonded indebtedness now would be about twenty-six million dollars and we raised their tax-levying power to one per cent. They can now raise about three million dollars annually for the operation and the extension of their system, and can issue six million dollars more of bonds for the two new cut-offs. They prepared a schedule as to what this work would cost and what they were going to do with the money. They said that when those two channels were completed, with the income which would be derived from the power—which Mr. Ton says is one-half million dollars a year—they would no longer ask the taxpayers to contribute toward the maintenance of the District."

"Now they are in a fair way of completing the Evanston channel; they have been stopped in court from completing the Calumet channel; they have issued

about twenty-three million dollars' worth of bonds; this last year, I am informed, they did not ask for the annual tax levy, but only twenty-seven cents on the hundred dollars. Now they come forward and want to use this money—for what? To continue taxing the people of this district for the purpose of building harbors and docks."

MR. JUUL: "Is there anything in the Ton bill that asks for additional taxing powers?"

MR. SMEJKAL: "No, but the Sanitary District asked for this extension of its financial powers for a specific purpose, to complete these two new channels. The legislature not only gave the District additional tax-levying power but raised the limit of its bonded indebtedness six or seven million dollars. I say it is unfair to ask for the power of floating twenty-five million dollars more of indebtedness as a burden on the people of this District. I am unalterably opposed to it; I do not think you are keeping good faith with the legislature or the people."

MR. KING: "Are you opposed to the tax?"

MR. SMEJKAL: "No, but I think if we are going to spend twenty-five million dollars, we ought to have a referendum."

MR. KING: "But the money has got to come out of the people's pockets."

MR. SMEJKAL: "It is up to the tax-payers to say whether they are going to spend twenty-five million dollars or not."

MR. JUUL: "Would it make any difference from the tax-payer's point of view, whether the amount that would be expended for docks and wharves would be expended by the Sanitary District or by the city of Chicago? I mean from a financial point of view."

MR. SMEJKAL: "When it comes to a question of spending enormous sums of money, it is clearly up to the people to say whether that money shall be spent or not. This seems to be a question for a referendum. This spring the city of Chicago is going to submit to the people a proposition as to whether they want to

spend sixteen million dollars for permanent public improvements. Why do you come in now and ask that we spend twenty-five million dollars when the people of Chicago are going to have a referendum vote this spring on the question of expending sixteen million dollars for other improvements?"

MR. JUUL: "I believe it has been stated here that the Sanitary District is not asking such a thing."

MR. TON: "When were you converted to the referendum idea, Mr. Smejkal?"

MR. SMEJKAL: "On financial matters, always."

MR. HOPE: "I want to thank the City Club for affording me the opportunity of hearing the real ins and outs of this question. I am interested in this matter because the proposed location is in my district and is only some four or five blocks from my home. I am not particular as to who builds these docks, but I would like to see them built. Of course, whoever takes the matter in charge should have the facilities and the ability to do it.

"Will you pardon me if I say that I think we are all at sea on this matter. It appears to me we have the cart before the horse. The State of Illinois has voted twenty million dollars for a deep waterway, which undoubtedly, contemplates the elimination of, at least, the Drainage Board, and of more or less power now vested in the city. I cannot see how, when you get to this point, you will be able to hold your separate entities at all. I think you ought to wait in this matter but, pending the outcome, the powers now vested with the city should be used for the purpose and necessities of the city. I feel that through the Council Committee on Harbors, Wharves and Bridges these results can best be obtained. Anything that is necessary in the way of enabling legislation can be extended by the Legislature, but always with the proviso that the idea of building the deep waterway shall be kept to the front."

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PENDING WATERWAY LEGISLATION—THE SCHMITT BILL

Last November, Mr. George C. Sikes, in an address before the City Club, pointed out that the extravagant enthusiasm which had prevailed on the subject of deep waterways was giving place, even among its friends, to a more cautious and judicial attitude toward the whole project. This note of caution was evident in a discussion on the subject of Illinois deep waterway legislation, held at the City Club on Saturday, the 5th instant, fear being expressed by some of the speakers that the State was being hurried into a waterway policy that was ill-considered and unwise.

Mr. Isham Randolph, for fourteen years Chief Engineer of the Sanitary District, and at present Consulting Engineer of that body and chairman of the Illinois Internal Improvement Commission, outlined the principal features of the plan embodied in Senate Bill No. 18, otherwise known as the Schmitt Bill—now pending before the Illinois legislature—and presented an argument in its behalf. The bill, in its present form, was opposed by Mr. Lyman E. Cooley and Mr. George C. Sikes. Mr. Cooley was connected with the Sanitary District in various capacities from 1885 to 1897, being successively Assistant Engineer, Chief Engineer, Trustee and Consulting Engineer. He was secretary of the Illinois Internal Improvement Commission as first constituted. He was also Consulting Engineer of the Commission as re-appointed in 1908, although he differed with the conclusions of that Commission and did not sign its final report. Mr. George C. Sikes was until recently expert investigator for the Harbor Commissioners of Chicago.

The chairman, Mr. Stephen T.

Mather, presented Mr. Isham Randolph as the first speaker.

Mr. Isham Randolph

"I am here on the invitation of the secretary of the City Club to talk about Senate Bill No. 18, commonly known as the Schmitt Bill. This bill is one which carries with it tremendous benefits for the State of Illinois. It means that the State of Illinois will have a waterway on which every man may paddle his own canoe and not pay toll and that it will conserve a waterpower which is of immense value to the State.

"It was on the third of November, 1908, that the people of Illinois registered their views on the subject of waterway legislation. That registration proclaimed the fact that the people had waked up to their needs and were prepared to claim what was their own. Six hundred and seventy-five thousand citizens voted in favor of appropriating \$20,000,000 to develop the waterway.

"Shortly after that magnificent manifestation of the will of the people, Governor Deneen called upon the members of the Internal Improvement Commission to prepare a bill, under which this waterway should be built and this water power conserved. The bill which was drawn was something to which we, who were on the Internal Improvement Commission, gave our best thought and efforts. We produced a bill—or the form of a bill—of which we felt very proud. But we had to admit that we knew very little about constitutional law; in fact, only one of us had ever known anything about the subject and, as he had deserted the bench for the bank some years before, he had grown rusty on legal lore. We, therefore, determined that our handi-

work should be scrutinized by some able constitutional lawyer. We selected the man, whom, above all others in Illinois, we believed most capable of performing that service, Mr. John P. Wilson. With the public spirit which has always characterized Mr. Wilson, he made a study of our bill and whipped it into shape. When it came back to us, we regarded it as about as near perfect as human ingenuity and wisdom could make it, notwithstanding the fact that many of our own pet ideas had been pruned or cast aside. About this time the City Club waked up. The Missouri spirit invaded it; it 'wanted to be shown.' The chairman and the secretary of its Waterways Committee called on me. I read them the draft of the bill, as we had originally prepared it, and they pronounced it good.

"The bill, as it came from Mr. Wilson, went to the governor and met with his approval. He confided it to the loyal care and wise guidance of Senator Schmitt, whose sponsorship for the bill gave it the name of the Schmitt Bill. The bill underwent a number of changes in the Senate Committee on Waterways. Some of these changes it may be interesting to note.

"The first change was in section two which provided for the appointment of the Commission. Section two originally read: 'The construction, management and operation of said deep waterway or canal, power plants, locks, bridges, dams and appliances shall be under the control of a board of five commissioners. The said commissioners shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the consent of the Senate, and the commissioners first appointed shall hold office until the first day of July, in the year 1915. Their successors in office shall in like manner be appointed by the governor, by and with the consent of the Senate, and their terms of office shall be six years, expiring on the first day of July in every sixth year after the year 1915.'

"Section two was changed to read as follows: 'The said commissioners shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the consent of the Senate. The governor shall designate one of

said commissioners to be the chairman of said board. Of the commissioners first appointed, two shall hold office until the first day of July in the year 1911, two shall hold office until the first day of July in the year 1913, and one shall hold office until the first day of July in the year 1915. The successors in office of the commissioners first appointed, as aforesaid, shall also be appointed by the governor, by and with the consent of the Senate, and each successor in office thus appointed shall hold office for a term of six years from the date of the expiration of his predecessor's term of office.'

"The next change was in section four, relating to the salaries of the officers. The bill, as first drawn, provided: 'Each of the aforesaid commissioners shall receive a salary of \$5,000 per year, while that one of the said commissioners who shall be chosen as chairman of the board shall, in addition to his annual salary of \$5,000 as a commissioner, receive the further sum of \$2,000 per year, making his salary \$7,000 per year, so long as he shall be the chairman of said board. The attorney for said board shall receive the salary of \$6,000 per year.'

"Section four now reads: 'Each of the aforesaid commissioners shall receive a salary of five thousand dollars (\$5,000) per year, while that one of the said commissioners who shall be designated as chairman of the board shall, in addition to his annual salary of five thousand dollars (\$5,000) as commissioner, receive the further sum of two thousand five hundred dollars (\$2,500) per year, making his salary seven thousand five hundred dollars (\$7,500) per year so long as he shall be the chairman of said board.'

"I do not think that there could have been a lawyer on that committee because of the next change: 'The attorney for said board shall receive a salary of not to exceed five thousand (\$5,000) dollars per year.' In the first bill a salary of \$6,000 was provided.

"The next change is in section five. That portion of it which was amended provided that: 'The said board, before entering into any contract for the construction of any part of the said deep

waterway or canal, or any other of the said public works connected therewith, shall cause to be made plans and specifications for the said public works, together with reliable and carefully prepared estimates of the cost of constructing, completing and installing all of said public works, which plans and estimates shall show to the satisfaction of said board that the total cost of the construction, completion and installation of said public works can with certainty be accomplished with the proceeds of the twenty million dollars (\$20,000,000) of state bonds authorized to be issued by the amendment to the constitution of the State of Illinois adopted by the vote of the people in the year 1908, and no changes shall thereafter be made in the said plans and specifications which, in the opinion of the said board, would have the effect of increasing the aggregate cost of said public works to an amount in excess of \$20,000,000.'

"I suggested the following amendment to this section, which was adopted and is incorporated in the bill now known as Schmitt Bill: 'The said board before entering into any contract for the construction of any part of said deep waterway, or canal, or any other of the said public works connected therewith, shall cause to be made plans and specifications for the said public works, together with reliable and carefully prepared estimates of the cost of constructing, completing and installing all of said public works for the purpose of ascertaining whether the total cost of the construction, completion and installation of said public works can with certainty be defrayed with the proceeds of the twenty million dollars (\$20,000,000) of said bonds authorized to be issued by the amendment to the constitution of the State of Illinois, adopted by the vote of the people in the year 1908. And if, upon the completion of said plans and specifications and the estimates based thereon, it becomes evident to the said board that the said sum of twenty million dollars (\$20,000,000) is not sufficient to defray the cost of the entire work, but is sufficient to build and construct the aforesaid waterway and all of the aforesaid

public works except the locks, they shall proceed to build the same, and if there is shown to be money in excess of the cost of the works thus undertaken, then the money in excess of that cost shall be expended in building the locks or so many of them as can be paid for by the funds provided. The first lock to be constructed shall be the most northerly one of the series required for the waterway, and such additional locks as can be built with the money shall be constructed in consecutive order along the downward course of the said waterway or canal. And no changes shall thereafter be made in the said plans and specifications which, in the opinion of said board, would have the effect of increasing the aggregate cost to the state of said public works to an amount in excess of twenty million dollars (\$20,000,000), unless the state shall, by due process of law, authorize additional expenditures.'

"Section six is entirely new and is a proper and wise provision: 'The elevation of the water level within the confines of the city of Joliet shall not be higher than forty-two (42) feet below Chicago Datum, and to provide for the maintenance of said level, suitable waste gates and regulating devices shall be installed to insure an elevation of water not higher than aforesaid in times of extreme flood.' Chicago Datum was the Datum adopted in 1832 by the engineers of the Illinois & Michigan Canal, when they started the construction of that waterway. By a mere chance that Datum coincided with the low water of 1847. The elevation of the water level at Joliet must not, under the terms of this bill, be higher than forty-two feet below Chicago Datum or the low water of 1847.

"Section seven is also new. It provides for the adequate care of drainage, sewerage and flood waters discharged from the drainage areas involved, by means of the construction of intercepting sewers and the diversion of water courses to lower levels.

"Section eight refers to the construction of bridges and provides that after bridges are constructed, one-fourth of the cost of their maintenance shall be borne by the cities, towns and munic-

ipalities where they are located, and the other three-fourths by the state.

"Section nine is the same as section six of the original bill and section ten is identical with section seven.

"Section eleven differs from section eight of the original draft, in that a workman's indemnity or insurance clause is added and in that a change is made in the provision requiring contracts to be let for all work or material costing over a certain amount, so as to raise this amount from \$500 to \$1,000 and so as to extend the period of advertising from thirty to sixty days.

"Section twelve, conferring police power, is identical with section nine of the original bill.

"Section thirteen relates to the sale of bonds and takes the place of section ten of the original bill. The denominations of the bonds are changed from \$5,000 to \$200, \$500 and \$1,000 each.

"Section seventeen provides for the disposition of funds derived from rentals, of which all in excess of the cost of maintenance and repairs are to be deposited in the State Treasury as a separate fund, to be known as the waterway sinking fund.

"The bill in its present form was passed by the Senate on the eighteenth day of last May by a vote of forty-one to eight. There is one clause attached to the bill passed at that date, which has been stricken out of the bill as it now stands. That clause reads as follows: 'Section eighteen. It is hereby made the duty of the aforesaid board of commissioners, immediately upon its appointment and continuously thereafter as long as need be, to treat with the government of the United States for the purpose of procuring its aid in the construction of the aforesaid locks, and for the purpose of procuring its aid in the development and extension of said waterway and canal along lines which will make it a constituent part of a continuous deep waterway or ship canal from Lake Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico. And said board of commissioners is hereby required to make its report, with respect to such negotiations with the government of the United States to the governor of the state from time to time, and to each special and general ses-

sion of the legislature held at any time hereafter and until the full co-operation of the government of the United States in the development and maintenance of such deep waterway or ship canal is finally procured.'

"The bill, as it now stands, is, in my judgment, the embodiment of wise statesmanship. It is a bill which the patriotic citizens of Chicago and of the State of Illinois can support with good conscience and which will greatly redound to the benefit of the state. The results which it proposes to accomplish will grow more valuable with time. As our resources of coal and wood become more and more depleted, we will value increasingly the resources which are to be developed as the result of this bill.

"We are told that this development of our resources can be of little value to the state. I have had capitalists say to me: 'It is not for the state to go into money making enterprises; that is for private capital, not for the public.' Gentlemen, does it not appeal to you that, if the state has a utility which it can develop and which can be made to earn large sums of money for the state, that utility should be developed and the funds derived therefrom appropriated to the needs and the expenses of government? Does not that mean that our taxes will be lowered and that we will have less to pay for the benefits of government than would otherwise be the case? Why is it that private corporations should struggle so hard to get possession of these utilities if they are of so little value? Do hard-headed business men put their money into ventures which they know in advance will be unremunerative?

"We have a notable example before us, in the case of the corporation which has been fighting to secure the water-power rights at Dresden Heights, where the Kankakee River unites with the Illinois. This corporation has gone through a long, vexatious and expensive fight in the state courts and now is entering upon litigation likely to be as long and as expensive in the courts of the United States. Are these people fighting for things which are of little value to them? If the utilities are worth so much to the corporation, are

they not worth much to you and to me and to all of the people who, as citizens of the state, own them?

"I have often been asked why we need a fourteen foot waterway. I do not know definitely how the fourteen foot project originated but I have always believed that it was the result of the fact that Canada has a fourteen foot waterway. The locks in the St. Lawrence Canals and in the Welland system have fourteen feet of water over the mitre sills and any improvement which is made by the United States should, at least, be comparable with what is done by Canada.

"I was before a committee of the Association of Commerce on last Thursday night, discussing this same question. I am happy to say that, with possibly two exceptions, the committee seemed to be heart and soul for the waterway—and the waterway, too, as planned. But there was one gentleman who wanted to know why we could not get along with the Illinois & Michigan Canal. The Illinois & Michigan Canal was opened for business in 1848. The size of its craft is limited by its depth and by the size of its locks. The locks are eighteen feet wide and one hundred and ten feet long between points. The depth over the mitre sill is six feet and the depth to which boats are allowed to load is four feet eight inches. A canal boat under those circumstances can carry two hundred tons, the weight of boat and tonnage being two hundred and fifty-two tons.

"The Erie Canal is being enlarged to a barge canal. New York made the mistake of not digging deep enough nor wide enough. The locks on the Erie Canal are forty-five feet wide and three hundred and twenty-five feet long. The largest boat which it can carry is figured with an eleven foot draft, forty foot bottom and three hundred foot length, giving a net tonnage of twenty five hundred tons. In the event of our building the canal as we propose, our locks will be eight hundred feet long, eight feet wide and twenty-four feet deep over the mitre sill. The canal itself, however, as proposed, is only fourteen feet deep. Why, you may ask, do we want a twenty-four foot depth

over the mitre sill, when we have only fourteen feet in the channel?

"Gentlemen, has anything in this country ever been built big enough to take care of its future growth? Is there one of us who cannot count up instance after instance where our forefathers builded not wisely because they builded too small? They did not realize what lay before their country. I do not expect to live to see the need of a twenty-four foot channel. But I want to know that left behind is a structure which the greater skill and the more abundant wealth of our country in the future will find available for its needs.

"This question was raised before the board of engineers appointed by the United States government to survey and report upon a waterway from Lockport to St. Louis. I went before that board, which had planned for a fourteen feet depth over the mitre sills, and argued this point. They admitted its wisdom and included in their estimates an additional amount for deepening the locks, not to twenty four feet but to twenty feet.

"Another reason why the waterway should be made wide and deep is that such a policy is comparable to that of the railroads, which, when they build their lines, spend vast sums of money to get light grades, so that their motive power may have greater transporting ability, so that their coal consumption may be reduced. A boat passing through a channel which is not much larger than its own cross-section must force the water ahead of it and pile it up until it gets head enough to force itself underneath the boat and between its sides and the banks. That means an extra expenditure of fuel and an extra expenditure of force, all of which should be avoided by making channels of adequate depth and of adequate length.

"Gentlemen, I am sorry that the time is so short that I will have to conclude now." (Applause.)

Mr. Lyman E. Cooley, who had just returned from Washington, where he had presented his views on the subject of the deep waterway to the committee of the House of Represent-

atives on Rivers and Harbors, spoke in reply to Mr. Randolph:

Mr. Lyman E. Cooley

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: The waterway situation in Washington, at present, has only one drawback—it has only one drawback at any time—and that is the disposition of the State of Illinois to go ahead without consulting the Congress of the United States and without making the Federal government a party to its scheme. I think, however, that it is practically assured that we will obtain all that is justified from the Federal government at this time. We already have, as a result of this agitation, four and a half million dollars in the bill for deep waterway development from Cairo to the Gulf. It is admitted by the engineers who have considered the matter, that the program, there contemplated, will produce a navigable depth of from fourteen to twenty feet at low water and much more for eight months of the year. So the problem practically reduces itself to providing for the stretch between Chicago and Cairo. In that division there are only two matters to be considered. One is a plan for co-operation with the State of Illinois for the development of that portion of the route between the end of the Drainage Canal and the lower Illinois River at Utica; the other is the proper treatment of the stretch between Grafton and Cairo through the middle Mississippi River, which seems to be resolving itself along the line of conservation and general water power development.

"The chief objection that I see to the Schmitt Bill, aside from the question of the policy relating to Federal co-operation, is that it is a bill the title of which should read, 'For an act to enable a commission appointed by the governor of this state to spend twenty million dollars as it pleases.' The machinery in the bill is very elaborate in regard to these expenditures but not definite enough in regard to the object for which the expenditures are to be made. It would not be possible in the United States Congress to secure an appropriation for rivers and harbors on the basis of anything that is disclosed in this bill. A definite project

would have to be made, recommended and fully discussed before Congress before any money would be appropriated to carry out that specific project. General authority to any group of people to build a channel or works in such manner as it pleased would not be granted, I believe, by any legislative authority in any political bailiwick in this country or abroad, except the State of Illinois.

"There are many minor points in the bill with which I do not agree. One of them relates to the question of bridges. Wherever waterways have been built, communities have been glad to provide their own bridges, but in this bill the State of Illinois undertakes to pay three-fourths of the cost of constructing, maintaining and operating bridges across its channel. There have been so many petty objections raised by people through the Illinois Valley that this bill practically undertakes to pay them a bonus for the privilege of benefiting them. I do not think those burdens should be placed upon the state at large. I think the communities through which the canal goes, should at least bear the incidental expenses that are local in nature. You might as well say that the state should pave streets or build sewers adjacent to the canal.

"The history of the constitutional amendment relating to waterways is somewhat interesting and may throw some light on what I consider our obligation in the premises and the policy which we should pursue. In 1895 we had a report from the United States Board of Engineers on the basis of which attempts were made to secure legislation from Congress in 1897. These attempts failed utterly, by reason of the assertion, made upon the floor of Congress, that there were no interests in the State of Illinois that were pushing this proposition except those who had an appetite for water power. It was cited that the Economy Light & Power Company was seeking to make a development at Dresden, that another corporation had a grip on the situation at Marseilles, that there was a divided ownership at Joliet, part belonging to the state, part to the Sanitary District and part to the Economy

Light and Power Company and that the Sanitary District had no motive on earth except to get water power. The Sanitary District was said to be using its forces in getting water power and not in draining the city of Chicago and to be asking the United States to furnish the money to build a waterway, merely in order that it might realize these side benefits. On that proposition, true or false—it was probably very much exaggerated—the matter was chased off the floor of the House.

"The report of the Internal Improvement Commission in 1907 was written, in part, as an educational report, to meet that situation. The Sanitary District appeared at Springfield in an effort to get the water power below Joliet. The General Assembly adjourned without legislation upon the subject. The governor and the present head of the Internal Improvement Commission were engaged in efforts to secure that legislation. In October the people, who had, perhaps, been responsible in a large degree for the making of public sentiment upon this waterway question, concluded that somehow all these side issues must be eliminated if serious consideration of the project for the construction of the waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf were to be obtained.

"In October, 1907, the General Assembly, by an unanimous vote in each house, authorized the constitutional amendment relating to waterways to be submitted to the vote of the people. At that time, I was consulted in regard to the matter and gave the opinion that the amount proposed—which was at first \$18,000,000 though afterwards raised to \$20,000,000—would not construct the waterway and at the same time develop the water power. I stated that to this cost must be added the cost of the locks. The reply which the promoters of the constitutional amendment made to this criticism was: 'We expect the United States to build the locks.'

"The people voted on that proposition; it was so explained to the people all over this state by Mr. Lorimer and others. So far as I know, all the speeches on the subject of this amendment were made on the theory that

the waterway was to be constructed in co-operation with the United States. The argument as to water power was used to emphasize the point that the people could undertake this waterway improvement without incurring any burden except the use of their credit. The water power was expected to repay the entire cost of the enterprise, so far as the state investment was concerned.

"Suddenly, however, after the people had adopted this constitutional amendment, there appeared on the horizon the idea that the state should go into the water power business. If the people voted on that proposition, why didn't they vote to develop the water power on the Rock River and on all of the other rivers of the state? I do not think the people would have voted on this proposition as they did, if they thought the waterway was to be made subordinate to the water power. The local feeling for water power would have dominated the question—at least, so it impresses me.

"Whatever the truth as to this may be, however, there was an issue on the question at Springfield. Mr. Randolph has described the bill that was there presented and the changes which were made in it. There was a bill presented in the House but nothing came of it. At the last moment, a very strong effort was made, supported by the governor, to secure the appropriation of a sum of money for the preparation of plans and the development of a scheme for waterway improvement which could be submitted at Washington, passed upon by the Federal authorities and be in shape as a basis for legislation at this present session of Congress. This matter was presented however, too late for legislation. If such legislation had been secured, we would, in my judgment, have arrived at our destination a year sooner than we are going to arrive now.

"What is being done along the lines suggested is being done by myself with the aid of friends. We are presenting the matter at Washington, although it ought to have been presented by the State of Illinois. The State of Illinois has, in this bill, placed itself in the attitude of having no relations

whatever with the United States, of making no provision whatever for Federal control of this waterway. It may be in a position later where it will be refused a Federal permit to do its own work; where it will not be allowed to get the water out of the Lakes. It certainly will be in a position where it will drown out the lower Illinois Valley if it sends the water down there without having the channels below dredged so as to be ready to receive it.

"At the time we passed the constitutional amendment, every one who was acquainted with the situation realized that we ought to have some definition of the waterway law in this state, and that we would have to stop the development of private interests in this channel. So suits were brought in the name of the state, by authority of the legislature, and we were able to stop the progress of these private interests. We found the law to be such, however, as, in my judgment, will set back conservation of our natural resources for at least a generation. Our only recourse now is to go to the Federal courts, where our laws are much broader, and where, judging by decisions that have been rendered in the past, we will win our case. To go ahead under the authority of the state at this time is to incur heavy liabilities on account of the private interests along this route.

"The reports made to the state indicate that these water power rights possess a very high value. As I interpret the Supreme Court decision, there is, on the basis of a flow of 10,000 cubic feet of water per second, anywhere from 30,000 to 40,000 horse power in the control of private interests. Where we will land in the state courts, I do not know, but my judgment is that we will land with a large proportion of this twenty million dollars spent in paying claims for these water rights. On the other hand, there seems to be no solution of the difficulty at this time, except to do the work under the authority of the United States, in effect, to turn over the \$20,000,000 to the United States, except so much as is required for the water power development.

"This is the theory upon which the

legislation at Washington is proceeding: That there shall be matured by the State of Illinois and by the United States a plan of co-operation in which the United States will, at least, build the locks, leaving to the state the duty of securing the property rights—which we cannot secure as I see it, by the aid of the state courts.

"There are two or three points by way of argument, raised by my predecessor in regard to the history of the fourteen foot project. I plead guilty on that proposition myself. I drew the joint resolution of the General Assembly of Illinois in 1889 that made fourteen feet the state policy. There was more than one reason for it; the depth of the Canadian canals is merely a coincidence. One of the reasons for the recommendation of this policy was that a canal fourteen feet deep through the Illinois Valley was necessary to take care of the water we were going to send down from Lake Michigan. Another reason was that, as the result of an investigation which I had begun as early as 1886, I had become satisfied that all the rivers in this country and all the canals that were incapable of accomodating a boat that would carry a cargo as great as the greatest railroad train would become obsolete. I think that history since 1886 has demonstrated that my judgment was correct. That is still my judgment and is still the basis of the deep waterway to the gulf. On a depth of fourteen feet a three thousand ton steam barge can be floated. In my judgment, such a boat can not be driven out of business by any possible railroad competition. These were the reasons that led to the adoption of the fourteen foot policy.

"As to the situation in Washington, we will get the fourteen foot channel, when we get all of the preliminaries settled between the state and the United States. But we are not going to stop at fourteen feet; we are going right straight ahead for twenty-four feet. In my judgment, every structure that is to be built in connection with the channel should be designed for a twenty-four foot waterway. In the improvement of the middle Mississippi it is now proposed to construct

two dams, with the aid of which twenty feet can be produced.

"In conclusion, the understanding which we supposed to exist at Washington in the first week in December, between the president of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association and the Junior Senator from this state, was that nothing would be carried out or even attempted, until there had been an opportunity to work out the situation at Washington. It seems, however, that the governor of this state views the situation in a somewhat different way." (Applause.)

Mr. George C. Sikes, formerly expert investigator for the Harbor Commissioner, spoke in opposition to the Schmitt Bill as at present drawn.

Mr. George C. Sikes

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It seems to me as if we were getting into a somewhat confused situation. We are getting a re-action against waterway sentiment; the enemies of the waterway are becoming bolder and are trying to block the entire waterway project, while we, who believe in the waterway enterprise, are becoming divided into hostile camps among ourselves.

"I fully agree with Governor Deneen that the work of waterway construction and water power development in Illinois should be undertaken and pushed to completion with reasonable speed. I cannot agree, however, that the Schmitt Bill should be passed by the legislature in its present form. The popular vote for the twenty million dollar waterway amendment did not constitute approval of any particular project. Much less was it a mandate to the legislature to abdicate and turn over all its powers to a commission of five members. The constitutional amendment was a grant of authority to the legislature to have plans prepared and to have the construction carried out in accordance with those plans. It is proper for the legislature to vest in administrative agencies the task of carrying out plans. But the legislature itself should pass upon the broad questions of policy involved.

"I insist that the preliminary work essential to the proper determination

of broad questions of policy has not yet been done. Government engineers have made estimates of cost of eight-foot and fourteen-foot channels through Illinois. The Internal Improvement Commission has given rough preliminary estimates of the cost of water power development. No commission, so far as I know, has undertaken to advise what the size of the channel should be on the basis of business and transportation needs. Nor has the vital question of the marketing of power to be developed along the waterway been properly dealt with. I contend that the provisions of the Schmitt Bill on this subject are insufficient and decidedly unsatisfactory.

"The Schmitt Bill provides for a channel with a twenty-four foot depth through Joliet and a fourteen foot depth beyond that point. The report of the government engineers, made public a few months ago, recommended a channel of not to exceed nine feet in depth. Governor Deneen said in his last message that he was willing that the channel for a part of the way should have a depth of only nine feet.

"I contend that questions of such fundamental importance as the size of the channel ought not to be settled in an off-hand manner. Before the legislature divests itself of control of the expenditure of the twenty million dollars it should have the information upon which to base the decision of the broader questions of policy involved. It should be able to act intelligently in passing on the question as to whether the depth of the channel should be nine feet, fourteen feet, or some other figure.

"The problem of marketing the power should be gone into more fully before the work of construction is undertaken. Under the terms of the Schmitt Bill, as President McCormick of the Sanitary District has pointed out, practically the only bidder for the power would be the Commonwealth Edison Company and its allied interests, because that is the only concern which possesses or can secure under existing law the franchises necessary for the distribution of the power.

"It seems to me that the making of studies and the preparing of plans and

specifications should be undertaken without delay. Such a commission as is proposed by the Schmitt Bill might wisely be authorized to make the necessary preliminary studies and to prepare detailed plans and specifications. But such a commission should not be given full power to go ahead and spend the twenty million dollars without coming back to the legislature for approval of the larger features of the project and of the broader questions of policy involved." (Applause.)

Mr. Randolph

"Gentlemen, I am sorry that I have not with me certain documents which could shed a great deal of light on this situation. I wish I had the report written by Mr. Cooley in 1907. That would help the cause very much. I have here, however, something else to which I want to call your attention. This is a resolution which passed the General Assembly on October 16, 1907:

"Resolved, That the separate section of the constitution of this state relating to the canal be amended to read as follows:

"The Illinois and Michigan Canal, or other canal or waterway, owned by the state shall never be sold or leased until the specific proposition for the sale or lease therefor shall first have been submitted to a vote of the people of the state at a general election, and have been approved by a majority of all the votes cast at such election. The General Assembly shall never loan the credit of the state or make appropriations from the treasury thereof, in aid of railroads or canals:

"Provided, that any surplus earnings of any canal, waterway, or water power may be appropriated or pledged for its enlargement, maintenance or extension; and

"Provided, further, that the General Assembly may, by suitable legislation, provide for the construction of a deep waterway or canal from the present water power plant of the Sanitary Drainage District of Chicago, at or near Lockport, in the township of Lockport, in the county of Will, to a point in the Illinois River at or near Utica, which may be practical for a

general plan and scheme of deep waterway along a route, which may be deemed most advantageous for such plants, locks, bridges, dams and appliances sufficient and suitable for the development and utilization of the water power thereof; and authorize the issue, from time to time, of bonds of this state in a total amount not to exceed twenty million dollars, which shall draw interest, payable semi-annually, at a rate not to exceed four per cent per annum, the proceeds whereof may be applied as the General Assembly may provide, in the construction of said waterway and in the erection, equipment and maintenance of said power plants, locks, bridges, dams and appliances.

"All power developed from said waterway may be leased in part or in whole, as the General Assembly may by law provide; but in the event of any lease being so executed, the rental specified therein for water power shall be subject to a revaluation each ten years of the term created, and the income therefrom shall be paid into the treasury of the State."

"Gentlemen, that is what the people of the state voted on. If that is not a definite water power proposition, what is it?

"We come now to the scheme. If there is one section of the United States that has been thoroughly surveyed and has had schemes prepared for it, it is the section between Lockport and Utica. Mr. Cooley prepared a scheme for it, when he was with the Sanitary District. He prepared another scheme while he was with the Internal Improvement Commission. There have been a number of plans prepared by the United States engineers. The Internal Improvement Commission, under my direction, prepared a scheme, which is now in Washington. That scheme has been presented to the Secretary of War, but the chief of engineers says that he can not even examine it because a previous Secretary of War had declared that he had no jurisdiction in the premises, and that succeeding Secretaries of War have not reversed that ruling. Until that ruling is reversed he will not even look at the plans. So there has been

submitted one scheme after another for the development of this waterway.

"To give you some idea of the amount of surveying that has been done, let me cite the following:

"First of all there were surveys made by the Illinois and Michigan Canal which was opened for business in 1848. Other surveys, of record, are as follows:

"Survey by Brig.-General James H. Wilson, and William Gooding. (See Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, 1867.)

"Survey by Major W. H. H. Benyaurd, 1884.

"Survey by Board of Officers, Col. C. B. Somstock, Col. O. M. Poe and Major Post, 1887.

"Survey by Capt. W. L. Marshall, 1890.

"Survey by Major W. L. Marshall, 1897.

"Survey by Board of Officers: Col. J. W. Barlow, Major J. H. Willard and Major C. McD. Townsend, 1900.

"Survey by Board of Officers: Col. O. J. Ernst, Lieut. Col. W. H. Bixby, Major Thos. L. Casey, 1905.

"Besides all of this data the Sanitary District has had exhaustive surveys made for use in defending its overflow suits.

"I was in Washington on the 17th day of last month to try to find out what the situation was. I met a number of our representatives. One of the most prominent representatives of this state told me that, publicly, they were talking waterway and privately they were knocking it. Another one told me that it was a 'fake' and a fraud. Martin B. Madden told me that he was working for it tooth and nail, that he was putting in all his time on it and that he had great hopes of success. I had a long talk with the chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Committee. I found him enthusiastic for the fourteen foot waterway, expressing himself as heart and soul in favor of it. I asked him what were our chances of

getting any appropriation for the Illinois Valley. He said: 'I do not think you will get any at this session and I do not believe you ought to get any. The work of the government will involve twelve years. The work necessary in the Illinois Valley can be done in five years. Illinois should go ahead with its project and do all it can and let the United States government supplement it.' That was the state of affairs which I found in Washington." (Applause.)

MR. SIKES: "Mr. Randolph, you said that a number of surveys have been made. Do all of these surveys agree as to the wisdom of the project which is contemplated by this bill or do they differ?"

MR. RANDOLPH: "The surveys were made for different purposes; one of them was for a project of fourteen feet and the others for different projects that I do not now recall."

MR. SIKES: "Have any of these surveys unequivocally, from the business and transportation point of view, endorsed any particular project?"

MR. RANDOLPH: "I think I am safe in saying that the eight foot project has the approval of the army engineers. The army engineers, as a rule, are set against the deep waterway project and claim that it is not needed."

MR. GEORGE E. HOOKER: "I would like to ask Mr. Cooley to what extent the water power rights along the strip from Lockport to Utica are in greater danger of being acquired or extended by private interests if the Schmitt Bill is not passed, than if it should be passed."

MR. COOLEY: "I do not think it is possible for private interests to get control of any more power on the stream, if the matter is delayed.

"I do think, that so far as the matter of the condition of things at Washington is concerned, that what Mr. Randolph said was true when Mr. Randolph left. It was quite untrue when I left."

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BUILDING ORDINANCES OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO

The City Club Committee on Housing Conditions has taken an active interest in the revision of the building code which has been in progress now for a period of over a year. When the commission, which has had the work in charge, was appointed in December of 1908, the Housing Committee used its influence to have included in that commission men who were acquainted with the tenement situation in Chicago and who understood the fundamental importance of proper housing regulations. The committee also assisted the commission by the preparation of a digest of the tenement house regulations of a number of the more important American cities.

The work of the revision commission is about completed and the new ordinance will probably be presented to the council for final action in the near future. The commission has done its work through a number of sub-committees, each dealing with a particular class of buildings, the work of these sub-committees being referred to the general committee for co-ordination of results. This plan of work has been criticized on the ground that it has tended to produce an ordinance, which lacks coherence and inner consistency. The Municipal Voters' League, in its preliminary report, issued on the 7th instant, has

suggested the wisdom of having this work done by a small body of paid experts who would possess technical knowledge not to be expected of the aldermen, and who, because they would receive compensation for their work, would be able to give it their undivided attention, which could reasonably be expected of volunteer experts. Members of the commission, while conceding that the plan suggested has obvious advantages, have replied that the size of the commission has, from one point of view, been of positive value in that it has made available the experience of a large number of experts working in varied fields. They have suggested that if a commission such as that suggested should be appointed, its powers should be merely advisory and its results should be reviewed and passed upon by the larger commission. They further insist that the ordinance in its present form compares favorably with that of any other American city.

The proposed ordinance was discussed before the City Club at its Saturday luncheon of the 12th instant. Various angles of the situation were presented by Mr. Richard E. Schmidt, Alderman Charles M. Thomson, Mr. E. A. Renwick—in the place of Alderman Francis W. Taylor—and Health Commissioner W. A. Evans. Mr. Allen B. Pond, who

had been invited to speak, was unavoidably detained from attending the discussion, but he has since made a written statement of his views upon the subject. This statement has been included in the report of the discussion, which is herewith presented, together with comment by Mr. Richard B. Schmidt.

A lengthy general discussion followed the main addresses. Professor James H. Tufts, chairman of the City Club Committee on Housing Conditions, presided.

Professor James H. Tufts

"Gentlemen of the City Club: The building ordinances are from one standpoint a technical matter, but from another standpoint they are a very human matter. I suppose that the housing situation, for example, appeals to me personally because, next to the direct activity of schools, it seems to me to affect the life and development of children about as forcibly as anything with which our political organizations have to deal. I am sure, therefore, that whatever our occupations may be, we have a very vital interest in the building ordinances which are before the city. They have enlisted the services of experts of various sorts, in addition to the services of the aldermen who have constituted the immediate committee to whom the matter has been referred.

"In earlier years, we used to think only of the ministry and of medicine as being professions which gave themselves especially to public service, but with the demands of city life we are beginning, I am sure, to realize more and more that the architect and the engineer are of the most fundamental importance to us, not merely in constructing fine and beautiful buildings, but in making provisions that affect our safety and our health in a great variety of ways. The commission which has had in charge the work of revising the building code has been fortunate in having the expert services of a number of architects and engineers, who have attended a great many meetings and have given a great deal of time to this work. We are very glad to announce as the first speaker this afternoon, Mr. Richard E. Schmidt, who has been connected with this work of revising the building code from the outset. He will tell us some-

thing of the history of the ordinances and of certain of their general provisions." (Applause.)

Mr. Richard E. Schmidt

"Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen: The movement for the revision of the ordinances originated in the Building Department, when Mr. Joseph Downey was the Commissioner of Public Works. The department was confronted with a great many complaints from owners of old buildings because of the enforcement of an ordinance requiring the placarding of buildings and the stating of the safe load per square foot on the various floors. The several loads that were calculated by the engineers and approved by the Department of Buildings were very much lower than the loads that the occupants had been placing on these floors. The engineer of the Building Department, Mr. Gerety, recognized the cause of that condition of affairs and explained it to Mr. Downey. They decided that it would be best to secure, if possible, a new ordinance and not to ignore the one that was in existence. Mr. Downey invited a number of engineers, Mr. Henderson, of Purdy & Henderson, Mr. Mott, of Ritter & Mott, Mr. Giaver, Mr. Condron, Mr. Winslow, Mr. Gerety, Mr. Martin, Mr. Shankland, and myself, to a conference in the Building Department. He suggested that we form a committee and revise the ordinance on structural work—that is, only those paragraphs that referred to the strains and stresses and the strength of buildings. The committee, which was organized as a result of this conference, began work in 1907 and worked very assiduously until the end of May, 1908. The recommendations of this body were referred to the City Council Committee on the Building Department, where they rested during the entire summer of 1908.

"In the fall of that year, Mr. Murdoch Campbell was made the Commissioner of Buildings. Mr. Campbell considered it advisable to have the entire ordinance rewritten and not simply the structural clauses. He presented this matter to the Mayor and the Council Committee on the Building Department. As a result, a large number of architects, engineers, fire insurance engineers, and representatives of building owners' organizations

were called together and organized into a large committee of, I believe, some fifty members. This committee was subdivided into smaller committees, each one to consider some particular class of buildings—our ordinance divides the buildings into eight classes. Each of the sub-committees was headed by one of the aldermen and on each committee were two or three architects and engineers, experts in the particular kinds of buildings which the committee had to consider.

"After the various sub-committees had completed their work, a sub-committee was appointed to draft the general provisions relating to all classes of buildings. The architects on this committee were, Messrs. Pond, Perkins, Mundy and myself. After all of this work had been done, it was referred back to the general committee and reviewed by them. There were few changes made as a result of that review; it was chiefly concerned with the finding and correction of errors. A number of architects engaged in this work tested the new ordinances by applying them to the buildings for which they were then drawing plans. In that way other defects were found and corrected. I believe that, as the work was handled, it had the undeniable advantage of being done by a great many men; the views of all were considered and the result is certainly a very good average of what ought to be put in the ordinance.

"I believe that this work could hardly have been done by a small committee. It has been suggested that a small paid committee should take the ordinance and consider it—possibly redraft it entirely—but I doubt if as good an ordinance could be obtained in that way. If a small paid committee were to be organized, I think its functions should be limited to reviewing the work of the other committee for the purpose of finding errors, complications and omissions. Their work should then be reported back to the original committee, which has had this work in hand for a number of years. That committee should review the work of the smaller committee and should decide what recommendations should be submitted to the council.

"I believe that the ordinance is as broad as and more liberal than any ordi-

nance of any city in this country. It leaves very little room for the arbitrary interpretation of the city officials. We endeavored to fix everything as definitely as possible without making the ordinance too stringent, so as to make it possible for any architect or builder to plan a structure without being obliged to go to the Building Department, which might construe the provisions one way at one time, another way at another time. In this way no hardship would be worked to any one.

"The existing good buildings and the buildings that have recently been changed to conform with the present ordinances and with the demands of the Building Department, were given the consideration of all of the committee. We did not desire to pass an ordinance which would be so different from that of the present that these buildings would have to be changed again. In some respects, that required us to be a little more careful and possibly, to write the ordinance a little weaker in some places, than would have been the case if we had been dealing with a new city.

"The work done by the committee entailed a large amount of time. The work began in November, 1907, and has continued to January of this year. Many of the members attended almost every meeting. Many of the meetings began at 9 o'clock in the morning and lasted until 10 o'clock at night, the members of the committee not leaving the room, but having their meals served on the spot. There were afternoon meetings almost every week, many of them extending into the night." (Applause.)

Alderman Thomson, a member of the Council Committee on the Building Department and also of the commission in charge of the revision of the building code, spoke with reference to some of the legal aspects and problems of the ordinance:

Alderman Charles M. Thomson

"Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen: I presume there is no part of the municipal code which touches all the people in more ways or from as many different angles as the building laws. They affect the people of the city while they sleep, when they are at play and while they are being amused, for instance, at the

theater. They affect the people while they are at work, whether in the office or in the factory and while they are at worship in the churches. The building conditions in the city have a very great and a very vital relation to the health conditions of the city. Therefore, any revision of the building code is, to say the least, a very important piece of work. It is greatly to be desired that the new building code, as finally passed by the council, will be a decided improvement over the building laws of the past.

"Mr. Schmidt has already told you that the work of the committee which has been revising the building code has been done through a number of sub-committees, each of which contained one or two members of the city council and a number of architects and engineers. I happened to serve on the sub-committee that had under consideration regulations covering buildings of Classes I and VIII—Class I covering certain lines of mercantile buildings and Class VIII covering schools—and also on the sub-committee on the general provisions of the ordinance. When the sub-committee on the general provisions of the ordinance started its work, one of the first problems which it met was that of the requirements for fire escapes. We found that there was a hopeless conflict between the state laws on that subject and the ordinances of the city, both those which exist and any which might be proposed. We felt that it was absolutely imperative, in order to bring order out of this chaos, to secure an amendment to the state law, which would give the city the power to make proper fire escape regulations.

"We, therefore, conferred with the corporation counsel in the matter and had a short amendment to the existing state law drafted. A committee of five or six of us went down to Springfield in an effort to induce the members of the legislature to pass that amendment. I do not know whether any of you have ever been to Springfield to try to get the legislature to pass some act for the benefit of the City of Chicago, but, if you have, you know from experience what arguments we met with and what we had to overcome in order to meet success. We did, however, succeed in getting that bill through the House and

Senate and it is now law. The effect of the amendment is to make the state law inoperative in certain classes of cities and to make it possible for the fire escape provisions of our new ordinance to be enforced.

"The state law, as it existed, would require on the La Salle Hotel, for example, a number of fire escapes which would entirely cover the walls of that building on all four sides—a result which, of course, would be ridiculous. Our experience with reference to these fire escape laws illustrates the point that it is next to impossible to have building laws, at least in the state statutes, which can apply both to Chicago and to the other cities of the state, and still work out an equitable adjustment between them.

"In revising the building code, we often found ourselves hampered by the lack of sufficient charter power—or of the right sort of charter power—to enable us to put into the building ordinance those provisions that we felt would strengthen it and which we felt the city ought to have. Sometimes we found we had no charter power at all and sometimes we found that although we did have a direct charter power, it was not the kind we needed. For instance, Chicago has direct charter power to direct the location of livery stables, but it has no power to direct the location of garages, of laundries, of machine shops, or of factories. Where we have no direct charter power, we may, of course, rely upon our general police power to enforce such regulations as we may have, but where we have this power we must rely upon it; we must not go outside of it and invoke the general police power in the interest of enforcing the ordinance. For that reason it is perhaps better to have no direct charter power than power which is inadequate.

"Another instance of this point relates to junk shops. We have power under the present charter to tax, license and regulate junk shops. We passed an ordinance some time ago requiring the frontage consent of property owners in a given block or section of the city before a junk shop could be located in that block or section of the city. That ordinance was contested in the so-called Goldburg case and the Supreme Court handed down a decision that the ordi-

nance was invalid—that the power to regulate junk shops did not include the right to direct where they might be located. We have no direct charter power under which we may direct the location of garages, but we have an ordinance regulating their location in the matter of frontage consents and, so far, have been able to enforce it under the general police power.

"We were also hampered by the lack of charter power to prescribe a fireproof limit in the revised building code. It was thought that conditions had become such in the more congested district of the city that it might be well to provide that any building within a certain area must be fireproof. I believe we have the power to establish fire limits but none to establish the fireproof limits. It would be difficult to uphold a section covering the fireproof limits under the general police power.

"We are meeting the same difficulty in attempting to draft similar regulations on the matter of billboards. It might be desirable to pass an ordinance which would prohibit the erection of billboards on the roofs of buildings. Our direct charter power as to billboards says that we shall have the power to control the location of billboards on buildings, but the question arises as to whether or not an ordinance prohibiting them entirely would be within or without that charter power.

"These are some of the legal problems that we have met, some of the legal difficulties we have had to overcome in drafting the new building ordinances. In this connection we see, from another angle, the necessity of a new charter for the City of Chicago. This necessity has been emphasized repeatedly in connection with some of the larger problems of our civic life, the problems of transportation, of the subway and of harbor development. But the charter is also sadly needed in other connections as we have found out in drafting the provisions of this new building code. Miss Chicago has a crying need for a new dress, not only that she may hide her lower limbs, but in order that she may have some additional lace and trimmings on her collar." (Applause.)

Alderman Taylor, another member of the revision commission, who was on the

program for the discussion, was unable to speak because of a severe cold. In his stead, Mr. E. A. Renwick, of the firm of Holabird & Roache, the architects of the City Hall and of the County Building, who was also a member of the revision commission, addressed the club:

Mr. E. A. Renwick

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Alderman Taylor and I have been working on substantially the same sub-committees, covering Classes II and VII, dealing respectively with office buildings, hotels, lodging houses, hospitals, jails and buildings of that sort and with department stores. I am, therefore, more or less familiar with his point of view.

"When we examined the old ordinances to see what was needed in the way of revision, we found that Class II covered practically all of such buildings as office structures, club houses, hotels, lodging houses, jails and hospitals, under a single heading and that these buildings were all treated alike. On this account, it was often very difficult to apply the ordinances. Requirements that were suitable for a hospital were often very impracticable for an office building and yet the law required that they should be given the same treatment. When this matter was taken up for consideration in the sub-committee, we separated these buildings into three sub-classes. We put office buildings, club houses and lodging houses where there were sleeping accommodations for less than twenty persons under one sub-division; hotels and club houses with accommodations for more than twenty persons, under a second sub-division; and hospitals, jails and buildings used for housing the infirm and sick under a third. In this way we were able to carry out the Health Department's requirements as to hospitals. Under the new provisions, practically every hospital to be built in the future must be made fireproof in order to properly protect the inmates. The conditions which govern hotels are distinctive and by placing them in a sub-class, we have been able to draft provisions which fully protect the guests against fire, and which take care of sanitary matters, such as ventilation and lighting, in a way that would not be possible if applied to all the buildings of the same class.

When we took up Class VII, which includes department stores, we found that the old laws relating to this class of buildings were very loose, being very little different from the laws governing warehouses. We felt that the conditions prevailing in crowded department stores were entirely different from those prevailing in warehouses. We, therefore, drew a much more stringent ordinance providing for exits and fire escapes. The old law on fire escapes was so worded as to require the outside of our buildings to be almost plastered over with fire escapes. We can walk down our streets now and see them. We have been striving for a city beautiful; it is the consensus of opinion that something ought to be done to prevent the destruction of what little architectural effect there is in this city—and there is not very much to be sure. To prevent the inartistic effect of ugly fire escapes, provision was made in the ordinances, at the suggestion of several prominent men—I believe Mr. Byron Lathrop first suggested the idea—to remove the fire escapes from our street front and to place them in courts and alleys. Fire escapes are very unsightly things; they may be necessary for the protection of life in some cases, but many times they might as well be in the courts. They would be just as useful there in case of fire as if they were placed on the outside of the building.

"After Classes II and VII were provided for by the sub-committee, we joined the general committee in an endeavor to interlock the work of the different committees, and to draft an ordinance that would not be filled with inconsistencies. Unfortunately, the City of Chicago was so poor that it could not give us money enough to have these ordinances printed in sufficient number that each member of the committee could have one to examine prior to the meeting of the general committee. As a result, the work of this committee was very much hampered. The ordinances were printed and introduced into the council about the same time, so the general committee was able to read them over in connected form at that time.

"The first reading of the connected ordinances brought forcibly to my mind the fact that there were many discrepancies that should be corrected. There

were many inconsistencies that I am sure the committee did not intend. For instance, there was a provision in the ordinance that churches seating less than six hundred people should have fireproof floors, but churches seating between six hundred and eighteen hundred might have wood constructed floors. The ordinances, therefore, needed immediate editing. Since their introduction, the committee has met very regularly—nearly every afternoon—and has attempted to pull these things together into a consistent whole.

"I believe that we are going to have an ordinance that is better in every way than that of any large city in the United States. It has had the disinterested services of a great many people. As Mr. Schmidt has said, the architects on the committees have attempted to apply the formula or rules that have been laid down here on work that they have had in hand. They have attempted to thresh out and eliminate at that time all those things which were found to be impracticable or impossible, and to raise the standard throughout.

"We have placed a premium on the better class of buildings—the fireproof buildings. We have lowered the legal height of an ordinary wooden structure to fifty feet, and of a slow-burning building to ninety feet. In the old ordinances they were sixty and one hundred feet, respectively. This makes it possible to put up fireproof buildings in competition with those of a lower class. A fireproof building costs from one and one-half to two times as much as the cheap building and the rentals are not correspondingly higher, so we should do everything we can to encourage the construction of better class buildings by allowing adequate returns. We should not put a premium on the poor buildings. By this change in the ordinances, I think we will be able to overcome a great many of the objections which have been made to them in the past." (Applause.)

Dr. W. A. Evans, Health Commissioner of Chicago, discussed the proposed ordinances from the point of view of the sanitarian:

Doctor W. A. Evans

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the City Club: I am ready to confess that,

when the Health Department was informed of the movement to revise the building ordinances, they did not feel very happy about it, because, while they fully appreciated the need of such a revision, they did not believe that the time was opportune. There is a consuming necessity for a study of housing conditions in our city, for a thorough inquiry as to how our poorer people are living, especially from the point of view of the problems that are constantly brought to the attention of the Health Department. We have recognized that necessity for a long time and we have been endeavoring to find someone to conduct such an investigation. A few weeks ago, Mr. Riis told you of the enormous tenement house department of the City of New York—a tenement house department that has an appropriation nearly twice as large as the appropriation of the Health Department of this city. The School of Civics and Philanthropy has succeeded in getting a small appropriation from the Sage foundation for the purpose of studying local tenement house conditions. The plan for the 'City Beautiful' has been launched and a study of the city from that point of view will, I think, inevitably lead to a study of the city from the standpoint of making it healthier. We are of the opinion, therefore, that somehow, before very long, a comprehensive solution of the problem of housing the poorer people of the City of Chicago will be worked out. But that time has not yet come and was not at hand when this commission was proposed. We preferred that a revision might await the time when there was more information at hand as to the conditions that needed to be rectified.

"You understand, gentlemen, that in housing—especially in the housing of the poor—conditions get automatically worse because, in the first place, the houses are temporary structures, which every year fall into worse and worse repair, leaving their occupants to live under conditions that, from a sanitary point of view, become increasingly bad from year to year; because, in the second place, housing is largely determined by the price of property. When property has attained a certain earning capacity, it must be made to yield a return of that sum of money. In consequence, considerations such as

the price of land and of buildings are important factors in the housing problem. You will understand that all of these things come to be retroactive. When we can put twelve hundred people on each acre of ground, we are able to get a certain amount of revenue from that acre. The innocent purchaser of ground, who pays on a basis of earning power calculated on a population of twelve hundred people to the acre, must, in consequence, get twelve hundred people on that acre, in order to earn a proper return on his investment. The earning power is dependent upon the number of people that can be crowded on that acre of ground. The man who comes in as a purchaser after the property has received this increment of value, due to an increase in the number of occupants, must, in consequence, figure the value of his property on this basis. Therefore, when we do anything toward allowing an increase of the number of people that live on each acre, we by that act complicate our housing problem.

"Another reason why we did not welcome this commission was that, although the commission, as constituted, was composed of lawmakers, legislators, architects and others, it had no representatives of the health interests of the city. Now, in the building of a house, we must take cognizance of the structural side of that house, but we must also remember the interests of the man that is to live there. The properly constructed house is no more the work of the architect and the builder than it is of the sanitarian. There is technical information that is possessed by the sanitarian as well as technical information that is possessed by the architect; a house that is built with a proper use of the technical information of the architect alone is not a house that has been properly constructed. But here was a commission that proceeded to deal with this question that is of such enormous significance, namely, the revision of the building code, which had no members representing what we believe, because of its relation to the problem of bad air diseases, to be the most important part of our housing situation. It has been abundantly proven that bad air diseases increase in proportion to the complexity of housing. For this reason, we were not altogether

happy over the establishment of this commission.

"Let us see, however, what has been the result of the work of the commission. The commission had worked very strenuously for a number of months. From time to time the Health Department, sometimes upon the invitation of members of the commission and sometimes without such invitation, have appeared to present certain recommendations. These recommendations were always kindly received. At times the members of the commission were at a loss to know how to value those suggestions inasmuch as they admittedly did not possess the requisite knowledge of sanitary science.

"It is my judgment that this proposed ordinance will be a material improvement over that of the present. Now, I speak not from the structural standpoint—for I take it for granted that, from that point of view, there is no question but that the ordinances are materially better than those which they are intended to supersede. Speaking wholly from the sanitary point of view, I think they represent a very material gain over the ordinances now in the code. They do not represent the radical changes in housing that the Health Department believes to be absolutely necessary for the well-being of Chicago; but perhaps those radical changes had better come as the result of an investigation, possibly by a special commission charged with the investigation of existing housing conditions among the poor, and after recommendations for improving those conditions have been submitted.

"It has seemed to us that the provisions restricting the number of people who might be put upon an acre of ground and the amount of the ground space on each lot which might be covered with buildings were not quite as good as they might be, even in the present state of public opinion. The ordinances are again in the hands of the commission and I trust that they will find it possible to make this section somewhat clearer and plainer than at present, and, perhaps, to make some stringent regulation as to the percentage of ground area that shall be occupied. I will illustrate what I mean in this way: About two years ago, a small park was established

on Chicago avenue, just west of Halsted street. In order that this might be done, a very congested district, occupied by very poor, two and three-story frame structures was vacated. The park authorities, in purchasing the site, did not purchase the houses. The result was that the houses were moved from the park site to lots that were already occupied by one—and in some instances, even by two—house. That means that there are now many lots in that section of the city which are occupied by two and sometimes three houses, which formerly were occupied by but one or two. That represented a distinct step backward. I believe it did more harm to the City of Chicago than that particular small park did good. This sort of thing is not as well covered in the ordinances as we would like, but we trust that the commission to whom these matters have again been referred, will be able to make this matter clearer and better regulated than it is at the present time.

"Another matter of great importance is the ventilation of toilet rooms to the outside air. The present ordinances allow for a second-hand ventilation, but they provide that it shall not go farther than second-hand. They provide that toilet rooms may be indirectly ventilated from rooms which have outside light. As I understand it, the proposed ordinances cut that out and allow toilet facilities to be put in independent of natural light. If I am mistaken in that, I trust that I will be corrected. The difficulty about that is this, gentlemen, that toilets are so necessary and, at the same time, so apt to go wrong, that we need light in order to see that they are kept right. You know full well that if a thing is not as light as it should be, it is liable to get dirtier than it ought to be. If you make it as light as it ought to be, you will have the curative effect of light—and that it great. You will also have the demonstrative action of light, that is, the capacity to see conditions that are incorrect—and that, perhaps, is just as important as the other. At any rate, this matter should be corrected before the ordinances come up for final passage.

"Taking the ordinances by and large, they are, as I said before, distinctly better than those they are intended to supersede. Our old ordinances took no cog-

nizance of ventilation, save certain rude requirements. The proposed ordinances have worked out a proper standardizing of ventilation—in many places as an essential requirement. This standardization is not altogether what it should be, but it represents a distinct advance in principle and a fair gain in actual conditions. For this reason, we are for the ordinances; we trust that the inconsistencies to which your attention has been called, and the defects that have been set forth, will be corrected and that then the ordinances will pass.” (Applause.)

The chairman called upon Mr. W. S. Stahl, of the city law department, for an expression of opinion. Mr. Stahl had an important part in the drafting of the proposed ordinances:

Mr. W. S. Stahl

“Mr. Chairman: In considering these ordinances, I have endeavored to confine my attention entirely to the question of legality, though, possibly, in a few instances I may have overstepped the bounds and have attempted, to a certain extent, to consider their substance. In many instances doubts have arisen as to whether the city could or could not enforce the ordinances on certain points. In such cases, I have often been asked to resolve those doubtful questions in favor of the validity of the ordinances and to permit certain amendments to go in without raising legal objections.

“As an instance of this, certain members of the committee are very anxious that a question, which they consider to be a matter of doubt, should be resolved in favor of the elimination of billboards and signboards from the roofs of buildings. That matter is still under consideration. There is one thing, however, which we must remember; there are two classes of people whose rights we must consider, those whose property interests are involved and affected, and those, who for aesthetic or other reasons, have ideas that may affect these interests adversely. I do not believe it is conducive to good government and I do not believe that it will improve the ordinance to insert a provision which is illegal or invalid.

“Should we insert such illegal or invalid provisions, as soon as an attempt would be made to enforce the ordinances,

petitions would be filed seeking injunctions to stop this enforcement. In times past, certain ordinances have been declared void which, in my opinion, might have been upheld if the courts had been willing to stretch the point a bit. Our courts, however, are very much inclined to follow strictly the rules laid down by the Supreme and Appellate Courts in construing the ordinances and unless the city can clearly show wherein it derives its charter powers, the chances are that the ordinances will be declared void.

“As I view these building ordinances as a whole, I can think of but few instances where legal questions might arise and those cases have been allowed to stand in order that the city might be given an opportunity to test their validity by a court decision. We have endeavored, wherever practical, to eliminate all those invalid provisions. I think the members of the committee will bear me out when I say that I have been very persistent in a few instances in insisting that certain ordinances either be so changed as to comply with our charter powers or else be absolutely eliminated.

“As I view the proposed ordinances in comparison with the ones which they are intended to supersede, I can see decided changes in many particulars. The old ordinances were passed at a time when there was a general demand for very radical action, and in some instances, the provisions were very drastic. In order that ordinances dealing with such subject matters as the dimensions of buildings, the width and number of stairways, the number of fire escapes and so forth, may be sustained, they must be adapted to existing conditions. The committee has, I think, made decided improvements in bringing these regulations up to date. Ordinances have been mentioned which, when applied to existing conditions, have been found to work a hardship. In such cases, amendments have been made, so as to adapt the provisions of the ordinance to the existing conditions.

“Mention has been made of the appointment of a commission of men to draw up a ideal ordinance. Before such an ordinance would ever pass the City Council it would have to be so amended by the committee so as to apply, as far as possible, to existing conditions, and so as to make unnecessary any radical

structural changes in buildings. If mistakes have been made in the past by reason of insufficient building requirements, those mistakes are already made. Millions of dollars have been expended by property owners in erecting their buildings. In most instances these buildings have been constructed according to existing ordinances and it is only in extreme cases, where the public health or public safety is endangered, that the courts would enforce retroactive measures which would require structural changes and the expenditure of large amounts of money. I think that is true in regard to the pending ordinances. They do not require many changes in existing buildings but those provisions which apply to new buildings may, within certain bounds, be regarded as almost ideal. They contain such requirements that it is hoped, at least, that when buildings are erected according to the ordinances, changes will not be necessary in the future.

"The question of building regulations is a very important one; it has been before the committee a long while; the committee has amended and re-amended the provisions of the ordinances, until now it presents a much better set of regulations than is to be found in any other city in the United States. I have had occasion to compare the provisions of our ordinances with those of other cities and I think that they are more complete than the ordinances of any other city in this country. It is, therefore, quite important, in my opinion, that they should be taken up for consideration before the council at an early date.

"Doctor Evans mentioned the fact that certain reforms were needed in regard to the tenement house situation. In connection with that, another fact has to be considered. We are about to publish a new city code. I think it would be a great misfortune if the pending building ordinances should not appear as a part of that code. It is just as important that the people know what is contained in an ordinance and are thereby enabled to obey that ordinance, as it is that we should enact it in proper form. I will venture to say that there is not one lawyer in ten, who can give an intelligent answer as to what is contained in the present city ordinances. The last code was published

March 20, 1905. Since that time," so many amendments have been made that it is necessary, not only to look at the code of 1905, but to run down the council proceedings since that date. If a lawyer experiences such difficulty, it is surely more difficult for a layman. For that reason, among others, I think it is important that some action should be taken at an early date and that these building ordinances should be passed in time to become a part of the new city code." (Applause.)

MR. J. B. MOOS: "I would like to ask Mr. Schmidt, in regard to concrete construction, with which I know he is quite conversant, whether anything has been done to liberalize the building ordinances as they now exist so as to do away with the reproach that Chicago is now receiving from a great many builders throughout the country, that we are holding back concrete construction by our rigid and severe building requirements, which, they say, are framed so as to force the placing of more steel in the concrete construction than is elsewhere required?"

MR. SCHMIDT: "The Commission of Structural Engineers, who first undertook this work of revision, represent the steel and concrete engineering experts of both Chicago and the country outside. While the new ordinances may not be as liberal toward reinforced concrete as some of the members of that commission think they might be, they are, still, quite liberal and I think will permit more concrete construction than has been possible under the old ordinances. There are many of us who have used much concrete and I believe there are instances where we could use higher stresses. We would like to use higher stresses but we gave way to the conservatism of the steel engineers in order to protect the public.

"Reinforced concrete is taken up by contractors and masons, who are trained engineers. They understand the mixing of concrete but often do not realize the importance of the proper placing of the steel and of every detail in a reinforced concrete construction. So many things must be done on the building that cannot be laid down rigidly on drawings and fabricated in the shop—as structural steel is—that the engineers who have

a larger practice in concrete construction believe that the ordinances might have been a little more liberal. But, still, the ordinances are a great advance over those of the present. They compare very favorably, I think, with those of any other large city, so far as concrete is concerned. I think the criticism made against the Chicago ordinances comes principally from contractors in smaller cities which are entirely without building ordinances, and where they are allowed to practice and design as they see fit without complying with any regulations."

MR. MOOS: "In explanation of that question, I wish to state that my impression was not based upon the fact that, as you stated, some contractors or engineers, who are not conversant with the work, have made mistakes. I recently had occasion to erect a concrete building on Wabash avenue. I employed the services of a competent architect and, in order to make sure that I would comply fully with the ordinances and get the strength that I wanted on the floors, I retained the services of a competent firm of engineers to check up the figures. They did so and the plans were passed. At that time the figures were for a building that would carry two hundred pounds to the square foot on the floor loads. Later on, before the work was actually commenced, in order to make a still stronger factor of safety, because there was to be a printing establishment in the place, I was advised to change this to two hundred and fifty pounds. Although the contract had been let, it was decided to put in more steel. There was an extra bill of over a thousand dollars for steel.

"When the building was completed and the Building Department was asked for a floor load certificate, a difference of opinion on the ordinance developed to the extent that, although the building has been completed almost a year, it has been impossible for me to get a floor certificate for two hundred pounds, although the building has been constructed for two hundred and fifty, and has been properly checked. I am not in a position to state whether or not this is because the ordinances are loosely drawn, but, at any rate, there is room under them for experts to differ and they must submit to the judgment of Mr.

Gerety in the city hall as to whether their figures are correct or not. That seems to indicate that there is room for improvement in that part of the ordinances which relates to concrete construction."

MR. SCHMIDT: "It is rather difficult to reply to that proposition, but there are certain forms of concrete construction which are so complex that, as a majority of engineers will admit, they cannot be calculated. If the Building Department or Mr. Gerety has ruled as you have indicated, it was probably for this reason. I doubt if anybody could make this calculation. There are such constructions on the market."

MR. MOOS: "We proved to the contrary."

MR. CHARLES B. BALL: "I would like to ask one question with respect to factories. Quite a few cities have provided for the lighting and ventilation of factory buildings. I would like to have Mr. Schmidt say whether the proposed ordinances prescribe regulations as to the admission of light and air into the interior of three and four-story factory buildings, and whether it is not possible, under the ordinances as framed, to put up a factory building three or four hundred feet square, without any interior air shafts whatsoever."

MR. SCHMIDT: "It is possible to do that under the Chicago ordinances, but the state law, that has been in effect since July 1st, does not permit it. We are obliged to work under the state law as well as under the city ordinances."

MR. BALL: "Of course, but the state law provides that any city may put in force municipal ordinances dealing with sanitary matters—such as light and ventilation—superior to the state law. It seems to me exceedingly desirable that we should not allow the building of factories without interior air shafts—as I understand is possible under the pending ordinance."

MR. SCHMIDT: "The state law is superior to the city ordinances."

MR. BALL: "The state law, however, allows the city to pass superior provisions."

CHAIRMAN TUFTS: "This would not be a superior provision."

MR. BALL: "It would be if we perfected a higher standard than that set by the state law. I personally was not aware that the state law made any such provision as to ventilation in factories by prescribing air shafts. I think that is a mistake."

MR. SCHMIDT: "It does not provide for air shafts, but it does specify the amount of air space for occupants."

MR. BALL: "That, of course, does not mean what I am talking about, which is ventilation by air shafts through the middle of large buildings. As I understand it we could erect a building under this ordinance a thousand feet square and two or three stories high with absolutely no air shafts through the center."

ALDERMAN THOMSON: "I think that under the state law which went into effect on the first of last July, such a thing would be impossible. Although that state law does not specifically refer to air shafts or courts, it does provide, as I understand it, for a certain percentage of air and light space. It would, therefore, be impossible to put up such a building as you suggest and still meet the requirements as to light and air. Although the city ordinance, as prepared, may be inferior to the requirements of that provision of the state law, any building of the class mentioned would have to comply with the state law. The city might enforce additional requirements, but it cannot enforce any regulations which are inferior to the state law."

MR. T. W. ALLINSON: "Coming back to the statement made by Dr. Evans with reference to the removal of houses from Small Park No. 1, and the increased congestion which followed it, it has been found that a similar situation exists in a rather marked degree with reference to Small Park No. 2. In connection with Small Park No. 2, a petition was sent to the Park Commissioners, asking them not to sell any of the houses on the land which was to be devoted to park purposes, because it would increase the already great congestion. The Park Commissioners, however, paid no heed to that suggestion and, of the fifty-seven houses on that land, some twenty-seven or twenty-eight were sold and moved. The Park Commissioners got from fifty dollars up for each of those houses. They

were all moved on to lots within a few blocks of that same neighborhood. This meant that there were two or three houses on a lot where before there had been but one. It meant a corresponding increase in the already over-congested districts. One of these houses that had been sold collapsed during the preparation for its removal and killed one workman and injured two others. They had no redress. In view of that fact, I would like to ask Mr. Stahl whether there has been any provision in the new ordinance forbidding the removal of old wooden houses within the city limits or within the fire limits?"

MR. STAHL: "The provisions in the new city ordinance require that, where a house is moved within the fire limits, the consent of two-thirds of the property owners next to the place where it is to be moved must be secured. There is also a provision requiring that not more than a certain percentage of the lot may be covered. A similar provision was in the old ordinance but it was more or less indefinite; it has now been made more specific. It has been suggested that it should be made even more stringent, so that it would be impossible to move a house upon a lot where a house could not be built. Some suggestion has been made—and it is probably true that the matter has not been fully covered in the ordinance—in regard to the moving some of these houses for residence purposes upon a residence lot. I believe that matter is now before the committee for consideration."

CHAIRMAN TUFTS: "I have been told that there is nothing more demoralizing to a family than to get into a rear tenement. They at once feel that they do not have to live up to the front of the street. Personally, I should think that this moving of houses to rear lots was directly calculated to lower, to some extent, at least, the self respect of all the people who live in them."

MR. FAIRBANKS: "In regard to the provision relating to housing in congested districts, I would like to ask what increase there has been in the amount of air space required, as compared with the old ordinances?"

ALDERMAN TAYLOR: "The recommendations of Mr. Pond and of Dr.

Evans in this particular were incorporated in the proposed ordinance, with the result that the light space and air shaft space were materially increased."

MR. HOOKER: "It has been responsibly recommended, that this ordinance, now presumably approaching council action, ought, before it is finally brought before the council, to be referred to an expert commission, which should examine it to see that it contains no inconsistencies. It is said that the plan of working through sub-committees dealing with different subjects has resulted in an ordinance which, in some respects, fails to be consistent with itself. I would like to have the opinion of some member of the committee, perhaps that of Mr. Schmidt, who has been longest with the proposition, on the merit of that suggestion."

MR. SCHMIDT: "I think it would be an advantage to have the ordinance, as now drafted, studied by a comparatively small committee from the point of view of Mr. Hooker's suggestion. In order, however, to do that, it would be necessary to have a paid commission. It would be necessary to have a commission composed of men who could afford to give their undivided time to it for several consecutive days or even weeks. They could undoubtedly discover discrepancies in the ordinance which ought to be corrected.

"I doubt the advisability, however, of giving such a committee any power to change the ordinance without review by the larger committee. The size of the larger body and the varied experiences and occupations of its members are such that the committee ought not to have its work set aside without having opportunity to justify what it has done and, possibly, to state its reasons for drafting the ordinance as it stands. I am sure that if such a commission should discover anything in the ordinance which ought to be changed, the larger body would very gladly and very quickly acquiesce and recommend the suggested amendments to the council."

MR. E. L. CONDRON: "I was rather interested in the remark that has just been made and the answer that Mr. Schmidt has made to it. It was my privilege to serve on the Commission of

Engineering Experts that had the revision of the structural features of this ordinance under consideration. The work, as Mr. Schmidt has already said, was done by men who stand at the head of the structural engineering profession in this community. It was done very conscientiously and very laboriously. The commission put in a great deal of time on that work without any hope of compensation except the good that was being done for the city at large. I question very much as to whether the review of a document of this sort by a small commission would necessarily be a success. I should want to know who were to compose the small commission. We have all seen how the personality of each man has crept into the work of the commissions that have served. My observations of the workings of a commission of about nine or ten members are to the effect that every one of us has had to submit, finally, to the opinions of his fellows. The result of the work of those men was, I am satisfied, better than that which could have been obtained by one or two of that same board, working alone. The City of Chicago received services from that commission of nine or ten men that were worth many thousand dollars. It would not have been possible to obtain the work accomplished by this particular board—and to have it as well done as it was—for a compensation under five thousand dollars.

"Some reference has been made by one of the gentlemen to an inconsistency of the ordinances in connection with a building in which he is interested. Not being conversant with the case that has been cited, I can pass no opinion upon it, but it is certainly true that the present Chicago building ordinance is such that neither the engineer of the Building Department nor any private engineers could pass an intelligent opinion upon any structure, basing that opinion upon the existing building ordinances. I understand that the engineer of the Building Department has unofficially been guided in making his examination of structures, by the proposed revised ordinances, because of the fact that the existing ordinances amount to nothing. They are inconsistent and incomplete and cannot be used as a basis for any investigation.

"I do believe that any structure which is designed and built in accordance with the stresses in the material provided for in the proposed revised ordinances, will be adequate and safe. In some cases, however, the stresses allowed were not as high as some members of the board advocated. The result was, of necessity, a compromise. There is, however, nothing radically wrong about the structural features of the ordinance, and I am surprised to hear the statement that the Building Department Engineer is unable to come to some agreement with the firm of consulting engineers, if they have been guided by the terms of the proposed revision—unless, as Mr. Schmidt has stated, the construction is of a character that we engineers refer to as indeterminate."

The statement of Mr. Pond, who was unexpectedly detained from the discussion, is as follows:

Mr. A. B. Pond

"Perhaps in nothing is it more true that no man liveth to himself alone than in the matter of the sort of building a man erects in a city. The safety of neighboring property from fire, the health of a man's family or of his tenants and neighbors, and the comfort and convenience of those who use the public highways are all involved in what a man builds. All of these considerations ignore the purely aesthetic aspects of the case. Growing out of this inevitable public aspect of building comes the necessity for building ordinances.

"Under the conditions of modern city life, city buildings have become so complicated that it is quite beyond any ordinary expectation that a common council should contain among its men competent to devise in detail a building ordinance, or able to give the time to it along with other duties, provided they were competent. It becomes necessary, then, that this work should be done, either as was done in the case of the Chicago ordinance, by a council committee aided by volunteer experts, or by a council committee aided by paid experts, or by a small body of paid experts. In each of these cases it is assumed that there would be public hearings, and in each of these cases the ordinance devised by the committee would have to come up for final

organization before the legislative body, the report of the committee being solely recommendatory and not final.

"The former method was chosen for the ordinance now being shaped for Chicago. Several members of the council committee gave a large amount of time to the work and very painstaking thought, and a number of volunteer experts were called in, the work being divided between various sub-committees. It has resulted from this process, and I believe the result is inseparable from this method,—that the overlapping subject matter of the various committees and particularly the relation of the work of the various sub-committees to that of the committee having in charge general provisions, has not been properly co-ordinated and welded together, with consequent confusion and contradiction in the final form of the ordinance. It has also resulted that there are parts of the ordinance which, admitting them to be wise and proper in content, are carelessly and intricately worded and ambiguous in form.

"The question will be asked: If this is the case and anybody knows it, why did he not offer criticism on the spot? The answer is, that there is involved a very evident element of ungraciousness in criticizing sharply the work of other people, volunteers giving time with difficulty to public service, when one is not willing himself to assume the task of furnishing the labor required to make the corrections, and I, for my part, forbore to criticize various parts of the present ordinance which I believed to be imperfect, simply because I was unable to give the time to do the work any better, and had not the hardihood under the circumstances to criticize men who had already given more time than I had and more time than they could afford to the work. It is because I believe that this difficulty is inherent in the method that I am firmly convinced that the only just and wise way of handling an ordinance of this sort is to place it in the first instance in the hands of a small, carefully selected committee of paid experts who can give freely of time because they are paid and who will have at heart, unquestionably, the general interests of the public just as much as will the volunteer experts or the aldermen themselves, but

whose work, in any event, will be subject to a final review after public hearings. It is my belief that, if amendments are made after such final review, the whole ordinance should be referred back with instructions to the expert committee to insure that the changes are put in proper shape and are free from ambiguity in themselves and from contradiction with the other parts of the ordinance.

"A few years ago the City of Cleveland revised its building ordinance, placed the entire matter in the hands of an expert committee of three men, paid them, as the result of something more than a year's work, something like \$6,000, in addition to charges for stenographers, typewriter and other clerical services.

"The City of Boston, in its revision of its ordinance, put the matter in the hands of a committee of some seven or eight men representing various interests. The actual work was done by three men. The total expense to the city, each member of the commission being paid \$1,000 for his services, was in the neighborhood of \$13,000. This commission followed the ordinance that it drew up to its passage through the state legislature, which had the final authority rather than the City of Boston, and the result was that the ordinance passed the legislature with practically no change.

"A year or so since, the City of New York undertook to frame a new building ordinance, but this ordinance did not succeed in passing and becoming a law. The cost for expert services, I have been told, was, in this case, in the neighborhood of \$1,000,000. I am not able to vouch for this last cost estimate.

"It is my belief that it would be a very fortunate thing if the Mayor and the Common Council should now refer the present Chicago building ordinance to an expert commission for a thorough overhauling and revision before it is

again brought up before the council for passage. I believe that there is no reason whatever to fear that the public interests will not be quite as well guarded by a small body of experts as by a volunteer committee assisting the alderman, nor do I see any reason to believe that any interests are going to be ignored or overlooked by such a committee if such interests can justly demand recognition."

Mr. Schmidt, having been shown the foregoing statement by Mr. Pond, made the following comment upon it:

Mr. Richard E. Schmidt

"Inasmuch as the proposed ordinances were compiled by practically the most active and representative builders and other men interested in building, it does not appear to me to be to the best interests of the city to refer the entire matter to a small paid expert commission with unrestricted power for changing, and which would not be obliged to report to a larger body.

"I agree with Mr. Pond's statement of the results of the method which was adopted; that is, that the provisions are not properly co-ordinated; some may be contradictory, others ambiguous in form, but, in my opinion, if a paid expert commission is employed, its work should be that of removing the defects, recommending new matter to cover omissions, and overhauling the entire ordinance, but not changing its intent in any instance without the acquiescence of a majority of the men who have drafted the proposed ordinance, or a similar body.

"It need hardly be stated that the work of many will produce the best and broadest ideas more fairly and justly than the opinion of a few."

Mr. Pond, having been shown Mr. Schmidt's comment, expressed himself as in entire agreement with Mr. Schmidt as to the suggested limitation of the powers of the proposed commission.

CIVIC COMMITTEES FOR 1910

The Civic Committees for the current calendar year were appointed by the directors on the 3d instant. The list appears in the fifth Year-Book—now in the press and soon to be mailed to all club members—and comprises over three hundred names.

In making up these committees the primary purpose was to place each man on the committee of his first choice, as expressed in the recent postal card poll of the club. In justice to the different committees, however,—of which there are twenty-two—it was not always practicable to accomplish this purpose. Nor was it practicable to assign every volunteer to some committee. A few had forfeited such appointment by failing of a reasonable attendance upon their committees heretofore, some chose only committees for which there were more volunteers than places, and several failed to sign their committee choice postals, thus making it impossible to know who they were. The list as it is, however, is highly creditable to the club, and will be examined in the year book with interest by members.

A special edition of the list has already gone to each committee member, and with it a circular of practical suggestions and information, from which the following excerpt concerning committee procedure, will be of general interest:

Plan of Work. It is the policy of the Directors to leave committees as free as possible to deal in their own chosen ways with their respective subjects. In the past some committees have concerned themselves chiefly with practical questions arising from

time to time respecting their subjects; others have given less attention to such current issues, and have devoted their efforts rather to some systematic investigation of their particular field, or some portion of it, with a view to a careful report thereon. Each plan is legitimate, and both may be combined.

"Committees do not, at least ordinarily, make recommendations to the Directors for action by the Club. Instead they take action directly in their own name, as committees of the City Club. Whenever any public action, however, which is calculated to commit or to appear to commit the Club to any definite policy is contemplated by a committee, such action should before being taken be approved by the Directors, or in case this would involve serious and harmful delay, then by the Public Affairs Committee.

"The Civic Secretary will attend committee meetings so far as possible, will from time to time call appropriate matters to the attention of the various committees and will be ready at all times to consult with and to afford any assistance possible to committees or chairmen concerning their work. The Assistant Civic Secretary will aid in a similar manner."

Probably the membership at large of the City Club has an inadequate appreciation of the amount of attention being given by the members of the civic committees to matters of general public interest. When it is realized that many of these committees meet regularly every week and others every two weeks, that their subjects include nearly all the most important phases of community life; that several of them are carrying on special investigations with the aid of experts, and that the large majority of the three hundred and fourteen members will be reasonably regular in attendance and work, it will be seen that their activity is bound to have an important relation to the welfare of the city.

THE PERKINS CASE

When it became known, about two weeks ago, that the Buildings and Grounds Committee of the Board of Education had requested the resignation of Mr. Dwight H. Perkins, Architect of the Board, that he had declined to resign, and that the charges apparently contemplated against him might be heard, according to the usual rule, in executive session, a meeting of the committee of the City Club on Civil Service was

called to consider this situation. At this meeting, held on the 5th instant, the propriety of having such charges heard behind closed doors, in case the accused should demand an open hearing, was discussed at some length, but inasmuch as no charges had actually been filed, no action was taken, except to appoint a sub-committee to have the matter under consideration and to keep the committee advised.

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METHODS AND PLANS OF THE COMING CENSUS

The thirteenth decennial census, to be taken during the current year, has called into existence an extensive organization, the gathering of statistical information on population, agriculture, manufactures, mines and quarries. The census on manufactures, mines and quarries will be taken by special agents or by employes of the Census Bureau and will be handled directly from Washington. The information as to agriculture and to population—covering such matters as age, sex, nativity, occupation, education, etc.—will be collected by an army of enumerators, numbering some sixty-eight thousand men under the supervision of about three hundred district supervisors. The temporary nature of this great organization has been one of the greatest drawbacks to effective census results, for the experience derived from one census is rarely available for another. The central administration, however, because of the formation of the permanent census bureau in 1902, is no longer seriously handicapped by this lack of continuity.

On Saturday, the 19th instant, the methods and plans of the coming census were discussed before the City Club by Professor Willard E. Hotchkiss, census supervisor for the First District of Illinois—i. e., Cook County—and by Dr. George W. Webster, president of the Illinois State Board of Health. Professor Hotchkiss is professor of political economy at Northwestern University. As supervisor of the First District he will have the control and direction of about fifteen hundred enumerators. Chairman F. B. Johnstone, in introducing Professor Hotchkiss, made the following remarks:

"Gentlemen of the City Club: It is customary in most businesses to provide at least once a year for the taking of an inventory. The average business man does not think that he can safely conduct his affairs unless he knows at least that often just how he stands. The

United States government took its first inventory in 1790, and has taken one, not every year, but every ten years since that time. It has taken them under the direct provision of the federal constitution. In taking that first inventory they were eleven years ahead of England and Scotland, the first census in those countries, which was complete, having been taken in 1801.

"The word 'census' comes from a Latin word meaning 'to tax,' or 'to assess,' and its original idea was no doubt an enumeration, not so much of persons, as of property, in order that the tax gatherer might know upon how much he could levy.

"The taking of the census in the United States has grown to be a thing of large proportions. I believe that in the census of 1900, there were more than 60,000 people who took part in making up the returns and turning out the finished report, which occupied about twenty-five volumes.

"There is a great deal of public interest in the census in Germany. In fact, so great is the interest of the people of that country that no money is paid to the actual census gatherers, the people who go from door to door. They have enough people who are interested to get all of their work of that sort done by volunteers. I do not believe we have yet reached that state of interest in the census in this country, as Prof. Hotchkiss will probably tell you.

"One of the main purposes of our census, or at least one of the purposes that was expressed in the constitution, was the determination every ten years of the representation to which each state was entitled in Congress. That is a matter which appeals to all of us; we are all interested in knowing whether Illinois, or Ohio, or some other state, is going to have a relatively larger vote in the electoral college. There is another matter that comes much closer home, and

is in a way of much more importance to the citizens of Chicago. The census returns are made the basis of a redistricting of the city, of a redrawing of ward lines. When it is found as a result of a census that the population of a state has increased or decreased, the number of representatives to which that state is entitled in Congress is increased or cut down accordingly. In the city it is not worked in that manner. The First Ward, for example—which has a population of 30,000 odd people, and has two aldermen, as against the Fifth Ward with 115,000 people, and only two aldermen—will not be put to the embarrassment of choosing between Mr. Conghlin and Mr. Kenna. The boundaries of the First Ward will be enlarged, and the boundaries of the other wards will be changed so as to group the city into wards of approximately equal population.

"This redistricting, as you can readily see, is of immense importance. It cannot be safely and properly done, unless the census is efficiently handled and unless the returns are carefully studied, not only for the purpose of ascertaining the exact number of people in a given ward, but also for the purpose of ascertaining as nearly as may be what is the trend of the population, which way the population is moving in the various parts of the city.

"The representative of the federal government who is to take the census in Chicago is here with us today. He will tell us something of the taking of this, the Thirteenth Census. I have the honor of introducing to you Prof. Willard E. Hotchkiss." (Applause.)

Prof. Willard E. Hotchkiss

"It will not be necessary, I take it, especially after the explanations made by the presiding officer, for me to emphasize the general aim and purpose of the federal census. I should like, however, to call attention to what seems to me a mistaken impression which some people have concerning the scope of this kind of inquiry.

"There is substantial agreement among statisticians that the census is, and should be, in a different category from special expert investigations into particular social and industrial facts. The census aims simply to secure the most fundamental facts concerning the coun-

try and its population. It forms the basis upon which any one who has occasion to use these facts, either in his business or for the purpose of carrying on further investigations, may proceed. This idea borne in mind will explain why the census does not undertake to do certain things which, were it feasible, would perhaps be desirable to have done.

"The reasons why the census cannot go into minute and intricate social facts are comparatively obvious. Such specialized investigations demand the exercise of expert knowledge and trained judgment on the part of field investigators. There are being appointed in the United States this year 68,000 enumerators who will perform their work during the two weeks following April 15. The impossibility of securing that number of trained experts to go into the field for a short period of time is itself evident. The compensation and short duration of the work of enumerators would make it impossible to secure expert service even if a much smaller number were required.

"We do insist upon a high degree of intelligence on the part of enumerators, laying particular emphasis on the ability to write a legible English, and accuracy in following instructions. With the best enumerators we can possibly secure, however, the success of the census depends upon reducing the enumerator's work to a mechanical, routine basis, and in eliminating, as far as possible, the necessity for judgment and discretion on his part. In other words, it is necessary to know in advance exactly what questions are going to be asked, what the questions mean, and to prepare the enumerator for situations which will arise.

"This will explain why officers of the census and statisticians generally are averse to adding new questions to the schedule. In spite of efforts to keep the schedule simple, its length increases with every census. This year we have increased the number of columns of information to thirty-two. Practically every one of the changes from the schedule of 1900 represents, I believe, a real improvement and makes it easier to secure accurate information. It should be said in this connection, however, that some of the questions were placed in the schedule, not by the director of the census, but by act of Congress.

"Some idea of the care which has

been devoted to the preparation of the schedule will appear if I refer specifically to one or two of the changes from the schedule of 1900. It has been found possible to eliminate one question relating to age because the returns of 1900 showed that this question served no useful purpose. In that census the information was secured by two questions, one regarding the date of birth, another, age at last birthday. The theory was that one of these questions would check the other. As a matter of fact, the returns showed that enumerators asked one of the questions and quickly checked the other from that. In many cases the inaccuracy of this method produced ludicrous results. Prof. Bailey of Yale University, at present supervisor of census for the District of Connecticut, made a detailed analysis of schedules and found, on some schedules for instance, by comparing the figures returned for the ages of parent and child, that a parent appeared to have been eight or ten years old when a child was born. Such checking showed conclusively that the question served no useful purpose and it has therefore been eliminated.

"In other places accuracy seemed to demand the addition of a question. Ten years ago there was a single question concerning occupation. In spite of careful interpretation of the question, the returns seemed to show that enumerators in many cases did not secure the facts desired. For instance, if a man was employed as a blacksmith in a steel mill, some enumerators would report 'blacksmith,' others would report 'steel worker,' the result being that the information secured gave a strictly accurate report neither for blacksmiths nor for steel workers. This year we are adding a second question. In one column we ask for the 'trade or profession or particular kind of work done, as (spinner), (salesman), (laborer), etc.'; in the second column we ask the 'general nature of the business or establishment in which this person works, as (cotton mill), (dry goods store), (farm), etc.' With this careful wording there is, I believe, little doubt that we shall secure a very substantial increase in the accuracy of returns for occupation.

"So important was deemed the formulation of a workable and scientific schedule by the director of the census that soon after his appointment he called to

his assistance a body of experts who spent the greater part of last summer in making a minute study of former returns and of difficulties in the interpretation of particular questions. The schedules as finally formulated follow largely the recommendations of this board.

"The facts to be ascertained will relate to the location of the population, relationship of each individual to the head of the family, age, sex, color, conjugal condition, place of birth, whether born of foreign or native parents, citizenship, literacy, and occupation. In addition, there is an enumeration of the blind and deaf mutes, and also of people who have served the United States in any of her wars.

"Perhaps a further word upon one of these questions will be in order. We have just been having considerable agitation in Chicago concerning the columns devoted to nativity. When the census law was before Congress, the question was raised whether nativity should be interpreted to mean the nation in which a person was born or the race to which he belongs. The law passed uses simply the words 'place of birth.' In a strict geographical interpretation of this provision there would be nothing in the schedule to indicate the race of a person except insofar as the race corresponds to a politically independent country. In adhering to this formulation of the law, Congress was apparently influenced by a feeling on the part of some members that it was desirable not to perpetuate certain racial distinctions.

"The instructions formulated by the director of the census do not, however, make the political independence of a country the uniform criterion for indicating place of birth. England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, for instance, are regarded as separate countries. Instructions provide, moreover, that if a person comes from that part of the world which was formerly Poland, the place of birth shall be given as Poland, and, in parentheses, indication shall be made whether he comes from Russian, Austrian or German Poland. Similarly, Austrians and Hungarians are distinguished, and Bohemians are distinguished from Austrians. In case of Canadians, also, provision is made for distinguishing French from English-speaking Canadians. Instructions just received provide, in addition, that Finland, not Russia, shall be

used for a person born in Finland; similarly, Russia with Lithuania, or Germany with Lithuania, shall be used instead of Russia alone, for a person born in what was formerly Lithuania.

"Regret has been expressed by people interested in the racial composition of our population that the census classification does not follow the statistics of immigration. It cannot, of course, be denied that the interests of scientific inquiry would be served by having the statistics secured by different branches of the government comparable. Instructions as now formulated, however, bring out the most important racial distinctions.

"I have said enough to indicate something of the nature of that part of census work which has to do with determining the questions to be asked. Coming to the more local aspect of the subject, the function of the local supervisor is restricted to creating and perfecting an organization for securing this information. This involves:

"First—Ascertaining that the plan for dividing the territory is workable.

"Second—Securing competent people to collect the information.

"Third—Educating the people concerning the purpose of the census so that they will be disposed to give information readily and accurately.

"Fourth—Providing for adequate supervision of the work of enumerators.

"All of this is work which requires an efficient business organization, and inasmuch as the actual enumeration must be completed in two weeks, there is little time to correct initial mistakes.

"First, as to the division of territory, it is obvious that we must make the amount of work to be done by enumerators as far as possible uniform. In other words, it will not do to leave one district with five hundred people and an adjoining district with five thousand. We also must take into consideration the physical characteristics of districts so that the enumerators will not have an unnecessary amount of travel to perform. There is no one source of information upon which we can depend in laying out and checking up the 1,500 enumeration districts of the county. The census of ten years ago is, of course, out of date. The school census, taken every two years, is a help. The poll lists are also indicative of population condi-

tions. Insurance maps show the way in which the city is built up, the character of buildings, and the location of vacant lots. It has been considered necessary to supplement these sources of information by conference with the particular individuals most familiar with different sections of the city. There are persons in nearly every section of the city whose work makes it necessary for them to know accurately the density and character of the population in their particular communities. We are trying in every case to secure the very latest and most specific information obtainable, and are laying out districts with these facts in mind.

"The task of dividing the territory has been considerably increased this year by the fact that a new system of tabulation will probably be adopted for all cities of more than 500,000 population. Heretofore the tabulation of results has been made by wards. Last spring a number of people from New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia urged the director of the census to tabulate the results for those cities by city blocks. Expense made this plan impracticable, but as a compromise maps have been prepared of all cities with a population of 500,000 and over, dividing the thickly settled parts of those cities into tracts of approximately forty acres. These tracts, of course, will follow natural boundaries, going through the middle of streets and around blocks. While the tracts are kept for the most part within ward boundaries, it has not been possible to have them follow the boundaries of precincts, the result being that when we undertake to divide our forty-acre tracts into enumeration districts, or to group them when the population is so sparse as to demand more than one in a single district, we are unable to use figures collected for the precinct. The task is by no means unsurmountable, and the results of tabulation ought to far more than compensate any initial difficulty.

"The advantage of this system will be that tabulation will be based upon areas small enough so that they may be grouped to bring out any fact which it is desired to emphasize. For instance, if a person is interested in congestion, a map can easily be prepared on which will be shown in colors the number of people per acre in different tracts. Similar maps showing the location of particular

ances can be prepared in such a way as to bring out in a single color all those blocks in which the population is made up of more than a given percentage of any one race. It is hoped that as soon as this map has become established it will be adopted in all sorts of statistical work and will furnish a basis of comparison in much the same way that uniform systems of accounts are furnishing a basis of comparison for the railways of the country. This system of tabulation will, it seems to me, constitute one of the most important advance steps of the coming census.

"The second task which the local supervisor has to perform is to secure competent enumerators. This task is especially difficult in Chicago because most of the efficient people here have plenty to do. The examination method of securing enumerators has been adopted. On the fifth of February a test was given throughout the United States. This consisted entirely in the making out of schedules from a narrative statement. The object was to make the examination just as practical as possible, and to this end the candidates were provided, in advance of the examination, with a copy of the schedule and with all of the instructions to be given to enumerators. This focused the test upon the two points, legibility and neatness, and accuracy in following instructions. As the result of this examination we shall probably get a list of something like 2,500 candidates from which to select 1,500 enumerators for the district.

"The examination would have been even more successful had not the simplicity of the test led some candidates not to regard it as seriously as it should have been regarded. A number of people have come to our office since the examination expressing surprise that the following of simple instructions proved such a difficult matter. With the progress toward more practical examinations for public positions, it is to be hoped that we shall get away from the idea that an examination which is not academic must, of necessity, be easy.

"The third thing we have been trying to do is to bring the census before the people of the district in such a way that they will be disposed to co-operate with the government in securing the facts desired, that they will know that the ques-

tions asked are not of a nature to harm them, and that it is a matter of serious importance that the information be accurate and complete. This work we are doing first of all through the schools. The board of education, the superintendent of schools and the county superintendent are issuing bulletins to teachers in which they are asking the teachers to take up this matter by means of lessons devoted to the census. The teachers are asked also to encourage pupils to bring the census to the attention of their parents. We are doing the same sort of thing as far as possible, with the churches. In addition, all the papers—those printed in foreign languages as well as in English—have assured us of their cordial co-operation. We are also having talks given in English and in foreign languages in social centers and other places where people congregate.

"The two things which most militate against an accurate census are suspicion and indifference. Among the native born population, indifference will probably be the most difficult thing to deal with. Among the foreign population, unless we make it perfectly clear in advance that the census has no relation to taxation, to the enforcement of child labor and compulsory education laws, and that it is not to be the basis of deportation, the census enumerators will probably be regarded with suspicion. It is believed that the steps which we are now taking are calculated, as far as practicable, to forestall such difficulties.

"The fourth branch of the local work will consist in checking enumerators while they are actually at work. We hope, by having a systematic plan of checking worked out in advance, and by paying careful attention to this in detail during the first days of enumeration, to be able very materially to increase the accuracy of results. We are now making as complete a study of conditions in particular sections of the city as is feasible to make in advance. We are dividing the district into sub-districts, and men in the census office are familiarizing themselves with conditions in each of these sub-districts. All of these steps we hope will give us as accurate a census as the means at hand will permit.

"In discussing census methods and results, it must be borne in mind that in this country we undertake to build an organization practically from the ground

up for gathering the information. The permanent census bureau gives the foundation to build upon, but it has no organs which can be utilized in the localities. Foreign governments reap a tremendous advantage in their statistical work from the fact that they can utilize their school teachers, their police forces and other public officers for work of this kind. It is a matter of regret that so much information already at hand is practically unavailable for census purposes, and that we have to create out of raw material, out of a personnel which has little scientific or personal interest in this problem, an organization for doing one of the most important tasks which government has to perform. It probably would not be feasible at the present time, due to the varying characteristics of local governments, and to the fact that jurisdiction is divided between the states and the federal government, to utilize local agencies in making an enumeration. If, however, some scheme could be devised whereby all the information possessed by any governmental authorities could be readily applicable for census purposes, it would represent a very great advance.

"However, it is not the part of good citizenship, certainly not the part of a citizen charged with responsibility to complain of the methods he has to adopt. The results of any piece of work are to be judged by the use made of the material at hand and of the system which is provided. We are trying to use our material in the most efficient manner possible." (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN JOHNSTONE: "I do not believe it is necessary to say anything further to impress you with the importance of the census, and the necessity of having accuracy in the results that are turned in. The railroads are anxious to know what is the trend of population, are anxious to know what is the population of various states. The great advertising community wants to know; all of its data and figures now are based, so far as they are reliable, upon the census of 1900. All of these people, all businesses that you can think of, all mail order houses want census information. In fact, you can hardly find a business that reaches out to the people that is not vitally interested in knowing accurately the facts as to

population. All are deeply concerned with the results of the coming census.

"Prof. Hotchkiss has touched on the matter of vital statistics. I understand that in this country we are not as well equipped along this line as they are in foreign countries, nor have we the means that they have to obtain them. We have with us today the president of the State Board of Health. He will speak to you concerning this side of the census question. I take great pleasure in introducing Dr. George W. Webster."

Dr. George W. Webster

"Some years ago a story was told relative to the lack of vital and sanitary statistics in Turkey. But it seems in poor taste for us to upbraid the Turk concerning the mote in his eye, while we are complacently carrying a large beam in our own. Let us see how the comparison goes.

"The Turk was asked: 'What is the death rate in your country?'

"Answer: 'In Damascus, it is the will of Allah that all should die. Some die old, some die young.' To the same question we might reply for the United States, 'Nobody knows.' The United States as a whole is not represented in international statistics. In this we are behind some thirty-two of the leading countries in the world.

"The first census was taken in 1790, the census of 1850 being the first in which the subject of vital statistics was included. It was recognized then and reaffirmed at each of the successive censuses that vital statistics obtained directly from the census enumerators (the only method open to the United States government) are utterly worthless so far as accurate birth or death rates for the entire country are concerned. The difficulties in the way of securing satisfactory vital statistics are inherent in our form of government and their solution will depend upon a thorough understanding of the situation and a high degree of co-operation between all concerned. Births and deaths are registered under state laws or city ordinances, as an exercise of the police power which is inherent in the state and does not belong to the federal government. The census bureau has nothing to do with the collector of this data and has no authority to legislate in the matter.

"Since 1900, returns of births and

deaths have been received by the census bureau from a limited number of the states, comprising the 'registration area' and have been published in the mortality statistics of the bureau of the census. In addition to the 'registration states,' there are certain cities—our own city among them—which have satisfactory city ordinances dealing with the subject. The reports from these states and cities in 1900 represented 26.3 per cent, and in 1908, 51.6 per cent of the total population of the United States.

"The second question put to the Turk in the story above referred to was: 'What is the annual number of births?' The answer was, 'God alone can say. I do not know, and I hesitate to inquire.' We might reply for the United States, 'We do not know the exact number for our own country for one year or for any one state or city.'

"The reports from the 'registration area' are accepted as accurate for deaths only. No state or city in the Union has as yet been accepted by the bureau of the census as having a fairly complete registration of births; this applies even to the District of Columbia, under the control of Congress. Other states, as Illinois, for example, have laws, but they are so defective that the returns under them are not accepted by the census bureau. It is not so much the absence of laws as it is the presence of worthless, defective laws incapable of satisfactory operation, that is responsible for the failure of registration of vital statistics throughout a great part of the United States.

"For example, in Illinois in 1902, I was partly instrumental in having the legislature of Illinois pass a registration law providing for the compulsory registration of all births and deaths, for immediate registration uniform with the methods of the census, for the use of the international system of classification, and for the reporting of all births and deaths occurring in the state. That became a law. In 1902 there was a very decided sentiment against the continued operation of this law in the state of Illinois. The farmers, if there were a loss of an Alderney cow or of a blooded horse, would immediately have this recorded in the herd book, but the people of the state of Illinois decided it was too much trouble for them to obtain legal permission to bury their dead. They did not want

any registration law, important as it might be—as I shall try to show you—from a public health standpoint.

"Mr. Miller, the ex-speaker of the House of Representatives, was the man who led the forces that demanded the repeal of this law. The late Senator Burnett, from the southern part of the state, was another one who was interested in the repeal of the law. After making as hard a fight as we could make in the legislature, after seeing that these men had been elected on the platform that they were going to bring back the scalp of that bill, and after seeing that we were doomed to defeat, we decided to compromise. We finally compromised by having the bill practically emasculated, in that the compulsory burial permit feature was eliminated. The result is that the law is so emasculated that the census bureau will not accept our returns as authoritative, and, therefore, the only thing we can depend upon is the census report—and for public health purposes, unless the work is done better than it has been done in the past, that is of comparatively little value. I speak of this, for I hope the time will come when this great state will take the place that it rightfully should hold in this matter of the registration of births and deaths. I hope that when that time comes, you will use your influence to secure the passage of an adequate law on the subject, because it is exceedingly important.

"Of what value are these statistics from a public health standpoint? Samuel Hopkins Adams says: 'Vital statistics in this country are an infant science. Yet they are the very basis and foundation of any attempt to better the general health. Knowledge of what is killing us before our time is the first step toward saving our lives.'

"Dr. John S. Fulton says: 'Public hygiene is built upon, is controlled and directed by, and is everlastingly in debt to vital statistics. Every wheel that turns in the service of public health must be belted to this shaft, otherwise preventive medicine must remain invertebrate and unable to realize the profits available from the magnificent offerings of the collateral sciences.'

"Mr. S. N. D. North, former director of the census, said: 'No more important service can be rendered by mortality statistics than the compilation of data which will prove of practical assistance to those

actively engaged in the prevention of disease. With the awakening interest of the public in sanitation, there is arising an urgent demand, which should be met, that our mortality statistics shall be fully adequate for this important purpose.' These words were used in Mr. North's letter of transmittal of the pamphlet prepared by Mr. Cressy L. Wilbur of the census bureau for the use of the International Congress on Tuberculosis.

"Dr. Wm. H. Allen of Pennsylvania says: 'The object of gathering these social facts for analysis is not to furnish material for future historians. They are facts collected with a view to increasing social vitality, to raising the standard of life, and to eliminating permanently those forces known to be destructive to health. But the greatest service of vital statistics is their educational influence. The socialization of information always follows its dissemination.'

"Dr. Chapin says: 'The registration of vital statistics is the firm basis on which the whole structure of sanitary science and practice must rest. In order to learn the laws of disease, to devise remedies and test them, we must have an approximately accurate knowledge of the movements of population and the causes of death.'

"Parker says: 'An accurate basis of facts, derived from a sufficient amount of experience and tabulated with the proper amount of precision, lies at the very foundation of hygiene, as of all exact sciences. Probably no single case has contributed more to the attention now paid to the questions of public health than the careful collection of the statistics of births and deaths, and the causes of death.'

"Dr. Arthur Newsholme of England says: 'The registration of causes of death has given an immense impetus to sanitary work, and it is scarcely too much to say that modern sanitary science owes its existence to the registration of deaths and the causes of death and the localization of insanitary conditions thereby insured.'

"Correct vital statistics are to public health work what a proper system of bookkeeping is to a big commercial house or an extensive business enterprise. It is the only rational basis for public health work and the means of estimating the value of sanitary reforms.

"I might go on and give you much

additional testimony, all to the same effect, but I think I have said enough to convince you of the need and value of this work from a public health standpoint. The ideal after which we are striving and toward the consummation of which the bureau of the census is working in co-operation with the American Public Health Association, the American Medical Association and the Federal Congress, is a complete, accurate, immediate, uniform registration of all births and deaths, which will place the United States on a par with other progressive nations in this respect.

"In connection with this same thing, the American Public Health Association and the American Medical Association, in co-operation with Mr. Cressy L. Wilbur of the census bureau, drew up a model bill, shaped on the lines of the laws that have proven so adequate and satisfactory in such states as Pennsylvania, for example. They presented this bill to the different boards of health in the different states where such laws have not as yet been passed. One of these bills was drawn up and adopted by the American Medical Association and the American Public Health Association, receiving their unqualified approval. That bill was still further corrected by Mr. Wilbur to conform with the constitutional and other provisions of the state of Illinois. It was ready to be introduced in the Forty-sixth General Assembly of Illinois, but we were plainly told by the legislators to stop. We were told that we could not pass any such bill in this state, that the people were not as yet educated to the need of this thing, and did not want it. We were told that it had no immediate practical value. It was impossible for us even to secure a hearing on the law.

"Pending the dawn of this registration millennium, it is of the utmost importance from a public health standpoint that enumeration shall be as uniform, accurate and complete as it is possible for the census enumerators to make it. But back of the law of our country must always stand the intelligent interest and support of the people. All who are interested in the common welfare, all who are willing to answer with an emphatic affirmative the query, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' should co-operate in every possible way in making this work a success."

(Applause.)

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A PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY

The extension work of the University of Wisconsin although of very recent origin, is well in advance, both in extent and in uniqueness of purposes and methods, of similar work carried on by other universities. It has added to the ordinary university functions of instruction and research the function of bringing the resources of the university to the people of the State in such a way as to make them available for the solution of their everyday problems. It carries out this function in a variety of ways, through lectures and correspondence study, through the organization of classes in industrial establishments and elsewhere, and of societies for the discussion of public questions, through the furnishing of information and advice to individuals, societies and public bodies and through the dissemination of literature.

Although the extension work now covers so broad a field, it is little more than three years ago since its development on so large a scale was started. The idea was suggested by the Wisconsin Free Library Commission, of which Mr. Henry E. Legler, now librarian of the Chicago Public Library, was secretary. As the result of an investigation of correspondence schools made by Dr. Charles McCarthy of the Legislative Reference Department, it was discovered that thirty-five thousand persons in the State of Wisconsin were paying tuition to private correspondence schools. It was felt by the authorities of the University that the University had a duty to perform to this class of people. This was the germ of the extension idea. The assistance of the State was at once sought, but only a small appropriation could be

secured. A large amount of gratuitous service, however, was rendered by the members of the Free Library Commission, Secretary Legler for a time having general direction of the work. As a result of this work the extension movement was placed on its feet and before the end of the year the original appropriation of \$700 had been raised to \$7,000. This amount was followed in subsequent years by appropriations of \$20,000—two years—\$50,000, and \$75,000. Thus as the extension work has increased in popularity the State has furnished the financial support necessary for further development.

On February 27, Professor Louis E. Reber, Director of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin, spoke before the City Club with reference to the work of his department in carrying the educational facilities of the University to the people of the State. Professor William B. Owen, Principal of the Chicago Normal School, introduced the speaker with the following remarks.

Professor William B. Owen

"The American University, like almost every other institution we have, has its history back in European conditions. Within your generation and mine, at least two very fundamental purposes of the university have been incorporated and re-emphasized in our American university work.

"The first function of a university, I think, is to maintain the historical continuity with the past, to make us conscious of the fact that we have grown out of a past. It is the business of the university to reconstruct that past for us, so that the best knowledge of that

past shall be available for the world at any day and in any generation. It would be a sad thing if our American universities, as the result of an appeal to present needs, should really forget that we must maintain this historical continuity unbroken. I think that the historical, linguistic and archaeological studies which have been made by competent American scholars in the last twenty-five years are not only a credit to America, but are also a guarantee that we shall maintain this phase of university education on a world basis and up to world standards.

"There is another no less important function of a university. It is a function which, perhaps, in the last decade or quarter of a century, has received the most emphasis in American education, namely, the function of reaching out into new fields, organizing new knowledge and getting control over the phenomena of life, the function of research. Here again I think the American universities have, in twenty-five years, done something that Americans, as a whole, may be proud of.

"There is a third function, which to me seems likely to become increasingly recognized as a legitimate function of the American university; that is the adoption of the knowledge, the science that is wrought out in a university to the needs of everyday life. There is especial need for this in a democracy like ours. Our university system ought to be like our governmental system, 'of the people, for the people and by the people.' That ideal makes it necessary for those who are interested in university work and those who have charge of university work to consider thoughtfully what the university owes to the people.

"European universities have actually had a very important effect on everyday life—no one denies that—but there the plan has been that the individual who goes to the university should be the intermediary. The university was satisfied if, when the young man went to the university, he was given the kind of a training and the sort of knowledge that he ought to have. He made the adaption himself after he had got out

into life. I think it is increasingly probable, in view of the history of the last few years, that the American university will recognize as a third function the adaptation and application of its new science to the problems of the everyday man. We are in an experimental stage in this particular work. It has only been carried on for a few years in this western country. President Harper was looked upon as rather endangering the universities of America by starting university extension work.

"We have, however, in a neighboring state, a very interesting experiment, undertaken by a very great university, which is very close to a great people, in carrying scientific knowledge to the everyday man. I have sometimes thought of it as well illustrated by what has happened in many of our manufacturing plants. It has only been a little while ago that all raw materials were taken to the power, and the revolution in manufacturing has been that power is now taken to the raw material. And so, in our universities, the old ideal was that the few people who had a chance to go to the university had a right to go and to get what they could; that was the ideal. Now an experiment is being conducted in this neighboring state to see how to take the power to the people directly. It is with great pleasure that I am able to introduce you today to a gentleman who is very closely connected with this work, Prof. Louis E. Reber, director of the extension department of the University of Wisconsin." (Applause.)

Professor Louis E. Reber

"In bringing to your attention some of the conditions that have led to the adoption in Wisconsin of university extension as a means of spreading educational influences among those persons, young and old, who have completed their conventional school work, I realize that I am not introducing to the people of Chicago a new subject or one that has not already had your thoughtful consideration. Many of the problems which university extension believes it may aid

in solving, it is well known that you are dealing with successfully in this city. It must be remembered, however, that university extension in Wisconsin does not deal only with the conditions and needs of a single city, but includes in its propaganda the entire state.

"The rapid development of this country in the last quarter of a century has brought forward many new and perplexing conditions. It is only during the last few years that the seriousness of some of these problems has come to be appreciated and the difficulty of their solution, under existing conditions, recognized.

"Serious charges are made with increasing frequency against the efficiency of our various institutions. These charges are by no means always groundless. When the chief executive of our nation fearlessly declared in a speech in your city a short time ago that 'the administration of criminal law in this country is a disgrace to our civilization,' he spoke as the representative of the thoughtful and progressive people of the United States.

"We have been slow to look into the future. Success has deadened our sensibilities with reference to posterity. But we are experiencing rude awakenings. The fact that a number of years ago a German commission, after examining our industrial condition, declared that Germany has nothing to fear industrially from us because of our lack of industrial education, may have caused us to stop and think—but with what result? We are told that the ordinary high school of today prepares for no vocation, but only for entrance into institutions for higher education, though but the small proportion of from six to eight per cent of its graduates enter colleges or universities.

"Statistics record that in Wisconsin alone there are nearly three-fourths of a million of boys and girls under nineteen years of age who are not in schools of any kind, and for whom our present educational systems have heretofore provided no vocational training.

"A large percentage of those who leave the public schools to enter the industrial ranks drift along aimlessly without definite object or ambition. As has been truly said: 'The average American home from which these boys come

offers no opportunity for them to obtain the necessary inspiration, encouragement and accumulation of knowledge to enable them to begin their life work with a settled purpose—"with their eyes wide open."'

"Besides these boys and girls, there are thousands of mature men and women in all walks of life, individual and organized, who are desirous, even anxious, for self-improvement—vocational or cultural.

"A still larger proportion of our citizens, young and old, need to be informed upon the great questions which are attracting attention today and which may come to them at the polls for final disposition. Shall the people be left largely to the political press and partisan speakers for guidance in such matters, or shall they be encouraged and directed in the study of the live problems of the day and thus be enabled to act intelligently upon these issues, avoiding, as far as possible, the mistakes made by others?

"The value of research and investigation is generally recognized. Scores of men are at work for private corporations, state and national, solving problems upon a scientific basis relating to industrial and commercial betterment. Much of this information gathered at a cost of millions of dollars is of incalculable value when properly disseminated. It is not sufficient to have determined that coal should be purchased on the basis of the number of heat units in a pound, other things being equal, but this fact must be known to the coal users or buyers if it is to be of real or commercial value. Results that have been determined by experts and specialists must be put into simple and direct form and brought to the knowledge of those who can use them.

"These considerations all point toward the need for further education than that usually supplied in the conventional schools of public and private provision, whether for the high school graduate who has ended his school days without having been prepared for any trade or other business, or for the boy who has been obliged to leave school while in the grades, or for the workman, the farmer, or the man at the head of a large busi-

ness enterprise. In a word, for every individual whose school days are passed, there should be provided such practical means for further training and such assistance in acquiring it as will tend to make him (or her) a more productive and valuable unit in society—social and economic.

"In Wisconsin the question of whether or not the State University may be of service in solving these problems has been answered in the affirmative by the establishment of the university extension division, and we believe that in the short time its work has been in progress a fair degree of success has been achieved.

"Until the university added extension teaching to its functions there was no organized effort on the part of the state to reach the immense number, nearly 750,000, of boys and girls of Wisconsin under the age of nineteen who are not in school, not to speak of the vast number of adults who desire further education.

"There was abundant evidence that a large percentage of these were not indifferent to education, provided it was given with vocational bearings. It was found that in Wisconsin there are thousands of men and women registered in commercial correspondence schools, paying large fees for which an adequate return to the student is possible, but improbable. And, in fact, a very large percentage of these students pay for courses of study which they fail to complete. Among industrial workers, although many appreciate the value of the instruction sufficiently to be easily induced to enter courses, yet the preparation or perseverance necessary to carry a course of instruction successfully by correspondence alone, is found in less than ten per cent of the students.

"It was recognized, therefore, in considering the problem of the introduction of extension teaching in the public educational system, that in order to secure widely helpful results, the methods employed by the commercial schools must be modified or supplemented. It was evident that stimulation and encouragement other than by written word must be supplied in order to keep the students at work. The good results secured by those who persevered—completing the courses

undertaken—seemed to prove beyond question the value of this kind of instruction. To overcome the difficulties, the university organizes its correspondence students as far as possible into classes and sends a teacher to these classes regularly every two weeks, or oftener when the subject is such that a weekly meeting seems desirable. The duty of the teacher is to talk over the work the classes have done since their last meeting, making clear points that may be cloudy. In so doing and by personal interest and advice he encourages the students and keeps them in good spirits. Otherwise the work of the correspondence department is carried by much the same methods as in the ordinary correspondence school. The lessons are sent from the university to the student and the work of the student, a lesson at a time, is returned to the university for correction.

"The teacher who meets the classes may be a traveling teacher sent from the university or from a center (of which we will speak later), or if there are enough classes in one community to warrant it, he may be a local teacher permanently resident at a given place. In Milwaukee, for instance, we have at present two resident teachers giving their whole time, and others giving time in night classes. Whether sent from the university or located elsewhere, the teacher belongs to the regular university staff, but he is selected with reference to qualifications essential to this special work. In correspondence for *advanced* students, classes are formed only occasionally and up to the present time in these cases teachers are sent from the university.

"Although the university extension correspondence students are scattered all over the state, yet by far the larger number are in Milwaukee. This fact is accounted for in several ways:

"First—The manufacturers in Milwaukee heartily co-operate with the university.

"Second—Milwaukee is a great industrial center offering large possibilities for correspondence study among employees.

"Third—Up to the present time more effort has been made in Milwaukee than elsewhere to make the work of extension known.

"The interest in the extension work of the university shown by the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Milwaukee is significant as a recognition among businessmen of a widespread need for training for efficiency. The attitude of this influential organization has made it possible to reach the individual manufacturer readily and through him to reach his employees. With this co-operation we have enrolled for vocational instruction through correspondence a large percentage of employees in many manufacturing concerns of that city. In nearly every case a classroom, properly fitted up, has been provided by the company; the fees have been paid directly to us from the wages of the men upon their order, while the men have been allowed to attend classes during working hours without deduction from their daily wage.

"Certain of the companies have requested from our teachers monthly reports of the progress of the men. In these cases both teacher and management manifest a responsible interest in the pupil as such, and work together to remove obstacles to his progress. If at any time a student wishes to withdraw from a class for which he has registered, his request is forwarded to his employer for investigation and recommendation. The firm's judgment is invariably accepted by the extension division and if the student withdraws, financial settlement is made with him upon the basis of the work he has done. Thus not infrequently money is returned to the student.

"Close as this co-operation between the university and the manufacturer is, we believe it should be and can be made closer with profit to the manufacturer as well as to the men.

"It should be understood that the courses which are offered to industrial employees are adapted to their special needs. For example, shop mathematics is offered to shop men. The problems relate to the work in which the men are daily engaged. The lessons are written by a man who served an apprenticeship in a shop before he went to college and had experience in both shop and teaching after graduation. He knows shop life and the point of view of shop men.

"With the work given under such conditions, that is with vocational bearings, it should pay the manufacturer to co-operate to the degree of paying the fees of apprentices at least. Indeed, certain manufacturing companies in Milwaukee are now considering doing this. The New York Central Railroad Company, the General Electric Company at Lynn, Massachusetts, and others are spending, and find it profitable to spend, large sums for their apprentices in giving them what might be called vocational continuation school work.

"These companies claim to have proved that financial returns due to better service come to them during the apprenticeship period, and that even if the man leaves them at the completion of his apprenticeship course the company will have experienced no financial loss.

"As the cost is necessarily great, only the larger corporations can be expected to take up such work as is done by the companies referred to, but the extension method as introduced by the University of Wisconsin makes it possible for any company in any locality to obtain vocational training for its employees.

"The extension division believes that it has demonstrated that correspondence-study supplemented by class instruction is a valuable form of continuation school work. No better proof of good results can be cited than the fact that new classes are being organized continually among employees of companies in which the work has been in operation for some time, and also that a number of men have been advanced admittedly, as testified to by both superintendent and student, because of the increased efficiency gained from this training. A large percentage of the students upon completing one subject register at once for another.

"I cannot better show the character of this work as it affects the vocational interests of the men and at the same time the students' attitude toward it, than by quoting from a few letters selected from a large number received.

"I intend eventually to take every course you offer in mechanical engineering subjects.' (This student has finished shop mathematics and has since enrolled for three more courses.)

"Please outline several more courses for me to take. I have got so in the habit of studying that I feel as if I am wasting my evenings since I finished my course." (This student has registered for five more courses.)

"I would never miss it at any price, as I will get more every little while than I paid for it." (This man has advanced from a machinist's helper to foreman, and both he and his employer ascribe it to his course in shop mathematics.)

"The course in power plant mathematics has given me a very good understanding as to how to figure the power plant problems to the best advantage. Hoping my work in the next course will be as satisfactory, I remain." (This student is taking four more courses.)

"I don't intend to give up. I will finish this course and probably other courses, too." (This man has finished shop mathematics; is now taking gas engines and has just started a gas engine factory of his own.)

"Many similar cases might be cited, all going to show how having secured the interest of the young man in a vocational subject which applies to his work, his work becomes interesting to him, and he becomes ambitious to take up one study after another. To effect this purpose the instruction must have an evident concrete value. Principles must be applied by means of practical problems taken from daily experiences in his employment. Evidently, then, not only our teachers at the university who prepare and correct the lessons, but the local or traveling teachers as well, must be specialists. From what has already been said, it will be understood that the teachers at the university who have charge of the vocational work are selected with reference to special qualifications, and gradually a corps of teachers is being selected who devote their entire time to extension work.

"The following request, which comes from a superintendent of one of the large manufacturing companies in Milwaukee, in which we have had a class for over a year, may be looked upon as significant of the manufacturer's confidence in these methods. He writes: 'We are experiencing difficulty in getting

good foremen. * * * It occurred to the writer that in your correspondence-study work you doubtless come in contact with men about the state who are looking for advancement and whom you can personally recommend.'

"To take care of those students who are not connected with companies in which classes are formal, a class room is provided by the university. In Milwaukee a permanent university extension branch office is maintained, adjoining which are two classrooms. Here classes are met every night and the students not organized into classes are given advice and assistance at assigned hours.

"These rooms have been open for but a short time, yet the advantage to the individual student has already been fully demonstrated.

"School boards wherever requested have willingly granted the use of school rooms for extension classes at times when the rooms are not occupied by public school pupils. It is believed that further co-operation may be given to the extent of permitting the use of the high school laboratories, chemical and physical, especially, for supplementary work in connection with correspondence-study courses.

"It should be understood that this work is in no sense commercial, but is a part of the public education of the state. And if at any time a community desires to conduct for itself work that extension is doing, every assistance will be given by the university toward making it a local community interest. It is the desire of the university to do only that for which it is the best instrument. If, for instance, a community desired to establish a continuation school, engaging its own teachers, etc., the extension division would not stand in the way, but would freely promote the undertaking.

"It is appreciated that laboratories for such subjects as fuels, gas engines, etc., will need to be established in the various centers. As students in fuels are usually connected with power plants, the fact that they can bring coal from their coal piles, ash from their ash bins and gas from their chimneys after having

been taught how to sample, for analysis in the laboratory, should make the work interesting and of direct utility. It is undoubtedly true that the subjects which apply most directly to a man's daily life and which will have an influence upon his earning power, are the most attractive to him, but we have found in our work that it is not difficult to show the student that English branches also and other general subjects are usually essential for any considerable degree of success. We have a large number of students in English courses who came to appreciate the need of it, while taking courses in shop mathematics.

"There are at present 1,500 registrations in correspondence-study courses in Milwaukee. Of these over 500 are in shop and power plant mathematics. This work or its equivalent is prerequisite to all the vocational engineering subjects. The remaining students are scattered among the 250 subjects that are offered. The larger number of those remaining are engaged in engineering subjects, but 141 are enrolled for preparatory work and 150 for credit at the university toward a degree. Two are doing graduate work. I have dwelt upon our work among the industrial employes in Milwaukee because the method was introduced there and naturally its organization is most complete in that city. As rapidly as means permit, similar opportunities are being or will be offered in other parts of the state.

"I have described only the vocational work—this, because it is rather new and unique as a university function. Correspondence students, representing practically every occupation or profession, and every degree of educational attainment, are pursuing courses. But instruction in the conventional, preparatory, and university studies, is so familiar that it does not here require discussion.

"The work of the university extension division is carried on under several distinct departments, the interests of a few of which I will mention briefly.

"The results secured by the legislative reference department at Madison suggested the possibilities of a municipal reference bureau in the extension di-

vision. The problems of municipal government are becoming more and more complex. It is not an easy matter for a person not experienced in investigation to discover what problems in municipal government have been worked out successfully elsewhere or what methods have resulted in failure. Certainly many useless and wasteful experiments could be avoided if municipal councils were properly informed. It is true that cities are awakening to the need of more careful procedure, but the average local official, especially of the smaller municipality, who wishes to learn about the merits and defects of a proposed plan, is at a loss as to how to secure information. In scores of communities business and professional men are organizing clubs for the discussion of municipal problems.

"In consideration of these facts, a municipal reference bureau has been established as a part of the university extension division, and although it has been organized for less than a year, many calls, more than could be cared for, have come from county and city officials and from civic clubs for information concerning the experience of local communities in our own and other states in the solution of municipal problems. As rapidly as possible the bureau is gathering information—ordinances, discussions, etc.—and it offers to lend publications or send experts to those who may desire assistance. To avoid political bias great care is taken to act only as an information bureau and not as expert advisers.

"In its further development, as larger means are provided, the extension division hopes to become more distinctly a link between the people of the state in all their interests and the national, state and university research departments. An immense fund of useful information in the form of bulletins issued by these departments is largely latent, either on account of limited circulation or because the publications are couched in language familiar only to the expert investigator. This tremendous force for popular education must be made effective by re-editing in available form and by wide distribution.

"The state commissions of forestry, geology, natural history, the state health boards, the university research departments, the great national societies are devoted to the solution of problems of universal interest, but their work is not for the masses. To this extent it is ineffective. Their appeal is to him only who seeks, and the desire to know implies a degree of preliminary knowledge. It is the policy of extension in all its departments of work not merely to *respond* to demands, but to *create* demands by arousing interest.

"As rapidly as possible, bulletins, monographs and leaflets on topics of general interest and value are being printed and distributed. For special topics, exhibits including models and charts are made up and presented by expert demonstrators. Thus through extension channels data relating to discoveries, inventions, and all advances in knowledge of everyday interest—which otherwise might lie dormant for years—will be brought to the people promptly at little or no cost to them, and by such methods as enlist their interest.

"This department offers its services to citizens of the state also as an information bureau. Inquiries upon matters affecting private or public interest are answered through its medium by specialists in the university who also may be sent, upon demand, to inspect conditions and advise as to procedure.

"Great care is taken not to encroach upon the field of the professional expert. If the information desired is of such a nature as to bring personal profit to the inquirer rather than general good to his community, he is advised as to the proper steps to be taken. Some time ago an application for assistance came to this department from the inventor of a machine. The design was given an examination and found to have some features worthy of investigation. The designer was advised of this judgment and assisted in securing professional advice.

"Perhaps no class of work undertaken by the extension division has proved more popular and helpful than the preparation, publication and distribution of leaflets relating to public questions. These questions are usually put in form for discussion. Reasons pro and con

are given. References are made to federal and state public documents and other publications, which bear on the matter, chapters and pages being given. Instructions are given how the documents may be obtained. Material from magazines and newspapers is collected and lent. Frequently news agencies are used to collect material. All is carefully selected and only that recognized as having merit is used. This material is selected and prepared with dispassionate and non-partisan care and during the two years in which this work has been carried on not a comment of criticism has reached us. Some of the questions treated during the past year were:

"Election of senators by popular vote.

"The parcels post.

"Postal savings banks.

"Woman suffrage.

"Proportional representation.

"The initiative and referendum.

"Guaranty of bank deposits.

"Immigration.

"Commission plan of city government.

"The recall.

"Tariff on trust-made steel articles.

"Simplified spelling.

"Closed vs. open shop.

"Federal control of corporations doing interstate business.

"Increase of navy.

"Annexation of Cuba.

"There has been a large call for these bulletins, not only by debating societies, civic leagues, farmers' clubs and other organizations, but hundreds have come from high schools for use in the preparation of themes, etc. No one will question the value of these subjects as compared with the stereotyped topics of the old-time debating club and high school theme. The fact that the number of requests from outside the state for these bulletins are frequently more than we can respond to, is an evidence of how they are regarded generally, and many other states are following these methods.

"University extension is designed to extend the influence of the university in all its phases to every community of the state. It is desired furthermore to help not only those who ask for assistance, but also those who might be benefited if their interest were aroused. It is, therefore, necessary to secure an organization

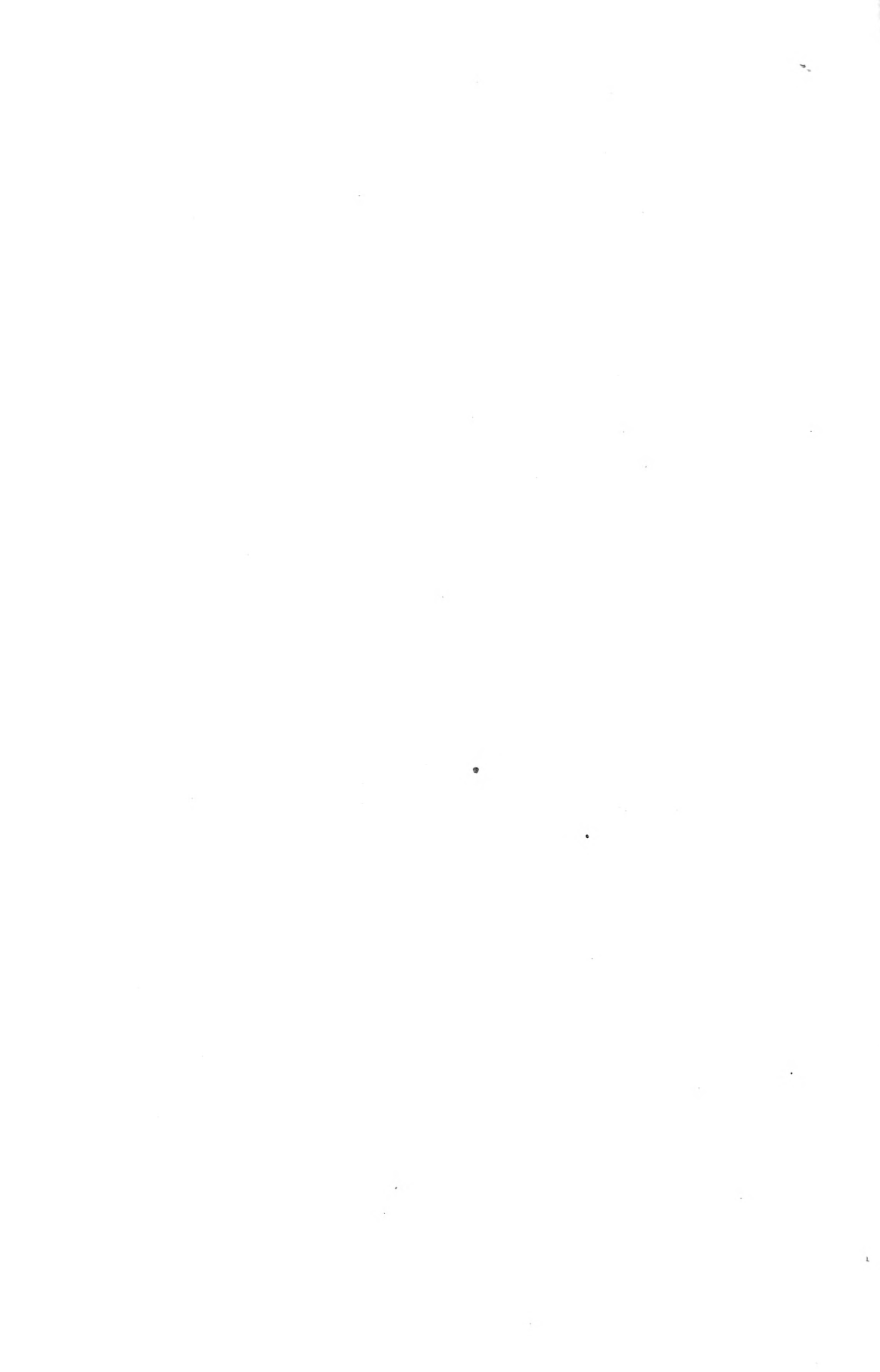
which will reach every part of the state effectively and thoroughly. In order to accomplish this end the state is divided into eight districts; eventually there will be sixteen. Only two of these districts up to the present time have been organized. The headquarters of the first district is at Milwaukee and the second at Oshkosh. Each of these districts is presided over by an extension representative. In Milwaukee this representative has four regular assistants—the budget provides for four more next year—and in Oshkosh, two. It is the duty of the representative to study the economic, industrial and social conditions of his district—and in co-operation with school boards, town councils, library boards, civic leagues and all such established organizations, to determine how the university can best serve the community. It will be appreciated that the calls upon the university from the different districts vary greatly, depending upon the interests of the people, whether manufacturing, commercial or agricultural.

“From these centers and with the co-operation mentioned the university representative arranges lecture, reading and correspondence-study courses, exhibits, demonstrations and conventions or institutes upon subjects of direct interest to the community. With the co-operation of the public school teachers in his dis-

trict he gets in touch with the boys and girls who drop out of the schools and learns so far as possible their reasons for dropping out.

“To these young people the district representative offers his assistance. If tactful, he may be able to show the young man with a predominant commercial spirit the value of education and convince him that present financial sacrifice for this purpose should bring and usually does bring great returns in the broadest sense.

“We believe firmly that the state university has a three-fold function: First, instruction to those who gather within the walls of the university; second, investigation and research to add to the store of human knowledge; and third, the dissemination of knowledge in its widest sense, making useful to the people of the state the university in all its activities, giving so far as possible to the state at large that accumulation of knowledge and wisdom in a useful form which is naturally centered in a university. From this conception has sprung university extension as developed at the University of Wisconsin, and although the work is new, scarcely proven—the results achieved thus far have added strength to the conviction of the legitimacy of this new function of a state university and have brought many doubters to this belief.” (Applause.)



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THE RECENT BRITISH ELECTIONS

On the 5th instant Mr. Louis F. Post addressed the City Club on the subject of the "Recent British Elections." Mr. Post is editor of *The Public*, a Chicago journal, widely known for its advocacy of single tax principles and is the author of a number of books including the "Ethics of Democracy," "Ethical Principles of Marriage and Divorce," and "Social Service." He has been active in local municipal affairs; has been one of the members of the Board of Education during the administration of Mayor Dunne.

Mr. Post was in England during the recent budget agitation and took an active part in support of the Liberal campaign. His remarks before the City Club were, therefore, based on an intimate understanding of the issues involved in the elections. Judge Julian W. Mack presided and introduced the speaker.

Louis F. Post

"I want it distinctly understood that I am speaking as a partisan. I am in sympathy with the radical movement on this side; I am in sympathy with the radical movement on the other side. And my experience tells me that non-partisanship is seldom of any value, and sometimes it is worse than of no value. I have never seen an impartial history that was not disguised partisanship or a jelly-fish introduction; I have never heard any impartial observer returning from foreign

lands who was really impartial; and I have never known a non-partisan newspaper that did not dance to the party tune when the big instruments in the party band began to play. So I have no hesitation in saying at the outset that I speak as a partisan. But while I want you to understand that what I say may be discolored by my partisanship, I shall try to describe the exact situation, and I shall back up what I say with sufficient authority, I hope, to be convincing.

"Now, my friends, I have no doubt, and I had none when I left for England—and that is what took me there—and I have less doubt if possible now, that the great question in Great Britain is what we commonly know here as the land question. The course that Great Britain is taking is a course that over here would be better understood if I used the words 'single tax.' Not that the single tax is an immediate issue there; not that there is a proposition immediately to abolish all taxes except on land values; but that the great popular movement is in the direction of putting taxes upon land values.

"Heretofore land has not been taxed in Great Britain. There has not been a valuation for 200 years, and that was a rental and not a capital valuation. They are trying now to get a capital valuation in order that they may tax it. That is the meaning of the land clauses in the budget. We tax land over here more

than they are proposing to tax it over there. All they propose to tax land over there is one-half penny in the pound, or about one cent in five dollars of capital value; except when the land passes from an owner to a purchaser, or passes by inheritance or by will, and then the difference between its value at the time it passes and its value when last appraised is to be taxed twenty per cent. The latter is the so-called 'unearned increment' tax.

"We, I say, tax land values much more than they are proposing to do; but the point is right here: We tax land values because they are private property, as we consider it. We aim to tax all kinds of private property and we regard land values as private property; but they are aiming to tax land values not because they are private property, but because they are not private property. Thus the whole issue is raised over the question of the right of ownership of land and of the values that the growth of society gives to land.

"That question has been growing for many years in Great Britain. It is nothing sudden over there. This movement of Lloyd George is not a movement that he is leading exactly, but a movement in which he has been forced into the position of leadership. Some twenty-five or thirty years ago, Henry George started this movement in Great Britain. Any Briton who knows the history of the movement will tell you that following Henry George's campaign there in the eighties, the city of Glasgow rapidly adopted his ideas of taxing land values; and they elected by name single-tax men to their council, and as a result of that, their city council remains a land value tax council to this day. Although its personnel has been radically changed, still it stands for land value taxation along the lines laid down by Henry George twenty odd years ago in Glasgow.

"As a result of the city of Glasgow's petition to Parliament to be allowed to tax land values to the exclusion of other property—and Parliament has not yet granted that petition—270 other municipalities in Scotland and in England and in Wales followed with similar petitions. These petitions have been before Parlia-

ment—in every Parliament—ever since that time, in one form or another, and the course of those bills has been significant. First, the bills only got to first reading. Then they got as far as second reading. But these bills for local municipal option in taxation never got beyond second reading. When Mr. Bannerman came into power, however, as head of the government and the leader of the Liberal party, he proposed to reach the object in another way, for Mr. Bannerman was what we would call over here a moderate single taxer or a land value taxationist, as they call him over there.

"He proposed somewhat different tactics. He proposed as the first step, as the easiest step, that there should be a valuation of all the lands of Great Britain; and inasmuch as land value taxation sentiment was strong in Scotland, he recommended that there should be first a bill for the valuation of Scottish land. That bill went up to the House of Lords, and they sent it back. It went to the House of Lords again, and they emasculated it until it was useless. Mr. Bannerman had intended to follow the Scottish bill with a similar one for England and a similar one for Ireland, but the rejection of the Scottish bill by the Lords thwarted him, and soon afterwards he died.

"Mr. Asquith came into his place. When I was in England a year and a half ago the Liberal party under Mr. Asquith was suspected of having abandoned the Bannerman policy, and there was a condition then in the Liberal party which can only be likened, for American apprehension, to the condition which has prevailed in the Democratic party off and on for the last fifteen years, a condition of utter demoralization and hopelessness—except at brief intervals. (Applause and laughter.)

"There was a feeling then among the followers of Bannerman that Asquith should attack the Lords under the constitutional—provision, I was about to say; but they don't have constitutional provisions—but under the constitutional custom under which it is as much the duty of the House of Lords to approve a finance bill as it is for the King to approve any bill. The King has a nominal veto, but he never uses it; he

wouldn't dare to use it; he signs every bill passed by the two houses. The Lords have a nominal veto upon any bill, financial or otherwise; but they have not been allowed or expected to use the veto upon finance bills for more than a generation. So it was the prevailing idea that if the Liberal party would adapt the Bannerman policy to the financial budget and send it up to the Lords—valuation of all of the lands of the kingdom, and a moderate tax as a starter—the Lords would not dare to veto that bill, would not dare to interfere with that finance bill, and in that way it would pass, and the land taxation policy be set on its feet.

"The Liberal government did adopt that policy. As you all know, with the beginning of April—it was announced in advance—but with the beginning of April the Lloyd George budget came into the House of Commons. It was debated for six months. Its most important provisions were the land value clauses. These clauses provided for a very light tax, and for very numerous exemptions—agricultural land being exempted if it were not worth more than \$250 an acre—and yet, for the purpose of ascertaining what should be taxed, for the purpose of carrying out the object of the budget as a fiscal measure, there was the necessity of making a complete valuation of every rood of land in Great Britain and in Ireland.

"I should add that in that bill also was the licensing feature. This is nominally a liquor question. But it is in fact a land question, because in Great Britain the public houses are licensed both on the basis of personality, the character of the man who applies to keep them, and on the basis of location. A public house cannot be removed without the consent of magistrates. It cannot be placed without the license of magistrates. Consequently its particular spot or site acquires great land value as compared with spots all around it. In addition to that, the great brewers and the great distillers had bought up licenses—under cover, of course—until over 80,000 of the public house keepers of Great Britain are mere employes of the great distillers and the great brewers. So the licensing clauses

of the budget raised a land question as well as the land clauses did. *franchise que*

"When the budget went before the House of Lords—I won't follow its course through the House of Commons, where it was fought bitterly at every parliamentary stage in its progress—but when it came before the House of Lords they did not dare to veto it. But they said: 'This measure is revolutionary, and we ought not to consent to allow it to pass until we know that the people want it.' Their argument was that this Parliament had been elected in 1906 on a landslide in favor of the Liberals. It was indeed a reaction from the excitement of the Boer war, against the management of the Boer war and against one outcome of the Boer war—namely, a feeling that Great Britain had been fighting the Boers in South Africa merely to let Chinese labor into South Africa. On that issue there was a Liberal sweep all over the country, and constituencies that had never gone otherwise than Tory, returned Liberals this time until the Liberals had an enormous majority—over the Irish, over the Labor, and over the Tories, all told. So the House of Lords said, 'Under these circumstances' we do not feel that we ought, as "conservators of popular rights against gusts of popular passion," to pass this measure without first having it go to the people on a referendum.'

"Now there is no referendum over there. The sending of the budget to the people on a referendum was a pure subterfuge. The only way there could be a referendum would be for the ministers to have Parliament dissolved, and let the people choose between those who favored this budget and those who opposed it. So you see the House of Lords would be in such a position, if the Liberals accepted their plan, that the House of Lords could say at any time of a financial bill—and mind you, the financial bills are annual there, and not as here a general law that remains a law until repealed—: 'There are revolutionary provisions here, and we cannot afford to pass this bill without first giving the people an opportunity to be heard.' And then the ministers would have to go to the people again. In that way the House of Lords would acquire what the Com-

mons has had for two hundred years, absolute control of the purse strings, absolute control of the life of the ministry, and thereby absolute control of the government, even though they are an hereditary house, made up for the most part of members who, as Lloyd George irritated them very much by saying, are merely 'the first of the litter.' (Laughter.)

"Of course, there are great men in the House of Lords, men who have won their spurs, and have been appointed to the House of Lords for what they have done. But the great body of the House of Lords consists of 'backwoodsmen,' Lords who never attend the House of Lords—the usual attendance at which is from ten to fifteen, and averages only about a hundred, although that body has a membership of five hundred or six hundred. The people who never attend except when their own peculiar interests are at stake are generally the first-born in line of some ancient appointee, and that is what Mr. George meant when he gave so much offense by saying—at any rate, he was so reported—that the House of Lords is made up for the most part of 'the first of the litter.'

"Now the House of Lords demanded a referendum on the budget—the kind of referendum that could always be used against the progressives and would never be used against the reactionaries, the House of Lords being Tories. It went to the people in the only way that it could go. The government said: 'We won't stand this hectoring any longer. The Lords have rejected legislation that we were sent here to make; they have messed it up when they dared not reject it; and now they have attacked our exclusive right to control of the purse strings. We will not undertake to carry on the King's government any longer under those circumstances. So they asked for a dissolution, and a new Parliament was ordered.

"And now, gentlemen, I want, especially on account of the very misleading reports in our local papers, not only in Chicago, but in the United States generally, so far as I have been able to observe, to read from Mr. Asquith's speech, his keynote speech at Albert Hall in London on the 10th of Decem-

ber, which declared the policy of the Liberal party. I read it for the purpose of showing you that there has been no deviation, not a hair's breadth of deviation by the Asquith ministry, from the time of that speech up to the present. If you read the reports in our local papers you may get an entirely different impression, and if you read the headlines and stop there, you may get a still more misleading impression of the actual conditions. If you read the full reports in these papers, but leave out the gossip that comes mostly from Tory clubs, where, I am sorry to say, so many of our London correspondents take their afternoon tea with regularity, and from which they get much of their cable inspiration—that which is not supplied in the newspaper offices right here at home—if you get down to the bottom of these reports, you will find that divested of the gossip, there is not the slightest evidence even in them of any change of policy whatever, or of any variation whatever. But I am going to take the time to read a little, not very much but a little, of Mr. Asquith's keynote speech, for the purpose of throwing light upon the course of the campaign and the action of the ministry since. Mr. Asquith, in that speech, said this:

"I tell you in the name and on behalf of the Liberal party, that we have at this moment laid upon us a single task, a task which dominates and transcends, because it embraces and involves, every great and beneficent social and political change upon which our hearts are set. That task is to vindicate and to establish upon an unshakable foundation the principle of representative government. Do not let me be misunderstood. No one is asked to abandon or to lay aside the causes for which he has been fighting. On the contrary, there is not one of those causes whose fortunes will not be found to hang upon this cause.'

"He went on from that point to enumerate and elaborate those other causes. I shall simply mention them: He spoke of national education, which is our public school system divested of the religious control that obtains still in Wales, and to a degree throughout the country. He referred to licensing, which I have already explained to you.

He discussed the voting franchise; for they have plural voting there—and I may say incidentally that over fifty seats now held by Tories are held by the votes of men not living in the places where their votes were cast, but who were tenants or owners of land in those places—‘out-voters,’ as they are called. The out-voter has given at least fifty of their seats to the Tories. Mr. Asquith said that this has got to be changed. He also said the apportionment has got to be changed; for they have districts there in which one member of Parliament represents some fifty thousand voters; and then they have other districts in which two or three or more members of Parliament represent some ten thousand voters. My figures must be taken ‘e. and o. e.,’ as the bookkeepers used to say; but they are essentially correct. I need not say that as a rule it is the big districts with only one representative that are represented by Liberals, and the little districts with two or more representatives that are represented by Tories. That unequal apportionment has got to be reformed, said Mr. Asquith. He spoke also of the religious question in Wales, of the Scottish question, and of the Irish home rule question; and he spoke of the latter in such a manner as to leave no doubt that the Irish would have home rule in home affairs if the Liberals could get control of Parliament so as to grant it. And I may add what everybody in Great Britain knows, that Scotland and Wales stand behind that policy because the people of Scotland and Wales know that just as soon as Ireland gets a local legislature Scotland and Wales will have local legislatures. After he had mentioned those causes and had mentioned also the question of the women’s vote, saying that if there is a majority of the House of Commons that want to add adult woman suffrage to the adult male suffrage contemplated in the reformed electoral bill, then the Liberal ministry, if retained in power, would take up that subject and establish adult suffrage regardless of sex.

“Having discussed those special causes, Mr. Asquith went back to the all-embracing one of the Lords’ veto. He explained that there were three constitu-

tional innovations made by the House of Lords, which constituted the primary question, and which must be disposed of in the interest of all the other questions. ‘In the first place,’ he said, ‘we have the claim of the upper house, not as an archaic legal survival, but as a living and effective right, to control the levying of taxation. In the second place, we have the claims of the same house—a body which cannot itself be dissolved—to compel a dissolution of the popular chamber. And lastly, as a consequence and corollary of the other two, we have an assertion of its powers to make or to unmake the executive government of the Crown’—that is, to turn out a ministry when they want to. Every one of these revolutionary pretensions,’ Mr. Asquith continued, ‘we shall withstand for all we are worth.’

“He elaborated that pledge somewhat and then proceeded: ‘What has been done once, may be done again. I do not say that it will be; but I do say this, that it becomes our first duty to take effective steps to make its recurrence impossible. We shall therefore demand authority from the electorate to translate our ancient unwritten usage into an act of Parliament, and to place on the statute book a recognition, explicit and complete, of the settled doctrine of our constitution that it is beyond the province of the House of Lords to meddle in any way or to any degree or for any purpose with our national finance.’

“After some elaboration of that point, Mr. Asquith made a further pledge. It was said over here that his intention now is to restrict action against the Lords to the question of veto on financial bills. But in that keynote speech he told what the purpose is; and he has never deviated from that purpose either. He went on then to say: ‘So far we are on the defensive. But at the same time and by the same action the House of Lords has, not indeed raised, but has hurried on for prompt decision *a larger issue still*. I tell you quite plainly, and I tell my fellow-countrymen outside, that neither I nor any other Liberal ministers supported by a majority of the House of Commons are going to submit again to the rebuffs and the humiliations of the last four years. We shall

not assume office, and we shall not hold office, unless we can secure the safeguards which experience shows to be necessary for the legislative utility and honor of the party of progress.' And further on in his speech he added: 'The absolute veto of the House of Lords must go.'

"Finally, Mr. Asquith recapitulated: 'In the three capital issues which I have endeavored to lay before you—the absolute control of the Commons over finance, the maintenance of free trade, and the effective limitation and curtailment of the legislative powers of the Lords—in these three issues we are following on the best and surest lines of Liberal tradition and Liberal policy.'

"Now, what I assure you of, my friends, is this, that the Liberal ministry has not swerved at all from the policy outlined in that keynote speech. There was no swerving throughout the campaign, nor has there been since. The speeches echo what Mr. Asquith said at Albert Hall. I am going to call your attention to one or two of them.

"In speaking at Bath, as late as January 6th, nine days before the elections began, Mr. Asquith said: 'Let me remind you that little more than a year ago, in the month of October, 1908, the leader of the opposition, Mr. Balfour, speaking at Dumfries on the relations between the houses of Parliament, laid down two propositions. His first proposition was that the House of Lords is content to accept in matters of legislation the general primacy of the House of Commons. His second proposition was—I quote his own words—"It is the House of Commons, not the House of Lords, which settles uncontrolled our financial system." And it is because the House of Lords has set at defiance both those constitutional canons, because for four years past it has persistently refused to acknowledge the primacy of the House of Commons in matters of legislation, and because only a few months ago it has assumed for the first time the right not only to control but to destroy the taxation of the year, that Parliament has been dissolved and that your verdict is now being invoked.'

"It was not Mr. Asquith alone. But Lloyd George and Churchill and Ure

and nearly if not quite all of the other Liberal candidates took up Mrs. Asquith's keynote pledge and made it the burden of their speeches in their home campaigns. Mr. Churchill, for instance, when he was asked what he proposed to do with the House of Lords, 'scotch it or kill it,' replied 'that the policy for which the government now asked the support of the electors was, first of all, to preclude the House of Lords from interfering in any way with finance; and, secondly, to make it certain that the will of the House of Commons should be able to prevail within the lifetime of a single Parliament, thus carrying out the resolution passed under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's auspices three years ago. It was that policy which would establish the supremacy of the House of Commons. As to the actual position which a second chamber should occupy in the future, that was of less importance than the question of the veto. But now that the discussion of the character of a second chamber had been begun, that discussion must prove fatal to the hereditary principle.'

"I read these extracts because they are typical of the attitude of the national leaders. Here is one that is typical of local men, unknown, but many of whom will be better known in the United States by and by. I am taking this one because the man, Col. Greig, a London barrister, who was elected from a Scottish constituency, is a brother-in-law of Edward Osgood Brown of Chicago, a member of this club and formerly one of our circuit judges. Col. Greig was a typical Liberal candidate, not of the extreme radical type, as most of those I put my confidence in were, nor yet of the Whig type, but a party Liberal of the more common type. He said in his address to his constituents: 'If returned to Parliament, I shall support all necessary measures to insure that the House of Lords shall never again be allowed to reject a budget or to interfere with the granting of supplies by the Commons. I am also in favor of limiting the power of the House of Lords to veto legislation approved by the majority of the elected representatives of the people.'

"So the matter takes this shape, my

friends, as far as the veto is concerned, that, as to financial legislation the House of Lords must perfunctorily indorse any financial bill that the Commons sends up, and as to other legislation they may have an advisory veto but no more.

"Perhaps it is worth while to tell you Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's plan, although it is regarded now as obsolete except in principle, as being unnecessarily burdensome. Mr. Bannerman proposed, and the resolution is on record, that when the House of Commons passes a measure, it shall go to the Lords. If the Lords reject it, there shall be a conference between the two houses. If that conference does not settle it, the House may pass it again. If they do pass it again, the Lords may again reject it, and in that case there shall be a second conference. If this conference does not agree, the House of Commons may pass it a third time, and then it shall be law. I do not think there will be any second conference under the change that will probably come about pursuant to the Ministerial plan.

"What I said at the beginning I repeat now, that the keynote speech and its promises have not been and are not being departed from at all; and if you read with a little care the cable reports, you will find that those promises are not being departed from, but that the new ministry is following out that policy and proceeding directly to redeem those promises.

"The campaign was involved in a great complexity of issues. There was the budget issue with its land-value questions, and with its licensing questions dividing men that before had been together. There was the Lords' issue, which was the dominant political one unquestionably, and yet it was criss-crossed with other questions. There was also the war scare.

"But the protection issue became the real issue of the campaign in so far as the interest of the voters was concerned." (Mr. Post here illustrated his point by referring to a set of posters issued by the Liberals in their campaign and loaned to the City Club through the courtesy of Prof. Graham Taylor.) "See that poster over there on the wall, showing the laborer and the farm hand." I

speak of that particularly, because it was universally displayed; the others were mostly local. Alongside of that poster was another of which the same can be said. It appeared everywhere. It was a protection poster, and I wish we had it here now. Those two posters tell the story of the vital issue that was on, underneath these more temporary and superficial issues—the issue between protection and land value taxation. That is the land value taxation poster, which you see there. We do not have the protection poster here, but it represented a laborer sitting disconsolate in his house, with his bag of tools by his side, his wife with her head upon the table and her arms about her head, evidently crying, and his little girl holding the baby, the wash tub standing by unused. It was the picture of a British strike of many years ago. But the protectionists, the 'tariff reformers,' as they call themselves—and tariff reform there means protection, whereas tariff reform here means free trade—it rather made my head swim when I got over there and saw those 'tariff reform' posters, which had apparently been borrowed from the old McKinley campaign in the United States and worked over for British consumption—posters with assurances that the foreigner would pay the tax—the tariff reformers or protectionists had obtained the right to reproduce, and they had printed the words 'Free Trade' over the picture. The Liberals were on to the game, and they took the picture, thinking it was common property, and printed the words 'Tariff Reform' across it instead of 'Free Trade.' It was one of those pictures that can be used by either side, like the two loaves, little and big, in the old free trade campaign. The free traders pointed to the little loaf and said it was protection bread, and that the big one was free trade bread; the protectionists pointed to the little loaf as free trade bread and to the big one as protection bread. It was the same way with that picture. (Laughter.) But the Liberals got caught. Their picture was headed off with an injunction. The protectionists owned the right to reproduce the original picture.

"Those two posters, so I was told wherever I went, were attracting most attention and had most effect. And it is reasonable they should. For those two posters represented the fundamental issue: Lack of employment, how shall it be cured? The protectionist cure was 'tariff reform,' upward. Put a tariff, in agricultural districts, on food; in leather districts, on leather; in boot and shoe districts, on boots and shoes; in steel districts, on steel; but in shipping districts, free trade, and for Liverpool a free port! When you consider that those constituencies are so widely separated in character that the language is hardly understood between many of them (although free schools are correcting that), you can understand how easy it was to make an effective appeal for protection in any constituency for its own local products, with free trade for everything else. We Americans should know how it would happen, because we have seen it done with our different states. Only they could do the trick better in Great Britain on account of the provincialism of the various constituencies. Even party colors are confusing. Blue is Liberal and red is Tory in one constituency, and in an adjoining constituency blue will be Tory and red Liberal.

"Phrases, of course, went over there just as they do in our politics. As a rule, they are a thinking lot of people. Their audiences demand facts and serious arguments. They are not satisfied with flim-flam and red fire as our campaign audiences are. I was in a workmen's audience in Birmingham where I heard a professor of law from the university speak for an hour and a half—to me an exceedingly interesting speech on economics, and law with reference to economics. It was a speech that he might have made before a university class, or before an association of lawyers, or economists; a most interesting speech viewed from that angle, but a speech that would have emptied any hall of an American audience in a political campaign in less than fifteen minutes. It was not funny, and it did not keep them alive—yes, it did keep *them* alive, because they were a thinking lot; but it would not have kept an American audience alive in a red-fire

campaign. Yet that audience sat there for an hour and a half, and not only took that speech in appreciatively, but every climax of the argument was appreciated by that audience and recognized with thunders of applause—an audience of about 1,000 people. There is just as hearty applause over there for an argument that strikes the audience as logical and sound as there would be for the best story told in the best way to an American audience. But nevertheless, phrases are often effective arguments. Phrases catch people there just as they do here. This is illustrated by a little story I heard in London. You know they have an agitation over there to get rid of plural or out-voting, and with reference to this one Londoner said to another: 'One man, one vote—what does that mean?' The other replied, 'That's what it means—one man one vote.' 'Yes, I know, but what is it?' 'Why, one man, one vote.' 'Yes, yes, but what is it about? What will it do?' Then the other explained more fully: 'One bloody man! one bloody vote!' 'Oh,' said the questioner, 'is that it? Why didn't you say so at first?' (Laughter.)

"There were a great many posters, varying much, but I do not think that any except the two I have described were general throughout the kingdom. And there were other methods of campaigning. One was a match box. I had a great deal of difficulty in getting a few samples. It is in such demand that the supply cannot keep pace with it. But I managed to save one and get it through the custom house for the City Club. They distributed these match boxes over there at 6 pence apiece by the scores of thousands. Perhaps I had better explain this match box. That figure is a duke. (Laughter.) I don't know whether all of you can see his woful expression from this distance, but you will understand it when I quote you what he is saying. What he is saying is: 'What! tax MY land?' That was an exceedingly popular campaign document, and Judge Mack, I present it to the Club with my compliments."

CHAIRMAN MACK: "On behalf of the City Club, I accept it."

MR. POST: "And the compliments also of the radical Liberals of Great Britain. (Applause.)

"I had a little personal part in that campaign, as Judge Mack has told you. I went over there without the slightest expectation of participating. I should have thought it very presumptuous to have gone there with such an expectation. But this is the way it came about. I was calling on a friend in Liverpool whom I had known by correspondence and met once or twice, and who turned out to be the election agent for Sir John Brunner's son. Sir John Brunner had been in Parliament for twenty-five years, and his son has come forward now to take his place. He was a land value taxationist, and so is his son. My friend was the latter's agent. Over there, let me explain, the agent of a candidate is his conscience and the custodian of most of his brains. He bears much the same relation to his candidate that a corporation lawyer bears to a corporation client. (Laughter.) If the candidate does anything illegal, it is the agent that has to go to jail for it; and he gets a salary in proportion, like the corporation lawyer here. As soon as I had met my friend, he said, in the course of the conversation, 'I wish you would go out about two hours from Liverpool with me tonight to a big meeting for John Brunner.' I replied that of course I would be glad to go. He came back at me with 'Can you go, will you really go?' I said, 'Certainly. That is what I am over here for.' Of course I was glad to get right into the heart of it all and see how they behaved and what they did in a campaign in England. 'Very well,' said he, 'let us go over to the club and get luncheon, and then you go to your hotel and fix up what things you want; I will come for you later, and we will go out together.' As we were going across the street to the club he began saying to me, 'When you speak out there tonight—' and I interrupted with 'When I what?' He replied, 'When you speak at Middlewich tonight.' 'But,' I said, 'I am not going to speak, but to look on.' 'No, no,' said he, 'I want you to go there to speak; that is what I asked you for, and that is what you are going to do.' Now, I knew what show

a candidate would have over here whose manager allowed an Englishman to take the platform for him in a hot campaign (laughter); and I didn't want to be responsible for defeating a radical Liberal. I wanted him to be elected. So I wouldn't go until my friend had called up Mr. Brunner on the telephone and got his special request that I come. I may account for this by saying that Brunner had never seen me before, and had never heard me speak. (Laughter.) But when I found that he did seem to want me, and that he had a pretty strong and safe district anyhow, I concluded to go. And then I wondered how I would get along with an English audience. I had always understood that Englishmen got their jokes by 'slow freight,' as Chauncey Depew has put it and I was afraid I could never wake up an English audience. I was afraid they wouldn't stand for fun, and I hadn't much else to give them, because, not expecting to speak, I hadn't taken with me a solitary bit of material for speaking, except what lay in the back of my head, what had got caught there and hadn't got away yet, and I had to fall back on my memory. Why, it was an utter surprise to me when I faced that audience. They have the finest audiences over there in the world—barring this one. (Laughter.) They are splendid audiences. Of course, I had one advantage. The old stories I had been telling over here until they had got all frazzled out went better than I ever knew them to go before even over here. (Renewed laughter.) After that I had the time of my life all the way through. I campaigned from London to Glasgow and back again, up through those northern counties and boroughs, those radical counties and boroughs, and not as an interloping radical either, but on the official Liberal platform all the time and for official Liberal candidates. Henry George, Jr., was with me most of the time, also speaking; and the only other American speakers, so far as I know, were Walter Thomas Mills for the Independent Labor party and Professor Dennis of Wisconsin University, for Col. Greig. It was indeed the time of my life; and as I have said to others, I should have thought I was in heaven, if

my wife had been with me, for I did get homesick after the excitement of the meetings.

"Something that I think would be of interest to a club like this was the method of conducting elections over there, and I am going to devote a few minutes to that subject, even at the risk of over-running my time. As most of you know, there is no fixed time for elections. A Parliament may remain in office for any time from a month or two to seven years. At the end of seven years a Parliament must go out. But a vote of want of confidence in the Commons may compel a ministry to resign, and that may or may not result in a dissolution of Parliament. It depends upon whether or not the King can find anybody who enjoys the confidence of the majority of the House of Commons to make a new ministry. The last Parliament was not dissolved in that way. The ministry simply said, 'We will not try to administer public affairs with this hereditary house interfering with us at every turn when we indulge in any progressive legislation. Therefore, we advise the King under these circumstances to dissolve Parliament and call new elections.'

"Now, new elections are not called until a few days before they are held. Long before they are held, the politicians scent the fact that elections are to come soon, and so for three or four years there may be a campaign going on before the election is held. But when the House dissolves, the campaign opens up hot. The writs for election were not issued after the last dissolution until the tenth of January. It becomes the duty of the sheriffs to whom election writs are sent to call the elections and set the time for them in their respective counties, having reference to two facts—the date of the writ, for the election must not be held within five days of that, and the time the new Parliament is called. The sheriff fixes the election dates, consequently they have elections running along for days. Last winter they ran from the 15th to the 25th of January every day, and four or five occurred in February. The watching of the returns was a most interesting thing. It was very different from here. We

look at the bulletin boards, and in a little while make up our minds as to how things have gone; and then we either throw up our hats and are joyful, or pull down our hats and go home gloomy. The latter has been my usual habit. (Laughter.) But over there, you look at the bulletin board, you see the returns, and you do not go home gloomy no matter which way the reports are running. You simply buckle on your armor and fight the harder in the constituencies yet to vote. The speakers who have been in the other elections are bundled off to the places where there have been no elections as yet, so as to stem the tide or help it on, as the case may be.

"I attended one election—a borough election—and gave special attention to it, and had special facilities for observation. It was in Halifax. The wards are very big. They held the election for the ward I observed, in a school house on the first floor. All the benches and desks were out; there was no partition, but just one great big room; and in that room they had several tables with one ballot box on each, and one nest of voting booths for each table. These were bunched arbitrarily according to locality in the ward. There are no voting districts, as with us, but the whole ward is a voting district, divided at the one polling place so as to give a ballot box for every 500 voters. There is no registration at the polls. The sheriff registers all voters. When the voter comes into this large hall he tells an attendant at the door what part of the ward he votes from, and the attendant sends him to the ballot box for that particular section. He goes there, gets his ballot—which is a very simple one, of course, for they only vote for members of Parliament—goes into the booth, which has no curtain, but you cannot see what he writes, and then he votes as we do here. After the polls close the return is made to a central place in the city—the town hall. The ballot boxes from the different wards are brought to that place. Each ballot box is opened there, and they take out all the ballots and tally them, to see that they have exactly the same number of ballots in the box that there were voters voting. When that is

settled, they throw the ballots back into the boxes; and then all the ballots from all the boxes are emptied on to the table. There were 15,000 in Halifax. I told them over there it would make a Tammany heeler's mouth water to see that pile of ballots exposed. But they said it was a protection, for when those ballots get into that heap nobody can tell what ward or other voting place they come from. The only way that a landlord's agent can detect the vote in his village or district, for instance, is by watching when they are being tallied. If he has an election judge with him, the election judge will pile them face up so the landlord's agent can watch them. He cannot tell how Smith or Brown has voted, but he can tell whether there are any 'unsound' or 'insane' votes in that village; and if there are, then he will begin to talk afterwards about there being some bad men in the village, a kind of talk that gets around and has a sort of moral influence in an immoral way on the next election. (Laughter.) However, the judges are, as a matter of public opinion, being forced to pile the votes back up; and that makes it pretty hard for the landlord's agent, unless he can get the judge himself to spy on the ballots and tell him whether or not there have been any 'wrong' votes in the village.

"The party organization for carrying on these elections was to me very interesting. They have an agent who gets a salary, and higher wages when an election is on. He is well posted in every twist and turn of the election laws; he governs his candidate, and tells his candidate what to do and what not to do. He is an honored man and, not a heeler. This man used to be a lawyer; but now laymen who are up in the election laws are employed. He checks the registration book with a book of his own—I have one here, and I make the Club a present of that, too, if they think it worth while. It may help us to get the better of the politicians who are not as honest as we are. Here are the instructions given out to every canvasser. I want to read you three lines from these instructions, which are under the signature of the Liberal agent at Halifax. They begin by saying that

'a Parliament election is on,' and every person whose name is on the register should be seen; and these are the instructions: 'Go in a bright, neighborly, cheerful way, and press the claims of your candidate on the grounds of the principles that he represents, and if possible get a promise that the voter will poll on his behalf.' The canvasser carries a book of cards with perforated blank pages, like these, which can be torn off. On those cards is written the name—one on each card—of every voter, and his residence and registration number; so that the canvasser has nothing to do but to take his own section, visit the voters, and in the place on the cards for remarks make his return. On election day, all the cards are in the hands of the agent at headquarters near the voting place. They have pigeon holes for the cards, and they take them out of the pigeon holes from time to time to see whether their promisers are voting. They do not pay any attention to the doubtful voters, nor to those who are known to be on the other side. It is the fellow who has made the promise that they look after, and they follow him all through the day. Every time any man votes, the word is sent across to headquarters that so and so has voted; they then look him up on the card in the pigeon holes and if they find his name there as a promiser, they tear his card up and throw it away. I have some of those cards here that they threw away. They strive to account for every promiser.

"Let me now give you the results of the last campaign. I want to read in detail, for I think it will give you a better idea of what the result of the election really was, if I give you the figures. The popular vote, outside of Ireland—and Ireland does not count with British Tories, unless the Irish representative is a Tory—was 3,161,023 for the Liberals and the Labor Party and 2,853,369 for the Tories. So there was a popular majority for the Liberals and Labors of 307,654.

"When you consider how many Tory voters voted more than once—and it is estimated that for every Liberal having plural voting rights there are four Tories that have plural voting rights—

when you consider the effect of that plural voting in favor of the Tories; when you consider the fact that the man who does not pay rates does not get upon the register book, unless he makes a special effort to get there, and that he is as a rule anti-Tory; when you consider the great mass of men who naturally would vote Liberal, but do not get the vote, even though they have the right to it, because of the difficulty of getting registered; when you consider that, as some one has said, it is easier for one rich man to get twenty votes than for twenty poor men to get one vote—then it seems to me that that popular majority of 300,000 is a tremendous piece of testimony to the overwhelming popular feeling against the Tories in this campaign.

"The number of seats the Liberals got was 275; Labor, 40; Irish of the Redmondite brand, 71; Irish of the O'Brien brand, 11; Tories, 273—a total of 670. The out-voter vote gave about 50 of those seats to the Tories. The speaker doesn't count, because there is no opposition to the speaker's re-election, and he votes only to break a tie. He holds a judicial place. The present speaker was appointed by the Tories, and re-appointed by the Liberals, and will continue to serve in that position as long as he does so satisfactorily, no matter what changes of party control occur; and as long as he does, no Liberal candidate will run against him in his constituency. As he has no vote except in a tie, the nominal plurality of two for the Liberals is really a plurality of three for them.

"The Liberal loss is reported with reference to the election of 1906. But the election of 1906 was a Liberal landslide. It took away many and many a Tory seat. If you compare the Liberal result this year with the year 1900, the Parliamentary campaign just preceding that of 1906, the Liberals make a gain of 88. Their loss is 98 in comparison with the last prior elections. Their gain is 88 in comparison with the elections that immediately preceded those.

"In the Lancashire boroughs, the Tories lost four; in the county, none. There is a saying in Lancashire, and in fact, outside of Lancashire, that 'as goes Lancashire today, so goes England to-

morrow. They count on that just as we used to count on Maine as affecting the presidential election. 'As goes Lancashire today, so goes England tomorrow.' And on that saying we can prophesy for radicalism; for Lancashire held her own, even by the measure of the landslide of 1906 when the Liberals carried nearly everything.

"All the English boroughs that returned Tories were Tory prior to 1906, except five. And in the English counties—I am quoting from a Tory handbook, that of the Pall-Mall Gazette: 'As in the case of the boroughs the great gains of the Unionists'—which means Tories—were in the southern and midland counties. The Black North was scarcely touched, except in the center of the agricultural belt above Lancashire, where a continuous block of six seats was captured—the Ripon and Richmond divisions of Lancashire, the two Westmoreland divisions, and the two Cumberland divisions. Lancashire was immovable, one seat being captured and one lost. Durham actually gave up its only Unionist candidate. But south of the Mersey and the Trent, there was a great change.' That was in the rural districts where landlord influence was strong.

"As to the whole of England, there were 57 changes to the Tories in the English counties—observe that there is a distinction between the borough and the county; a borough may elect one or more members, and men who vote for those members in the borough today may be voting for a county member tomorrow, provided they own property in a borough which lies within the county. There were 57 changes to Tory in English counties for the last election; and with the exception of seven, every one of all those changes was in a constituency that was Tory prior to the landslide of 1906. I make this statement to show you that there was no defeat for the Liberals, no gain for the Tories, in any normal comparison.

"In Scotland, the Liberals gained a seat; took it away from the Tories. They have a representation of twelve in the new Parliament against eleven in the old. And here is a significant thing which that same Tory handbook says

with regard to Scotland: 'Such Unionist—which means Tory—victories as were gained in Scotland were won entirely by personal and territorial influence.' That is true of most of the rural districts of Great Britain. The Tories won through the landlord influence, where they gained at all.

"In our country coercion is in factory towns, where great capitalists under existing conditions coerce the men they hire. We do not have this coercion in our agricultural districts. It is the very reverse in England. The factory workingman there is a freer man in politics than our workingman; but the farm hand and farm tenant in agricultural England is under the absolute domination of his landlord. The great question there, as I said to a friend here today, is how to vote Liberal without getting caught at it. (Laughter.)

"In support of that remark, this same Tory handbook, the Pall-Mall Gazette Handbook, can be quoted as saying: 'Wherever the agricultural interest predominates, there the flow of the current toward 'Unionism,' 'proved unassailable'; which is easily explained on the ground of the coercion.

"The Liberals did lose five seats in all Scotland. They lost them, but they more than made it up by gaining others. And those that they lost were every one Tory seats before 1906; whereas six seats were taken from the Tories, four of which had been Tory prior to 1906.

"In Ireland, the Redmondites lost one seat to the Tories and eleven to O'Brien. The Liberals lost two seats out of three held in the Parliament of 1906. So that today the Nationalists under Redmond have 70 seats; the O'Brienites, 11; the Liberals, 1; the Tories in Ireland have 21.

"Now, in closing, a word as to whether or not the Liberals have kept their promises. If you read the cable reports, just the facts and not the Tory gossip, you will find this situation: First comes the King's speech. The King's speech is written by the ministers. It expresses the opinion of the ministry, for the King must keep out of politics. In that speech the King is made to say to Parliament: 'Proposals will be laid before you, with

all convenient speed, to define the relations between the Houses of Parliament so as to secure undivided authority of the House of Commons over finance' (which was one of Mr. Asquith's promises) 'and its predominance in legislation,' which was his other promise.

"In Mr. Asquith's speech in Parliament last Monday he said that they would have to take up some financial business between now and the 24th. This needs explaining, because there is an impression here that he said in his speech that the budget would be taken up first. That is not so. That never was his intention, so far as the evidence goes, nor the intention of any of the followers of Mr. Asquith. The original intention, the fixed intention never departed from, was to take up first the question of the Lords and their veto. But the expenses of the British government have been met for almost a year without any authority of law. Having no annual budget adopted by Parliament for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1910, the administrative officers have been obliged to collect taxes and to spend money without a particle of legal right. They have done this, as you will find if you look back to December in the cable reports, as they said they would do it, by making bonds without authority and collecting taxes on the old basis without authority, but with the expectation that their illegal acts would be immediately validated by the new Parliament. So the action that is to be taken between now and the 24th of March is simply to validate those acts of the administration of the British government in having put out bonds and collected taxes without authority. There is no budget about it. The act or measure, whatever it is to be, whatever form it takes, will simply be a form of validation and nothing else. The budget will not come up, according to all the evidence that can be obtained with reference to the intention of the ministry, until after the power of the Lords has been challenged.

"In his speech in the Commons last Monday Mr. Asquith said as much, and he asked and secured until the 24th for this kind of business, and then an adjournment until the 29th. He promised

that this temporary financial business would be attended to between now and the 24th; and then, immediately when Parliament reassembled, the government would introduce resolutions on the Lords' veto. And he promised that those resolutions would exclude the House of Lords altogether from the domain of finance, and would declare that in other legislation the veto should be limited so as to secure predominance for the House of Commons during the lifetime of a single Parliament. This is precisely what was promised in his keynote speech; precisely what was promised throughout the campaign; precisely what was promised not only by the ministers themselves, but by their followers.

"Mr. Asquith then goes on to explain in his speech of last Monday what may be done further in the way of democratizing the House of Lords. The Lords, by the way, want to reform their House on the plan of the Scotch lords; that is to say, they want to have a small House of Lords, consisting of Lords selected by the Lords alone, and then to have equal authority with the House of Commons. That is their proposition for reform. The other proposition, the Liberal proposition, I have already told you. It is to abolish the financial veto, to make veto on other legislation merely advisory, and in the end to democratize the House of Lords.

"On Monday, after Mr. Asquith's speech, the program presented by the ministers was adopted. Up to this date, we know no more. But the program then adopted is this:

"First, when Parliament comes together on the 29th of March, the first thing that will be done will be the introduction by the ministry of resolutions to limit the Lords' veto power in accordance with the Asquith promises.

"Second, when these resolutions have passed the House of Commons, they will be sent to the Lords.

"Third, if the Lords reject or delay the resolutions, the Prime Minister will ask King Edward to create enough Liberal peers to carry the resolutions through the House of Lords. This has been done once, and was effectively threatened another time. The King has

the power to appoint Lords, but he appoints them only on the recommendation of his ministers. I think it was at the time of the adoption of the Treaty of Utrecht that the King appointed twelve Lords for the express purpose of overcoming an adverse majority then in the House of Lords. In the thirties, at the time of the great reform bill, the Lords were opposing it and the ministry secured from the King an assurance with respect to 'swamping' the Lords. It would not have taken many Lords to swamp the majority then; but now it would take nearly 500, and that makes it a very delicate thing to do, because it might make Lords as cheap in England as doctors of divinity used to be in the United States, and this is something the Lords do not want. My own prediction is, and I am going to venture a prediction, that if the King does co-operate with the ministry—whether he will or not, I make no prediction about—but if the King does co-operate with the ministry, he will tell the House of Lords, or some confidential friend there, that that is what he is going to do, and if he does tell them this, it will never be necessary for him to make the appointments, because the House of Lords will yield. In that case I predict a very long Parliament, and much radical legislation, including the carrying out of all the promises made by Mr. Asquith. I predict in that case the carrying out of the land tax program, an electoral reform, including woman suffrage if there is a majority in the House for women's suffrage, as I believe there is, and a readjustment of seats and the abolition of property qualifications and plural voting, as well as home rule for Ireland.

"Now, the fourth thing. If the King refuses to co-operate with the ministry, Mr. Asquith will resign as Prime Minister. This is the adopted program and not my prediction. If he does that, only one thing would remain for the King to do, and that would be to send for Mr. Balfour to form a ministry. Mr. Balfour could no more form a ministry that would last over night in the present Commons than I could. In order to form a ministry, you must have the confidence of a majority of the Commons. Mr. Balfour could not command the

confidence of the Irish without agreeing to give them home rule to at least as great an extent as Mr. Asquith has promised; and inasmuch as Mr. Balfour has campaigned against Irish home rule, it would be a pretty spectacle to see him agreeing to give home rule to the Irish in order to protect the House of Lords. That is the only condition, however, on which he could get their confidence and thereby the support of a majority of the Commons. He cannot get the confidence of the Labor party at all, under any possible circumstances. He cannot get the confidence of the vast majority of the Liberals. Mr. Balfour might form a ministry for the purpose of bringing on an early election; that is to say, he might form one and introduce a bill that he knew would not pass; and when it did not pass, resign and ask the King to dissolve Parliament and call a new election. This might happen if the King refuses to do what Mr. Asquith asks. But if the Tories go to the country under those circumstances, they won't have the advantages they had the last time. There would be no protection question then; there would be no budget then; there would be but one question for that election, and this would be the question of Commons or Peers. I do not think that the King would invite that. It has been understood that he has deplored the action of the Lords, because they have thrown their own hereditary privileges into the political arena; and there is one thing that the King of England is careful not to do if he can help it, and that is to throw the throne also into the arena of politics. His refusal to co-operate with his Liberal ministry would be likely to have precisely that effect.

"Having made these four statements as to the program, I pass to the fifth. It is this: The budget is not to be proceeded with until the veto resolutions are sent to the Lords. Could anything be more explicit? You will probably find these veto resolutions passed in the Commons as

early after the 29th as possible and immediately sent to the Lords; and then the budget will probably be passed under closure in the House and sent to the Lords. It will probably get there almost as soon as the veto resolutions. It is necessary that the Lords have the veto question before them before the budget is before them, for precedent is a great thing in England. I heard one man on the other side say that Englishmen have to be very careful not to allow precedents to take root, because, according to the English idea, if a man strikes you in the face and you don't strike back then and there, he acquires the perpetual right to strike you in the face whenever and wherever he wants to. And so the Lords, it is said, would argue, if their veto power is not taken away in connection with the budget: 'We did not think the people wanted the budget; we took action to secure a referendum; the referendum has been had; the budget has been approved by the people and we bow to their will.' But having hit the House of Commons in the face this time, by forcing them to dissolve, the Lords would acquire the right to hit them in the face the same way forever after with every annual budget. They could force what they call a referendum on any financial bill that should ever come up.

"Finally, my friends, don't forget that underneath all this fight over political difficulties, is the irrepressible issue I have pointed out with reference to those two posters. Men are out of employment, and what is the remedy? Shall it be protective tariff on imported goods, or shall it be taxation of land values? That is the underlying question. That is the gist of the budget. That is the question over which English and Scot and Irish are going to fight, radical against reactionary, democracy against privilege, until it is solved in the way the Liberals and the Labors propose to solve it." (Applause.)

CITY CLUB COMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE

THE PERKINS-URION CASE

On February 5, the Civil Service Committee of the City Club met for consideration of the proposed removal of Dwight H. Perkins, architect for the Board of Education. However, as no charges had at that time been filed, no action was taken except to appoint a sub-committee to keep the general committee informed from time to time as to the progress of the case. When, however, at a later meeting, held on February 19, it was brought to the attention of the committee that the trial board which would hear the charges against Mr. Perkins was a sub-committee of the Building and Grounds Committee of the Board of Education and that as members of that committee three members of the trial board had already gone on record against Mr. Perkins by voting in favor of asking for his resignation, it was decided that a letter should be sent to the Board of Education asking that the charges be heard by the entire board sitting in committee of the whole. Such a letter was drafted and on February 23 transmitted to President Urion of the Board of Education with the accompanying letter from Civic Secretary George E. Hooker:

February 23, 1910.

MR. ALFRED R. URION,
President Board of Education, Tribune Bldg., Chicago.

Dear Sir:—I beg to hand you herewith a communication to the president and members of the Board of Education from the Committee of the City Club of Chicago on Civil Service, approved by the Public Affairs Committee.

This committee action has been taken after careful and extended consideration of the subject and it is based upon an earnest desire on the part of our committee that the result reached in the Perkins case may be such as to receive public approval, conserve the interests of the Board of Education, do justice to Mr. Perkins and make for the merit system in public service.

In view of the public interest in the subject matter of this communication, it seems proper that after handing it to

you we should give copies to the press, and we, therefore, expect to do this.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) GEORGE E. HOOKER,

Civic Secretary.

The letter from the Civil Service Committee to the Board of Education was as follows:

February 22, 1910.

To the Honorable, the President and Members of the Board of Education, Chicago, Ill.:

Gentlemen:—The Committee on Civil Service of the City Club of Chicago is sensible of the importance to the public school system of Chicago of a prompt and conclusive determination of the charges brought and to be brought against School Architect Perkins. We believe the trial body of the board which will hear the evidence and pass upon these charges should be unhampered by any previous action, and so constituted that its decision, when rendered, will be accepted by the public as a just and final disposition of the matter.

It is our information that under ordinary circumstances the regular trial board (a sub-committee of the Buildings and Grounds Committee) would hear the charges against Architect Perkins and make a finding. We realize that this matter, and others of like character are, and should be, purely administrative, and be dealt with from a practical standpoint. It appears, however, that with one exception every member of this trial committee (as members of the Buildings and Grounds Committee) has already gone on record against Mr. Perkins, having voted in favor of directing the president of your honorable body to ask for his resignation.

Because of the natural embarrassment which would be felt by the members of the regular trial board in trying Mr. Perkins, under these circumstances, and further, in view of the widespread public interest attaching to the hearing and disposition of the charges, and inasmuch as the finding of the trial committee would in any event have to be approved by your entire board, we would

respectfully suggest that the charges against Mr. Perkins be heard by the entire Board of Education sitting as a trial board in committee of the whole.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) HARRY L. BIRD, *Chairman*,
FRANCIS X. BUSCH,
C. M. WILLIAMS,
JAMES S. HANDY,
WILLIAM E. RAFFERTY,
LLOYD C. WHITMAN,
JAMES M. BARNES,

Civil Service Committee of the City Club.

Approved by the Committee on Public Affairs:

(Signed) GEORGE E. HOOKER,
Civic Secretary.

Although this letter was transmitted to President Urion in ample time for presentation at the meeting of the Board of Education on the afternoon of February 23, it was not presented to the board. On subsequent inquiry from Mr. Hooker as to the reason why the letter was not given to the board, Mr. Urion gave no explanation. On the 25th of February, therefore, the Civil Service Committee of the City Club was again called together and the following letter of inquiry, signed by Mr. Handy, secretary of the committee, was sent to Mr. Urion:

February 25, 1910.

MR. ALFRED R. URION,
President Board of Education, Tribune Bldg., Chicago:

Dear Sir:—On the 23d instant, Mr. Hooker, the civic secretary of the City Club, forwarded to you a communication addressed to the president and members of the Board of Education, dated February 22, and signed by the members of the Civil Service Committee of the City Club. We are informed that it was not presented by you to the board and that upon Mr. Hooker's inquiry from you by telephone as to the reason why it was not so presented you gave no explanation in the matter. If there is any good reason why the communication should not have been submitted to the board, we would appreciate it if you would favor us with a prompt reply stating what this reason

was. I am making this inquiry at the request of the Civil Service Committee of the Club.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES S. HANDY,
Secretary City Club Committee on Civil Service.

This letter met with the following response:

February 28, 1910.

MR. JAMES S. HANDY,
Secretary City Club Committee on Civil Service.

Dear Sir:—I have before me your letter of the 25th, inquiring as to why Mr. Hooker's communication as the Civic Secretary of the City Club, forwarded to me on the 23d inst., was not recognized and presented to the Board of Education for consideration.

My answer is this: The Board of Education is made up of twenty-one members who are fair representative citizens of Chicago. They are in their own private undertakings capable and successful, as well as being men of wide affairs, all of which cannot be disputed. When this board feels itself incompetent or incapable of conducting the work with which it is charged without accepting the proffered aid and service of an organization self-constituted to regulate public affairs, it will resign, offering as a reason that it is an incompetent and unfit body to serve the purposes for which it was appointed.

Meantime, as an organization, the City Club cannot and will not be permitted, if I understand the status of the board correctly, to dominate the Board of Education's working plans, since, as a matter of fact, the City Club must be and is in entire ignorance of the things which the Board of Education is required to consider and meet in faithful observance of its duties and requirements.

Personally, I have regarded the several communications addressed to me by authorized representatives of the City Club as uncalled for, presumptuous and in some instances impertinent, if not, in fact, insulting.

Respectfully,
(Signed) ALFRED R. URION,
President.

Mr. Urion's letter was discussed at a meeting of the Civil Service Committee, held on the 3d instant, with the result that the following letter was sent by Mr. Hooker to Mr. Urion. Copies of all the correspondence in the matter were also sent to the press and to the other members of the Board of Education.

March 5, 1910.

MR. ALFRED R. URION,

President Board of Education, 839 E. 40th St., Chicago.

Dear Sir:—Yours of February 28 replying to letter of February 25 from the secretary of the City Club Committee on Civil Service, which letter inquired why that committee's communication of February 22 to the president and members of the Board of Education was not presented by you to that board, has been handed me for attention. Instead of directly answering the inquiry of the committee, you make certain general statements respecting the City Club which coming from the president of the educational system of the city, seem to be so out of place and so out of date that we do not feel privileged to entirely ignore them.

Your contention that the Board of Education, in deference to the success of its members in private life and to its official prestige, should be exempt from criticism or suggestion from bodies of citizens, is a denial of the recognized right of petition and savors of the doctrine of Lese Majeste. Moreover, the character of the communication of our committee to you and the board, actually couched as a "suggestion," makes it quite unnecessary to enter any disclaimer to your imputation to the City Club of a purpose "to dominate" the Board of Education.

As is generally known to those conversant with local municipal matters, the City Club, comprising about nine hundred members, was formed with the specific object of bringing together for effective purposes persons interested in practical methods of improving local public life and affairs. It has developed a system of committees whose definite business it is to consider public matters and subject to proper supervision by the directors of the club, make appropriate recommendations concerning those mat-

ters to the official authorities concerned. In aid of these objects the club conducts discussions by the ablest specialists to be secured and maintains a special collection of information and a special office staff. The Piper report on the police department, the report of Professor Merriam on the revenues of Chicago, the investigation of the former smoke bureau leading to its reorganization, the efforts of the club toward improving the telephone ordinance when pending, the comparative report of conditions in the Chicago public library furnishing the basis in data for the reorganization which there took place, are among the pieces of public work which the club has performed. Its committees have frequently made recommendations in writing or by delegations both to the state legislature and to local governing bodies.

The City Club rests upon the American notion that every citizen should, so far as possible, take an active and effective interest in public questions. In its work it endeavors to observe the same standards of thoroughness and disinterestedness which should be observed by persons occupying official positions. The club's existence and activities are a direct challenge to the sentiments expressed by you concerning voluntary bodies of citizens, and, except for your expressed opinions as president, we have no reason to believe that the members of the Board of Education as a body claim to be infallible in official action, notwithstanding their success in their private affairs, or that they resent respectful suggestions from the public. It has been our experience that broad-minded officials welcome, instead of deprecate, thoughtful suggestions from any honest source. The object of the communication from our committee—namely, to bring to the attention of the board the desirability of avoiding a hearing of the Perkins case before a tribunal which had, to a degree at least, already committed itself—is one the reasonableness of which seems obvious.

I am sending copies of the correspondence in this matter to the other members of the Board of Education and to the press. Very truly yours,

GEORGE E. HOOKER,

Civic Secretary.

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THE ENGLISH BUDGET BILL

On Wednesday, the 9th instant, was held the fourth general discussion before the City Club on the subject of English political conditions with special reference to the Lloyd-George budget. On October 22, 1909, Dr. Stanton Coit of London, spoke upon the "Present Political Outlook in England." Dr. Coit later stood for election to Parliament on the Labor ticket, but being in a conservative stronghold, he was defeated. Following Dr. Coit, on November 1, Mr. Richard McGhee of Belfast, formerly a member of Parliament, addressed the Club on the "Irish Question," with incidental reference to the English budget. Again, on March 5, Mr. Louis F. Post of Chicago, editor of the *Public*, discussed the "Recent British Elections," and on March 9, Mr. Joseph Fels spoke upon the "English Budget Bill." Both Mr. Post and Mr. Fels were in England during the recent agitation over the budget. Mr. Post took part in the Liberal campaign during the Parliamentary elections and Mr. Fels, assisted by his financial support and in other ways.

Mr. Fels, whose remarks are herewith printed, is the head of the Fels-Naptha Soap Company, of Philadelphia and London. He is an advocate of the doctrines of the single tax and for a long time has given his financial support to that movement. His contributions to this cause in England have been partially responsible for the strength of the movement in that country. Mr. Fels has also interested himself in other social movements, notably that for establishing labor colonies for the unemployed. In 1905, a colony was started at Hollesley Bay, England, on a tract of land covering some 1,300 acres, purchased by Mr. Fels. This colony is now being conducted by the British Government.

Mr. Fels was introduced by Mr. William B. Hale, Chairman of the City Club

Committee on Revenues, Expenditures and Accounting.

CHAIRMAN HALE: "I think you will all agree with me that one of the finest signs now-a-days is the number of men of wealth who are giving their time and energy to public affairs. Today, we have the pleasure of listening to a man who has, not only in this country, but abroad, given a great deal of his time and energy to the promotion of a subject in which he is very much interested—that of the single tax. I have the pleasure of introducing Mr. Joseph Fels."

Mr. Joseph Fels

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It is too bad indeed that a man who has made his money by the assistance of monopoly and special privilege should be introduced as a curiosity, especially when that man, having a little conscience left after some thirty-five years of rather strenuous monopoly-mongering, should have a change of heart and suddenly become half honest. When I say 'half honest,' I mean it, because I have not the courage as yet to become wholly honest. Nor do I set myself up on a pedestal where I might be commended for half honesty. But I may place myself upon a pedestal because there are so few other fellows who will come out and do the same thing. It may be that their consciences need sand-papering, or that they need one or two more jolts in the stock market, or something of that kind, to bring them to a sense of their cupidity.

"I have been asked to speak to the City Club upon a momentous situation which has just come about in Great Britain through the introduction and the passage by the House of Commons—perhaps still one of the most august political assemblages in the world—of the

British budget or finance bill. This is an event the like of which the world has never seen, but it was foreshadowed by a man whom I take to be the greatest in the past century. I speak, of course, of Henry George. For my part, I am interested in the British budget only to the extent of the land clauses, and those clauses are as follows:

"In the first place, the budget provides for the assessment of all the land in Great Britain, separate and distinct from all improvements, buildings and structures of whatever character on the land.

"It also provides for a small tax upon this land value. By land value I mean the average selling price of the land. This land tax amounts to no more than a half penny on the pound or one cent on five dollars. It is very small indeed, but a less tax could not be put on the land to insure a valuation. The valuation is what those interested in getting this land tax want. When the people of Great Britain come to know that which they have not known for over two hundred years—namely, what their land is worth—they will begin to feel that they should hang a few of the land thieves and run the balance of them out of the country. The way to run a thief of this sort out of the country is to tax him out of it.

"The third provision in the budget bill having connection with land reform is that providing for a twenty per cent tax on the unearned increment, to be calculated on the price of the land when it is sold, after deducting therefrom the price at which it has been valued. If a piece of land is worth a thousand pounds an acre at the time of the valuation, and a land-owning duke sells it for fifteen hundred pounds, the difference of five hundred pounds is divided into fifths and one-fifth goes to the government. That is to say, one-fifth of the unearned increment goes to the state. But those men who believe in the economic philosophy of Henry George attach but little importance to the unearned increment tax. It shunts the matter away from the main track. The valuation is what we are after.

"If, gentlemen, I speak more on those three particular portions of the budget,

it is because my life is bound up in the philosophy of Henry George, in the economic teachings of that great man. To my mind the only thing that is worth paper and ink in the budget so far as any lasting reform is concerned is the provision for a valuation of the land. Before Henry George was in England thirty years ago, Richard Cobden, that great leader of the free trade movement, the man who wiped out the corn law and who in the latter part of his life turned to land reform as a means of perpetuating free trade, had said, 'If we have free trade and have no reservoir from which to draw the means to provide for the wants of the government, we shall have discussions on the subject of tariff reform'—or as so aptly call it here, 'protection,' protection of the few to the ruination and starvation of the many. Before Richard Cobden, Winstanley, a poor preacher, brought the same thing forward, and such men as Patrick Dore have taught it in times gone by. It is not a new theory, the contention that the land belongs to all the people who give it value.

"As I say, my conscience having been wakened up a bit, I went to England some years ago to live for five or six months in the year, and over there I have spent a good deal of money in aid of land reform. This has given me the reputation of being a millionaire, even several times a millionaire, as some of the papers have stated. One paper in Providence, Rhode Island, called me a quadruple millionaire—and I gave the reporter two cigars for it. (Laughter.)

"The papers of this country are owned more or less by 'big business.' They report what big business tells them to. For, be it known that the editor of a paper may be really a reformer; he may be an honest man. It sometimes happens that editors of papers are honest men, astonishing as it may appear. It also happens that reporters are often honest men. Indeed, I think the majority of them are, especially when they have a steady job. And the pressmen, the typesetters and the other trade unionists are all fairly good fellows. But big business decides what shall go into the papers. Thus far I have not seen a dozen papers in America that have

printed English news as it occurred. It has been edited. I am calling your attention to the fact that the man who cuts up news in that way is a liar. He is unfit for ordinary civilized society. Having money, however, he is bowed down to and considered quite the thing.

"I say that the American papers have not been fair to English politics, and on the same principle English journalism is not fair to American events. We have had it reported that even the milliners' assistants in this country ride in their carriages, due to the 'protection' which this country gives—or, as they call it in Canada, 'N. P.'—national policy—and in England 'tariff reform.' It has been reported in England that tariff reform, if they had it there, would keep every man from want and would allow him to live in a house costing not less than \$65 a month. The Tory papers in England are responsible for that; but no more than the half-penny Dreadful, a red covered paper—their yellow journalism—for we have it there as we have it here. Yellow journalism originated in America, but some Englishmen who come over here occasionally imitate it. If you could frequently see the Manchester Guardian, the London Daily Chronicle, the London Daily News, the Morning Leader of London, or dozens of other papers published in the interest of land reform and free trade, you would get the facts. You do not get them now. The two countries are so closely linked in this matter of monopoly that you cannot well tell where the American begins and the Englishman ends, when we come to a monopoly in these papers. Besides, such papers have their news gatherers over there, and I am about as often called on in London by a reporter for the New York American as I am by a reporter for the Daily Mail.

"Eighteen months or two years ago there was a free trade congress in Great Britain, and a number of these gentlemen were very hotly in favor of free trade, with the same good reasons of others who now cry for protection; that is, for no reasons at all. They supposed they could maintain free trade in Great Britain without tapping the bottomless reservoir which must be tapped

before any country can have true free trade, and that is land values. An auxiliary committee or a half dozen men of that free trade congress put in their protest against advocating free trade without giving the reasons for it. One of these gentlemen is to my left today, Mr. Post. We did not even get in our resolution to the effect that free trade was doomed in England as it would be in every other country unless it was backed up by taxation on land values and on other special privileges. And I prophesy that unless we have the taxation of land values in Great Britain, we shall within ten years have your blessed—or cursed—'protection' there.

"But, mind you, we shall have the taxation of land values in Great Britain. The budget was introduced into the House of Commons to go through, and it is going or we will know the reason why. You may ask why I have anything to do with England. I have been asked over there. 'Why do you come over here and worry us?' To that I reply, 'I have come over here to worry you because in my own country I am a Democratic-Socialist-Republican, and over here I am a rank Tory-Socialist-Liberal—and I will stick to the flag until I die.' (Laughter.)

"That being the case, the only thing I have to do is to cultivate the Tory when he is in favor of the taxation of land values—but then he is no longer a Tory; and I have to hug the laboring man to my very heart when he begins to talk the taxation of land values—and all of them do, every blessed one; and the Liberal, who is the hesitating Democrat of this country, has been forced by the radical elements to line up with them.

"Necessarily the example of Great Britain has influenced the world, because, whatever the hog packers of Chicago or the lace makers of Lawrence, Massachusetts, or the rosin trust of the South, or any of the other monopolies may say, England still is the influential country of the world. Within the twelve months since this agitation started, she has been so much to the fore that she influenced every country, not excepting yours, in the same direction. Denmark will within ten years have some sort of a tax on land values. Sweden is going

very far toward it. Germany has a colony off the coast of China where there are no taxes except a land tax—and they are a happy people. I use the expression land value tax, because on the other side we know nothing about the term 'single tax.'

"You have exactly the same problems here as they have in Europe. I don't care where the single tax is brought into effect, whether it be in Kamschatka, Squedunk, Canada, South Wales or elsewhere, we want it. The world must have free trade. It cannot get free trade unless it taxes publicly manufactured or publicly created wealth for public purposes. You may call that Socialism or whatever else you choose. I call it Christianity.

"If you want to know what I am doing with my money, I will tell you, and I want you to match me. I am duplicating whatever money the land reformers in any country in the world will put up, to the extent of my swag—and I call it swag. But I want some of you Armours—I happen to think of Mr. Armour now because he makes soap—to begin to think that the mere making of money is not the last and the most important thing, but that the making of money without hurting somebody else is the last and most important thing for a business man to think of. We cannot get rich under present conditions without robbing somebody. I have done it, you are doing it, and I am still doing it; but I propose to spend the damnable money to wipe out the system by which I made it. If any of you have the courage to do the same thing, for God's sake let us cross hands.

"In conclusion, I would like to read you what business men in Great Britain say about the present budget. This was dated in September, 1909: 'The finance bill, now being discussed in Parliament, offers an important measure of freedom to the business men of the country. They have long felt and expressed the desire for relief from the growing burden of rates on business premises, factories, machinery and dwelling houses. To secure this, even in the slightest degree, a new basis of assessment is necessary; and by providing for the valuation of land apart from

the improvements made by private companies or individuals, the bill furnishes this basis. 'So far from inflicting any burden on enterprise or industry, a rate or tax on the value of land would afford them stimulus and encouragement. Production of raw materials and buildings, which, after all, is an essential preliminary of manufactures and commerce, requires the use of land in sufficient quantity and on fair terms. This is denied to it by our system of land tenure. Even a moderate rate or tax on the value of all lands, whether used or held idle, would incline the owners to meet the offers of those who desire to develop it. In this way such a tax would benefit the land owners themselves, and by increasing production would contribute to the prosperity of all classes in the country. We, therefore, commend this policy to business men in the hope that they will consider it in relation to their business interests, and support the demand for a consistent and uniform valuation and tax.'

"Gentlemen, this is now signed by almost a thousand men; but we wanted this for campaign purposes and we took a week to get sixty signatures. The first man who signed it was Lord Swaythling, the head of Samuel Montagu & Company, next to the largest private bankers in England. A banker is usually a monopolist, and does not sign things of that kind unless he thinks that way. The head of Samuel Montague & Company would not so sign it if he did not believe in it. Then comes the name of the brother of our good friend who is really now on the verge of the grave, Joseph Chamberlain. I refer to Arthur Chamberlain, head of one of the largest firms in his line in the world. Then come the names of Charles McLaren, chairman of the Metropolitan Railway Company in London; of Sir William Mather, the head of a large engineering and machinery works in Manchester; of Sir John Brunner, chairman of Brunner, Mond & Company, the largest manufacturers of caustic soda and chemicals in the world. And then comes a list of about three hundred more names. Do you think that merchants in London, business men, farmers and manufacturers of all kinds

are going to sign a thing like that unless they believe in it? Not much." (Applause.)

MR. GEORGE E. HOOKER: "I would like to ask if Mr. Fels will be good enough to state what are the most important objections to the budget—which may be regarded as the most serious and debatable objections."

MR. FELS: "The land clauses, because the whole Tory party is opposed to the land clauses. I know very little about the balance of the bill. I came here somewhat under false pretenses. I was going to ask Mr. Hooker to say that I would speak on the British budget with special reference to the land clauses. I live land reform, I sleep land reform, and I plan land reform. So if I say that the land clauses are the most important and receive more objection than any other, I think I would be well within the facts. Had there not been this tremendous agitation on the subject of land values, the Tories would have been in power today."

A MEMBER: "May I ask what would happen if the land tax were adopted, whether the other taxes would be abolished or whether they would continue? Would the land tax do away with the personal property tax?"

MR. FELS: "I do not believe in anything being taxed that is created by human hands. A house is made by human hands. The land is about the only thing I would tax. I would not tax the land, but I would tax the land values. The land is the only thing that cannot be enlarged, and it cannot be made way with. A rascal of a tenant, when he finishes with the land, cannot carry it away with him. When we put our tax on land values it cannot be shunted, but we can shunt any other kind of a tax easily. I think you have a few taxes here in Chicago which are shunted, but I will not mention what they are."

MR. SCHILLING: "I think the question that was just asked was what would happen in England if the land tax were adopted, whether the other taxes would be abolished or whether they would continue."

MR. FELS: "If there were a two and a half per cent tax on land values, I

believe that within five years four jobs would be running after three men instead of four men running after three jobs as now. There is a great difference. I believe you could do away with all the personal property taxation in Great Britain. Now the people who do the work pay the bills. I want the people who have the pleasure of paying the bills to be able to go to work."

MR. HEBERLING: "In your opinion, will taxation of the land values raise the standard of living of the common workers of the country, the ones who do the work, the toilers?"

MR. FELS: "I certainly do. I believe that if there were a good stiff tax on land values—and the right kind of valuation and the publication of all the assessments in Chicago—you would get people to begin to dig cellars all over this town, and you would want cellar diggers and stone masons and paper hangers and carpenters and ornamenters and decorators of every kind."

A MEMBER: "The Carnegie Steel Company is amply able to pay this tax on land which they occupy, but would each of their laborers be as able to pay for this increased tax on land which they occupy?"

MR. FELS: "Is it not a fact that every farmer and cottage owner would pay less than he does now? The gentleman who holds a deed to vacant land does not want to build or dig. He wants to use a carving knife on some other man. Mr. Carnegie is doing about as much to bankrupt towns as he knows how by giving his libraries. Mr. Carnegie has given libraries to many towns in this country, and has insisted that ten per cent of the cost of those libraries shall be spent in maintaining them. I know of several towns which cannot raise the ten per cent, although they have the library, and they have a contract—or Mr. Carnegie has it—to have those libraries maintained. It is not libraries we want of Mr. Carnegie. We want him to get off the backs of the men that enrich him."

MR. SCHILLING: "If you tax the land which Carnegie uses, would that cause the wages of his workmen to be decreased?"

MR. FELS: "You do not want to tax only the land on which the steel company has its plant; you must find out the land up in northern Michigan, Alaska or some place else from which they get their ore. If you should tax the land which contains the ore, the tax would force them to take out their ore as fast as possible. If you could force the land into use, even in your poor, poverty-stricken state of Illinois, you would force such a building revival that you could not find people enough to do your work. The same thing applies to the steel industry.

"I bought a little place twelve miles from London; I paid about \$22,500 for that four acres of ground with a house on it. When I came away I gave notice to the tax collector and then my taxes ceased. I was paying next to no taxes on the land, although I was paying a tax on the building and its contents. The capitalist is always protected while he is away."

MR. POST: "Is this true in respect of that last answer that at present there is no taxation, no imperial taxation, as it is called, on any land except a little left over from the old appraisement of two hundred years ago, but that there are local rates, meaning local taxes, which are assessed on property while it is occupied—as a rule on the tenant—and that when the property ceases to be occupied it does not have to pay even the local tax?"

MR. FELS: "That is right."

MR. POST: "And it does not pay any imperial tax at all with the exception of a little land that was valued a couple of hundred years ago?"

MR. FELS: "That is absolutely correct."

MR. L. J. QUINBY: "In regard to imperial taxes, it seems to me that if the land of England pays any of the imperial tax, it is doing more than the United States. The land of the United States, I think, is estimated at an approximate value of about \$60,000,000,000, and it does not pay one penny of taxes for the support of the federal government. What do you think it would do in the way of wages in the United States if the federal government took

part of that land value in the form of taxes?"

MR. FELS: "I would have to answer that by saying that you would have to deal with forty-six states in order to put that into operation, because there is such an enormous amount of jealousy between the states, although there is free trade between them. You would, therefore, have considerable difficulty. I think that state rights are becoming more and more sharply defined, and you are going to have more and more difficulty with the government which is planning a tax over the whole thing, although that would be the general way of doing it. You are not taxed to any great extent. A five per cent tax on all the land in Chicago irrespective of improvement would open the eyes of most of the people in Chicago to the fact that they had right here a bottomless pit of wealth from which the public could draw."

MR. MacCHESNEY: "One of the gentlemen here stated that the land paid no part of what he was pleased to call in England the imperial tax. As far as the land of this country pays its state taxes, it does pay the equivalent of part of the imperial taxes. In state taxes we are paying part of the governmental taxes. In some states the land has been relieved of it, but that is not so in Illinois, nor in most of our states. The land on an average, in a city of this kind, pays about 68 cents state tax, and about 55 cents on its real value in a city like Chicago."

MR. POST: Mr. Fels spoke of having personally undertaken to duplicate every dollar or every pound that is contributed to the promotion of this movement in the different countries. I think it might be gratifying to some of us to know to what extent that has been going on and in what countries funds have been raised in this manner."

MR. FELS: "About two years ago I proposed to the United League for the Taxation of Land Values in London—and the worst thing about it is its long name—that they should have a good editor to permeate the newspapers of Great Britain with this message that we have. They brought down a canny Scot—the Scotch-

men, you know, run England, England runs Ireland, and Ireland runs the United States—and he succeeded so well that we have now 175 or 200 papers that take our stuff. That so delighted me that I said, 'If you fellows will put up a thousand pounds before the first of January'—it was then along in November—I will duplicate it.' So those fellows went around and dug up the money in some way and accomplished it; and then I said, 'If you will put up £5,000 a year for five years to bring about this taxation of land values in England I will duplicate it.' So they said, 'Well, we will take you up,' and they did.

"I came over here in December, a year ago and I got hold of some men here and I said, 'If you will raise \$25,000 a year for five years, I will put up the same amount.' A number of these men—such men as Lincoln Steffen, Tom Johnson, Daniel Kiefer, of Cincinnati, Fred-eric C. Howe of Cleveland, George A. Briggs of Elkhart, Indiana—the only thing in Elkhart is Briggs—took me up and started to raise this amount. But they fell down. They found men who had plenty of money, but few with hands sufficiently unpalsied to sign checks for them. They reached the end of their

string when they had secured \$15,000. So I came around last December and started to swing around the circle with them. We went to Pittsburg, Buffalo, Detroit and Toronto. (The men were afraid to go to Toronto with me because the Canadians had already collected their money—\$5,000 a year for Ontario.) Now we have come to Chicago, and really our tongues are away up in the roofs of our mouths, while we are waiting for some one to put up that \$10,000 extra—and to do it quick, for I want to go home. Denmark has raised her share of the money already. They say from Denmark that if I will give them another \$15,000 there is a gentleman over there who will not give us his name, but who will give the same amount. Do you think I will let that man get away from me because I don't know his name? I will simply go down to Sprague Warner's, the wholesale grocer here, and sell them an extra couple of thousand boxes of Fels Naptha soap and make up the amount. France, Spain, South Australia and New Zealand and other countries have also joined the movement; wherever the English language is spoken, and also where some other languages are spoken."

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INDUSTRIAL JAPAN

On Saturday, March 19, Mr. Henry George, Jr., addressed the City Club on the subject of "Industrial Japan." Mr. George is a journalist and magazine writer, and last year took a trip around the world as a representative of *Collier's Weekly*, Japan being one of the countries visited on that trip. Mr. George is the son of Henry George, founder of the single tax movement, and in 1897, on the death of his father he became substitute candidate for his father for the office of mayor of New York City. Mr. George is the author of "A Life of Henry George" and "The Menace of Privilege."

Mr. George was introduced by Mr. Joseph W. Errant and spoke as follows:

Mr. Henry George, Jr.

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I am most appreciative of being here to-day, especially as this Japanese question is becoming a burning question in this country. I am amazed to find the notions of Japan that prevail among the thinking men of our country. I am more amazed that we should find our State Department carrying on, through diplomacy, the business of land-grabbing in the Orient. I propose to address myself, in the short time that I have, not only to the question of Japan itself, but to the question that is now interesting us in Manchuria where Japan has dominance.

"First of all, in understanding Japan it is necessary to go back a little bit in history. In fact, we must go a long way back, because the original Japanese was not the yellow man we think of to-day, but a white man. Japan consists of an archipelago of six hundred islands, only six of which, however, are large. The whole area of these islands could be put within our state of Montana. They run 2,500 miles along the Asiatic coast. We find that the Ainues or white men were originally in Hondo and the larger

islands. Remnants may now be seen in the island of Yezzo, which is north of Hondo. They are long-legged, hairy-bodied, obtruding-nosed, straight-eyed, wide-mouthed, and when washed, white-skinned men. Not only do we find remnants of a different civilization near the present Tokyo, but we find geographical names that do not belong to the stock of the Mongol's languages, but rather to the Aryan race. And the language now spoken among the Ainues, although these people are a mere remnant and somewhat barbarous at that, is, nevertheless, the language of the white man that we know. It is our language. It comes from the same root from which our language comes. It is supposed that when the river of humanity flowing out of Asia Minor, flowed eastward and filled India with the Hindus—who were white men too, notwithstanding the color of their skin—this same river must have sent some of its waves as far east as Hondo and some of the other islands of the modern empire of Japan.

"At any rate, the whole history of Japan, much of which may perhaps be fabulous, is filled with encounters between these Ainues, who were the original inhabitants, and the mixture of the Mongols or yellow people, and the Malaysians, or the brown men. It is perfectly certain that by intermarriage and concubinage we have as the present Japanese a composite of the white, yellow and brown races.

"During this thousand years' war against the white man or AINU, for the Japanese say that this great war did last for a thousand years, all sorts of military despotisms were set up and all sorts of military confusion existed. Out of that confusion came the erection of a kingdom, at last concentrated in Kioto. The Mikado, or the military chieftain, called the Shogun, became practical dictator, and in three hundred years established a feudalism very much like that

of Europe, although there is no direct reason to suppose that the Japanese had any communication whatever with Europe.

"Various military chieftains held this office of Shogun until at last came Ieyasu, the Augustus of Japan, the head of the house of Shoguns of Tokogowa. They came down in direct descent to the revolution in Japan in 1868, which marks the new era, our era, the age of Migi, as it is now called.

"This age really opened with the visit of Commodore Perry. Commodore Perry went there in 1853, not as peacefully as is generally represented, but with five men-of-war. Without asking permission, he sailed into Yeddo Bay, the modern Tokyo, and, after saluting the great king, as he took the Shogun to be, with a roar of his guns, he sent a boat ashore and asked for an audience. He said he had a message from the president of the United States, Millard Fillmore. He then proceeded to deliver this message together with certain presents from the president. He gave as presents a locomotive, some railroad tracks, telegraph instruments—the Morse instrument was then in use—and a great variety of mechanical contrivances to indicate the wonderful things that we could send to Japan in exchange for silks, ivories, teas, and other products that were the natural products of that country. He asked that a treaty of commerce be made between the two countries and that, as one of the privileges attaching to that treaty, the United States should have the right to establish on Japanese soil extra-territorial courts, but the Shogun was to have nothing to do with these.

"Over three hundred years before Ieyasu, during the reign of the great adventurer Hidiochi, the Portuguese, the great traders of the east at that time, had come to Japan and had been permitted to land. With them came their religion, for they brought their priests and made proselytes. Ieyasu discovered in this religion a growing power in the state which recognized the supremacy not of Japan but of an independent authority somewhere else in the world, which was placed above all the civil power of Japan. He thereupon set upon these Portuguese priests and their proselytes and killed them all and declared that Japan should be a closed country, not only to all foreigners but to all trade.

He decreed that the Japanese should not be permitted to build sea-going ships or to leave the shores of Japan unless by express permission of the Shogun. Even at the time of the revolution in 1868, this prohibition existed against all Europeans and Americans with the exception of a few Hollanders, who went over there with medicines and peace in their hands instead of with sword and the gun. When Perry came there with his five men-of-war, however, the Shogun had to hesitate. What could the poor man do with only junks for a navy and with only bows and arrows, spears and swords for his soldiers, as against the powder and lead of the invaders?

"Perry went away into other waters to let the Shogun think about this and returned in a few months with a larger fleet, nine war vessels. Then, in very polite and smooth language, he asked the Shogun what he proposed to do about it. The Shogun said that he would make such a treaty as the commodore asked. What else could he do? The treaty was made, and the Americans established their extra-territorial courts upon Japanese soil. In these courts any trader belonging to our nation, could be tried upon any charges that might be made by Japanese. Anybody who knows anything about the trade in a foreign country, knows that it is a species of brigandage; he knows very well that our men who come before the territorial courts are very largely not the kind of men who are engaged in commerce in our own country, for they have had a very short time of it. They are, however, the kind of men who will take long chances for the large prizes of trade.

"No sooner did England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain see the good things that these American traders had obtained—these traders had made fortunes in a very short time, for silks, ivories and all the wonders of Japan could be had for little or nothing—than they came crowding in with their fleets, asking the Shogun for similar treaties. When the Shogun refused them, they knocked a piece out of the city of Shiminosiki, which defended the island sea. Then the Shogun yielded. He could do nothing else. Similar treaties were made with these powers. Then the young Japanese, seeing there was no defense for them under the powers of the Shogun, realizing that three hundred years of peace had made impossible a defense

by the Shogun, called upon the young Mikado to leave his palace, his women, his luxury and his ease, and the seclusion where, like his ancestors, he was hidden away where profane eyes might not see.

"This young Mikado, at the pleadings of young men like Ito, who was recently assassinated at Harbin, and of other young men who had taken their lives into their hands, had gone to England and had acquired some of the foreign learning, left his palace and came out into the broad light of day. He promised these men a constitution, he promised them public schools and he promised to lead his people against the hairy barbarians—that is what they called us. Forthwith, a constitution, for the most part like that of Prussia, was established in Japan. Courts were established for trials under modern usages. Then Japan asked the powers to withdraw their territorial courts. They hung out for some time, but at last had to withdraw them, for Japan was then on the same basis as the United States, England, France and all the other powers. She had a constitution very much like our own; she had courts with usages similar to ours. If any offense were committed on her soil, the accused was subject to trial in the courts and to the ordinary rules of international diplomacy such as existed between other civilized powers.

"In the course of things, Japan established public schools after the American method—an American, Doctor David Murray, being invited to assume supervision of its educational system. To-day in Japan you will find the Americanized public schools where girls as well as boys receive instruction, this tuition being compulsory. You will find that English is a compulsory study. English is regarded as the great commercial language of the world, the language of the two great powers on the eastern side of the Pacific, the United States and Canada, and of that other great power, which must always more or less be their ally, England.

Thus, this revolutionary change was brought about. What? Not that the Japanese wanted to change their civilization, for no considerable number of them did. Only a few, like young Ito, desired a change of this sort. What drove the Japanese people to do those things which China is but slowly doing now, to arm themselves with modern

arms and to learn the ways of the foreigner, was the fear that in their little country dismemberment would occur, when these great powers descended with their fleets and with weapons far superior to anything which Japan, under the old feudalistic regime, could command. Consequently, they made up their minds to learn the knowledge of the outside world and no people ever took to the business of learning so eagerly and so thoroughly as did the Japanese, with all the tenacity of an insular people.

"In addition to that, these people have the blood of three races running in their veins, if there is any advantage in that, for no other nation on our planet has had the blood of the white man, the yellow man, and the brown man in their veins.

"The Japanese learned this business of the use of arms—they have compulsory service in the army—and they went up against the greatest power in the East—China—and in the war with this nation took Port Arthur and the Peninsula. They next prepared for meeting Russia, for Russia came upon the scene when the powers said Japan should not keep Port Arthur and the Peninsula. Why did Russia come in? It was a land grab. Kuropatkin has revealed the whole inner meaning of that war with Japan in the articles which he wrote in *McClure's Magazine* shortly after the war. There were great forests there and much land. The aristocracy of Russia wanted to keep their hands on that. Moreover, Russia, with its great empire of Siberia, had no outlet for its commerce except through Vladivostok—and that was sealed with ice during the greater portion of the year. So she drove the wedge down that Peninsula, got after Korea, the 'sick man of Asia,' and tried to isolate Japan. Then the Japanese saw they must take Korea away from Russia or sacrifice their national independence.

"As early as 1873, the Korean question came up as a vital issue before the people of Japan. A great man named Saito, a Satsuma man, coming from the same province as Ito,—a very remarkable man and minister of war—put before the cabinet and before the Mikado, the question of either taking Korea or establishing some sort of a protectorate there, his argument being, that while Japan had no right to interfere with the liberties of another nation, when those liberties could not be taken care of by

that nation itself and when that nation was so weak as to imperil Japan itself, Japan, as a matter of self-protection, had the right—and was bound to exercise it—of establishing some sort of a government over Korea which would strengthen its position. He urged that policy upon the young, rejuvenated nation of Japan, which, only five years before, had risen out of feudalism—had overthrown the Shogunate government and had re-established itself upon the new lines of the outside civilization. The government thought it unwise to accept this policy, for they said, 'We have just had a rebirth; we are too weak; we have no navy; we have no army to speak of. This would mean the interference of European nations with whom we can not possibly cope. Therefore we must not consider this.'

"But some of Saito's followers undertook to force the hand of the government and actually did send filibustering parties to precipitate a war with Korea or China, or with both. The imperial troops had to be sent against Saito and his followers. They were quickly wiped out, as they knew they would be. Saito committed 'hara-kiri,'—a form of Japanese suicide consisting of ripping the stomach open and having the head taken off with a sword by a friend—and the whole Satsuma rebellion, as it was called, came to an end.

"Then the Korean question arose again. China, Russia and Japan had, at one time or another, been dominant in Korea. It only remained for the Americans, the German or the French, with all these influences combined, to bring about trade confusion and to establish there some European power which some night could step across the sea and attack Japan itself. That, at any rate, was the fear. That, too, is the last thing that the Japanese will submit to. Every man in Japan will go to death rather than submit to it, every woman will die for Japan—for, as I said, they have the tenacity of an insular people. Japan today has her hands on Manchuria and Korea and won't let go. You may say what you please, she is there to stay. When the next conflict comes with Russia, as the Japanese expect it to come, between Harbin and Mukden there will be one million men on each side. The recent war will in no way compare with this contest that will be waged by one power for an outlet into the southern

waters and by another people for what they regard as their existence.

"Now you have heard a lot about industrial Japan, and I want to tell you about that, too, before I go on with this foreign policy of ours. When feudalism was overthrown, it was discovered that those who had the princely fortunes were comparatively poor men. The greatest fortunes in Japan some twenty-five years ago were not over 5,000,000 yen. The two greatest fortunes were 5,000,000 yen each—or about two and a half million dollars of our money. Today two fortunes are fifty million yen each. This increase in large fortunes is due partly to the expansion of legitimate trade, partly to legitimate production, such as factory work, partly to the securing of new markets for products, which had before been restricted; but the great increase in these fortunes has come from appropriative powers, from a large land ownership, which would not have been possible under the old regime. You will find they have bounties, and tariffs, and subsidies, and a hundred other things. Count Okuma has said that these things are not for the good of Japan, but for individuals. Okuma is the Thomas Jefferson of Japan. He is a very rich man. He got into the front line when these laws were being made. Although he became a very rich man, by getting in when the other fellows did, he has done much for Japan. He has founded a university. He is against bounties, subsidies and tariffs. He says that the Japanese can take care of themselves, that they have never before had a chance to do business with the outside world, but that now that they have a chance, they can show what they can do, because they have the right kind of a people and the natural conditions that will make them excel—and they will excel if there is anything like free competition.

"Okuma told me himself that Japan was most thankful to the United States for the great blessings coming from them to his country. But he was most unthankful and his country should also be for this tariff which was building up a wall all around them and which would bring back the old feudalism, which closed up Japan. What he wanted was freedom in trade. He believed that the Japanese could make certain manufactures, certain textiles and goods, certain kinds of machinery, certain kinds of

beverages, and could beat the world where they had freedom. But this tariff will put a wall about the country and impoverish the people. That is the problem, obviously.

"They have poverty in Japan now with all their modern industrialism. They have tariffs that are supposed to help the working man. They have subsidies that are supposed to help the shipping, and they have all manner of things that are intended to and do stimulate certain kinds of industries, but they are for the benefit of the few and not for the general masses. There is poverty in Japan that was unknown in the old feudal era. What about the rice grower in Japan, the man who tills the soil and has only a two-acre farm? What has modern civilization done for him? His children go to the modern public schools; he serves in the army; he can fight for Japan in any of its foreign squabbles and can give his life for it. But he gets only the poorest living. For five years he has submitted to a great tax to build ships against Russia, and now a special tax is being levied to prepare for another conflict with Russia.

"There is in Japan at present a movement against the landlords, very much as the people of Great Britain have had a conflict over the question of whether or not the great landlords shall pay some taxes and whether or not there shall be a fair valuation of the lands of Great Britain for purposes of taxation. Marquis Katsura, the prime minister of Japan, has introduced a bill into the Diet which was twice beaten and which twice went through the House of Representatives or popular chamber, and was twice beaten in the House of Peers—which is their House of Lords, and which, like the British House of Lords, is a house of landlords. Katsura has introduced two bills now, one of which remits some of the taxes borne by the now over-burdened rice-growers, and the other of which calls for a revaluation of the building lands of Japan—for it is in the cities that the great increase in land values in Japan has occurred. He proposes to get more revenue from that source and he proposes to direct that bill through the House of Peers notwithstanding the opposition of the landlords.

"Here you have a people who are going into Manchuria with their goods and selling them, who have gone in there in the past and who have had control of

certain railroad lines which they have taken away from Russia. The South Manchurian line goes from Port Arthur almost to Chen Chung and then connects with a short line with the Trans-Siberian route at Harbin. This South Manchurian railroad is equipped with American rails, American locomotives, American cars—including Pullmans—and, notwithstanding the talk about discrimination in the carriage of goods, I can say that as far as I know—and I tried to look into the matter—our merchants have generally just as good a chance as the Japanese merchants. There may be some favoritism in certain instances; that is one of the weaknesses of human nature and I suppose the enterprising gentlemen who run the railroad, try to give some advantages to their friends in South Manchuria. But our merchants do not adapt themselves to the conditions as do the Japanese merchants. A Japanese merchant will look around and find some other Japanese merchants who are sending things into Manchuria, and they will club together and take an entire car, in that way getting the carriage for a very small sum. But the American merchant who doesn't know about these conditions or is careless of them, sends his goods over there, loads them into a car, and, although they may fill only a part of the car he is charged for the whole car. Consequently up goes the cry about the discrimination against foreigners on the South Manchurian road.

"Certainly we of the United States have had trouble enough with these great railroad powers. Chicago especially has had its railroad troubles, being one of the great railroad centers of the world. Almost any man will admit, no matter who he is, that there are great difficulties in the railroad problem, and most men will admit that not only are these great difficulties but that the railroads constitute a menace to our state and federal politics.

"Large banking syndicates in this country are not only trying to get railroad franchises and to lend the money to those who want to promote railroad building in Manchuria and North China, but they are actually using the State Department of Washington to force them into this. Not only railroads, but interests for supplying water or electricity to cities and other privileged interests, including the very people who are now standing before the bar of the United

States, the Standard Oil group, are in the front rank of the grabbers in China to-day. What is Mr. Taft about, if he is so wise, if he is constitutionally the jurist that he is said to be, if he is a just man. Is he, then, asleep while Mr. Knox is actually forcing the other powers to give some place to the syndicates which have been making so much trouble in our own country? This would be all well enough if no revolution were brewing in China, but anybody who knows anything about the Far East, knows that is precisely the case.

"There are two great elements in China, warring against each other, which if left alone, will combine against all foreigners. One of these is the New China, —the China which has been influenced by the missionaries, by the teachings of the white men, the foreigners, by our civilization. China has sent to Japan tens of thousands of her picked young men to study the learning of the Japanese, to study the use of arms, to study the building of ships, to study the equipment in the machine shops, and these young men have gone back home, every one of them as a teacher. Thousands and tens of thousands of picked Chinese have come to the United States and to Europe and have taken back with them the learning of the West. With all the awakened ambition in a proud, serious, powerful, stable people like the Chinese, these people mean revolution. But beside these representatives of the newer China there are those who stand for the old civilization, who say of this new growth that you call the new world—'What is it? Nothing. These people were living in caves and wearing the skins of animals when we were a mighty, high race of men. We will have nothing to do with this new learning. We say China for the Chinese.' So they combine with the New Chinese who say, 'New China for the Chinese,' and together they face the foreigner. Who will be the first foreigners they will face? Naturally, those who have gone in for grabbing their railroad rights, for building waterworks, for bonding them for things they have not been consulted about. For it is their Manchus, it is their Mandarins, the officials with whom they have nothing to do, who have been grafting all the way from the top down to the bottom, and from the bottom up to the top again.

"What was Great Britain's experience in Egypt? Her Lombard street men

loaned money to the Khedive, who built palaces, who did a lot of things, but who spent the money. These Lombard street men said, 'We will have high interest; the interest ought to be high because of the risk. We will have every penny of it.' When the Khedive could not pay this interest, he compounded it and this debt, compounded and compounded, was at last refused payment. The Khedive himself was bankrupt; he could not raise the money from his people and, shame on England, she sent a fleet down to bombard Alexandria.

"Is that going to be our fate? Are we going to say that because Japan or any other power has a good thing in Asia, that we should have it, too; that although it may not be right, the other fellows are getting in and why shouldn't we? Is that to be our sentiment? A mighty high one, I must say! Shame on my country for such a policy! If she wants trade, let her go over there. If she wants commerce with the Orient, there is one way, a great way to get it, break down the tariff. If you don't want to break down the tariff, do what we did with Hawaii, establish reciprocity. Say to China, 'We will send our commodities into your country and if you will make them free of duty, you can send your goods and things into our country free of duty.' That will be free trade. That will bind the nations. That will start extensive commerce between the two countries and will give our merchants and everybody a chance. It will be helpful to our workmen, it will benefit our factories.

"While we build up our tariff, however, and, at the same time, build up antagonism, we are talking about promoting trade by sending out diplomats to Asia to get these concessions for our banking syndicates. I warn you, my countrymen, that if this thing is continued, we will have such conditions in Asia that the young men of this country will be sent there to be shot full of lead or to shoot others full of lead. It will mean nothing but trouble for us. It will be uncivilization instead of civilization. It will be foolhardy, it will be a crime! Japan is against that. I believe Japan wants to have trade with us. I believe that Japan is on the same general road to civilization that we are. All this talk about her bad morals in trade may react upon ourselves, for we were her teachers, and God knows that the men we sent

over there were not above suspicion." (Applause.)

MR. S. M. SINGLETON: "What is your opinion, Mr. George, of the theory which seems to be quite prevalent that Japan intends or is quite likely to force a war upon this country?"

MR. GEORGE: "I think that is all rubbish. Japan doesn't want a war with anybody on earth. She has her own troubles. She is simply crushed with debt. These two great wars have forced her into frightful debt and the most of the people are farmers and very poor farmers at that. There have been great demands upon the exchequer and upon the individuals of the nation for money to meet the great necessities, and the legitimate necessities of progress.

"There was fear in Japan of a conflict with the United States over the immigration problem, and if there had been anything like a general hammering up of Japanese in California and Oregon, I think there would have been a retaliation against Americans in Japan. That might have brought on a war, but there is no fear of a conflict to-day unless in the general confusion that is likely to arise soon in China, especially in Manchurian China, there should arise ill-feeling between the two countries to such an extent as to precipitate a war."

MR. SINGLETON: "Japan's preparation for war is made against Russia rather than against the United States?"

MR. GEORGE: "Entirely so. Besides, according to the offensive and defensive treaty between Japan and England, Japan is required to have a certain number of ships of certain capacity and power and modernness to be floating ready for service."

MR. W. S. SMITH, JR.: "Do you think that Japan has her eye on the Philippines with a view to taking them away from us?"

MR. GEORGE: "I think the Philippines constitute part of the natural archipelago of what is called the Japanese empire. Japan is an island nation; she loves the islands and would regard the Philippines as part of her own territory. Formosa, the southern point, you will remember, is very close to the Philippine group. But that Japan would undertake to engage in a war to get the Philippines would in my opinion be monstrous to suppose. The taking of Formosa from the Chinese after the Chinese war involved great problems to

Japan. I doubt if the outside world knew anything about it. Japan had to put two armies in the field, one in the north of Formosa and one in the south, to practically bring about a Roman peace. The island was filled with forests and an incorrigible people, who probably thought that they had a right to that part of the planet. The Japanese undertook to civilize them, and they used the same means of civilization that we used in the Philippines, that is, soldiers.

"Japan is not anxious to take the Philippines. She is not yet ready in Korea. In the south she has abandoned most of the fortifications around Port Arthur which Russia built at such a tremendous expense, and her line of defense will be in the north, where she is completing her railroad lines so as to be able to put one million men into the field. It is said that Russia has sent into the Vladivostok territory five million people since the Japanese war. I don't know whether that is true or not, but in traveling over the Trans-Siberian line, I did not see much goods—the kind of traffic that usually encumbers a railroad—but I did see men, women and children going west in trains that looked like excursion trains."

MR. J. W. STOCKWELL: "How do you suppose Japan would finance another war?"

MR. GEORGE: "That would be a very great problem for Japan, especially if she had the antagonism of the outside world. How could she place her bonds in the United States with a decided feeling against her? How could she place her bonds in Lombard street with a doubtful feeling existing? How could she place her bonds in France, if the money powers were all against her? There seems to be now a conspiracy—or an unfortunate attitude toward Japan, at any rate—that all over the world except in England, there is an adverse feeling toward Japan. It would almost seem that all these countries had great press agencies, which they were working very hard to create an adverse sentiment toward Japan."

MR. STOCKWELL: "Do you mean to include the United States in that?"

MR. GEORGE: "I certainly do."

PROF. J. PAUL GOODE: "Do you suppose there is an active press agency in the United States to stir up that animosity?"

MR. GEORGE: "It almost looks so

to me. One day Mr. Schiff comes out and astonishes everybody in a speech in New York and another day a statement given out at Washington appears in the press, saying that the great American interests are trying to get some of the good things in China, but are finding that Japan is opposing them. Let me tell you that Germany is opposing them, that France is opposing them and that Russia has been opposing them. Every one of these powers wants to get these good things."

MR. GEORGE E. HOOKER: "What is the explanation to be given for this widespread adverse feeling, of which you speak?"

MR. GEORGE: "I don't know. I think many people in the United States have seriously believed that the Japanese are out to get everything for Japan. They believe that the Japanese dislike the Occidentals. It has been said that no Occidental can understand the Oriental mind. That is bosh. The Oriental is a human being and governed by the ordinary rules of the human family. He is a little serious when he says, 'How do you do?' and a little serious when he says 'Good-bye,' but between those times he can laugh and talk like any other human being."

MR. CUMMINS: "How do the Japanese compare in their industrial organization and industrial efficiency with the United States?"

MR. GEORGE: "It is said that the Japanese will excel us at manufacturing and beat us at our own game because of their cheap labor. Nothing is farther from the truth than that. For instance, I went in the Osaka cotton mills and found Japanese men in charge, Japanese who had worked in the mills of South Carolina. These mills have been likened more to those of Carolina than to those of Massachusetts. I found they were making a very coarse web for the Manchurian trade, a kind of web that we do not pretend to make. It is too coarse for us, but it sells well in Manchuria.

"I found the place full of operatives. It was explained to me that this was because their people could not handle as many spindles as ours. I found that while wages were about one-fourth of those in South Carolina, their people could handle only one-fourth the number of spindles. It is not to be generally supposed that cheap labor means cheap

production. It is a fact proved all over the world, that high-priced labor is, in the end, the best labor for production."

PROFESSOR GOODE: "What do you think of the proposition that is sometimes advanced that the Chinese are intellectually superior to the Japanese?"

MR. GEORGE: "I think there are some differences, due chiefly to differences in geographical conditions. One has a people distributed over islands and the other over a vast continent. One has a great mass of people, the greater portion of which we know practically nothing about, with their various languages, and their various customs and with everything that makes for habits of inertia. It is a stationary nation, while, on the other hand, here is a quick, nervous people, living always apprehensively and knowing the danger of being in a position where their country may be attacked. Although they are an alert people, they are supposed to be inferior and superficial. I see nothing to indicate that. The one nation is still gazing at the remote past; the other is alive to the present."

MR. LOBDELL: "You spoke of the possibility of a revolution in China. Do you see any signs of it in the immediate future?"

MR. GEORGE: "Yes. I thought there was going to be one before I got out of the country."

MR. J. W. STOCKWELL: "In the makeup of the foreign population, especially in regard to China and Korea, is Japan entirely free from racial and religious feeling?"

MR. GEORGE: "No. Just as China has a contempt for the easily-changing Japanese, who have taken up the vagaries of this new civilization, so the Japanese have a contempt for the people who like the Chinese, will stay in the old rut in the fact of the obvious advantages of the new ideas and the new civilization. The religion, however, is very much the same; the feudalism and the great Chinese philosophy is the philosophy of ancient Japan."

MR. J. W. STOCKWELL: "I mean in a broader way, would she have an idea of the federation of these countries on account of religious feeling?"

MR. GEORGE: "Not on religious grounds. Such a federation might be brought about on political grounds to make a common defense against the foreigner."

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THE CALUMET DRAINAGE PROBLEM

Probably one of the most successful phases of Chicago's campaign in the interest of the public health has been the practical elimination of an impure water supply. The establishment of an adequate drainage system through the efforts of the Sanitary District has had a noteworthy effect in reducing the mortality from those diseases which are due primarily to water impurities. Statistics cited by Health Commissioner Evans, show a decreased typhoid mortality rate of from 175 per 100,000 in 1891 to 12 per 100,000 in 1909.

Only one part of the city now remains without fairly adequate facilities for the disposal of its sewage and, thus, for the protection of its water supply. The Calumet district lying at the southern end of Lake Michigan still empties its sewage into the lake, polluting the source of its water supply and endangering that territory served by the Sixty-eight street crib—including a considerable part of Hyde Park. The elimination of this source of danger is one of the very serious problems which now confronts those who are working for a healthier Chicago.

This situation is complicated by the fact that the purification of the water supply for the Calumet District is an interstate problem. The towns in the northwestern part of Indiana—Whiting, Hammond and others—which use the same water supply and which have a share in the responsibility for the present bad conditions, are quite as much concerned in the solution of the problem as is the City of Chicago. The fact, too, that this problem can not be satisfactorily and completely disposed of by either of the interested parties without the help of the other, increases the difficulties in the way of a solution. The situation calls for co-operation of

the most intelligent sort between the City of Chicago and the Indiana towns.

Two methods have been suggested for the improvement of the water supply of the Calumet District. One calls for the establishment of a purification plant which should remove the impurities in whole or in part before the sewage is discharged into the lake. The other contemplates the construction of a channel through the Sag valley which should connect with the main drainage canal of the Sanitary District and which should carry off the sewage of the Calumet region and free the lake entirely from this source of pollution. The Sanitary District is ready to proceed with the latter plan but it has been unable to get the proper authority from the Federal government for the diversion of sufficient water from the lake to operate the new canal.

The Calumet water question with especial reference to the question of whether or not the Federal government should issue a permit for the construction of the proposed Sag canal was discussed at a Saturday luncheon of the City Club on March 31st by Mr. George M. Wisner, Chief Engineer of the Sanitary District; Dr. W. A. Evans, Health Commissioner of the City of Chicago; Mr. Lawrence Becker, Mayor of Hammond, Indiana, and Mr. C. D. Hill, Chief Engineer of Sewers of Chicago. Among the guests were: Mr. H. E. Barnard, Chemist State Board of Health, Indianapolis; Mr. Edward Bartow, Director State Water Survey, Urbana, Ill.; Mr. Beaumont Parks, Mayor of Whiting, Indiana; Dr. A. J. Laner, Commissioner of Health, Whiting, Indiana; Mr. Thomas H. Rees, Major U. S. Corps of Engineers, Chicago; Dr. William D. Weiss, Health Commissioner, Hammond, Indiana, and

Mr. J. H. Brewster, Water Chemist, State Board of Health, Indianapolis, Ind. Mr. Henry J. Aaron of the City Club Committee on Water Drainage and Sewage presided.

Chairman Aaron: "The whole world is agreed on the proposition that the American Government accomplished at least one great task in Cuba: it cleaned up Havana harbor and thus worked a complete eradication of yellow fever. If I am correctly informed, we have yet to point to anything that the Federal Government has completely eradicated in our own country. I think the City Club can engage in no task that is of greater importance to Chicago and to this entire section than to agitate our own problem of lake pollution with its resultant disease and death. Fortunately we have with us to-day gentlemen who can speak with authority on the proposition. I take pleasure in introducing as the first speaker, Mr. George M. Wisner, Chief Engineer of the Sanitary District of Chicago." (Applause.)

Mr. George M. Wisner

"The advisability of digging the Calumet channel was not considered when the original drainage canal was planned and when finally, the law providing for it was passed; the canal was designed simply to take care of the Chicago river basin. Shortly after the work was started, however, it was suggested that some day a comprehensive plan for the drainage of the Calumet District would have to be worked out. The engineers in discussing the main drainage channel, which runs from the west fork of the Chicago River to the Desplaines River at Lockport and which was the largest channel of its size ever built, were rather uncertain as to how large a channel they should build. In order to be perfectly safe, they constructed the channel so that instead of being large enough to carry only ten thousand cubic feet—that is, about seventy-five thousand gallons—of water per second, it can carry fourteen thousand cubic feet; that is, it is to-day 40 per cent larger than was originally intended.

"As it has turned out, this change in design has been a very fortunate thing, for now if we are allowed to build the

Calumet channel as I think we will be some day we will be able to take care of the Calumet District in the most economical and efficient manner, for the reason that ten thousand cubic feet of water is all we need to take care of the sewage coming from the Chicago end. Eventually we can take care of four thousand more coming through the Sag valley and emptying into the present main channel.

"To those who are not familiar with the topography, I would call their attention to this map on the wall. The Calumet River, as you know, at South Chicago, empties into the lake at this place. One branch of it rises over along the lake shore in Indiana, and the other branch, the Little Calumet so-called—which is really the larger of the two branches—rises near the Michigan line. These rivers flow and empty into the lake. There is a low ridge between the Calumet River and the main channel of the drainage canal through which we can cut and reverse the Calumet River in practically the same way that the Chicago River has been reversed. In order to get action on this proposition Mayor Busse and President McCormick of the Sanitary District about a year ago appointed a commission of engineers consisting of Mr. C. D. Hill, Mr. W. S. McHarg, Mr. John Erieson and myself. As representatives of the City and the Sanitary District, we worked together on this problem of designing the waterways and taking care of the sewage of that part of Chicago south of Eighty-seventh street. Our commission made a report in which we advocated that a sewage disposal experimental plant should be built and intimated that the only proper solution as we saw it at that time was to reverse the Calumet River and to allow the sewers to empty into the canal beyond the regulating works, so that no sewage could get into the Calumet River, and also that if necessary there should be established purification works.

"The present population of the Calumet District in the State of Illinois is about 130,000, and in the State of Indiana about as much more—at least over 100,000. All of these people are at present sending their drainage either directly into the lake or into the Calu-

met River and thence into the lake. This pollution is emptying into the lake within two and one-half miles by air line from the Sixty-eighth street crib—or about four miles if you go around the breakwater. As you all know the population in the Calumet District is growing—and growing fast. The town of Gary has sprung up and will add to the pollution which is being poured into the lake.

“The Calumet River is somewhat similar to the Chicago River except that it is larger. At times there is practically no flow in it, the stream is almost stagnant. At other times, there is as much as 16,000 cubic feet of water per second flowing through it, with the current reaching two, three or four miles an hour. The great danger comes in this way: In the summer months the sewage and filth and waste from manufacturing concerns such as the steel company and the glucose company, one of which is located, I believe, right near the Indiana state line, empty their filth into a stagnant stream. It lays there and settles to the bottom, and then along comes a severe and heavy rainstorm and the filth is scoured out into the lake.

“That was the problem we had to solve. We could not take all of the water in the heavy discharge through the Sag canal, but we could take enough of it so that the river would not discharge sewage into the lake more than possibly nineteen or twenty days in the year. The domestic sewage would be placed in the canal beyond controlling works to be located at Blue Island. All the sewage would be collected, brought down and put through the controlling works or locks, so that it could not get into the river and go out into the lake if there were a heavy discharge. In ordinary times there would be enough water taken in to keep the current going in this direction.

“The Calumet River drains practically 830 square miles; of that amount about 455 square miles is in Indiana and, therefore, not under the jurisdiction of the Sanitary District of the State of Illinois, except through the Federal courts. The situation which I have just outlined is becoming very dangerous to the public health. The

water coming from the Sixty-eighth street crib is distributed in the City of Chicago; from the city engineer I understand part of it will go as far north as Thirty-ninth street and it is entirely possible for it to go farther. All of the residents of Chicago south of Thirty-ninth street are, therefore, apt to be drinking impure water on account of the pollution coming into Lake Michigan from the Calumet River. I am happy to say that from there north, Chicago and the suburbs are pretty well protected. At the present time there is no sewage going into the lake from the Calumet River north to the City of Evanston. The Sanitary District is building a channel which will prevent the sewage going into the lake as far north as Glencoe. As far as that part of Chicago north of Thirty-ninth street is concerned, therefore, your water supply is pretty well protected.

“Some few years ago there was a commission known as the International Waterways Commission appointed by President McKinley or President Roosevelt—I have forgotten which—to meet a similar commission of three appointed by the Canadian Government. The particular business of this commission was to decide upon the water rights of the lakes and the rivers between the Dominion of Canada and the United States and also, I believe, to go into some boundary questions, if necessary. They had very broad instructions. At that time, as you probably all remember, the propriety of drawing the water away from Niagara Falls and spoiling the scenery by using the water through water power plants was discussed. Part of the work of this commission was to say how much the Canadians should take and how much the power plants on the United States side should take. Incidentally, the Canadians brought up the point that if the United States took 10,000 feet through the Chicago drainage canal, they should be allowed additional water at the Falls. This commission finally reported, apportioning the water to be used for power purposes between the Canadians and the United States, and limiting the amount that each should take. They also limited in their recommendations the amount Chicago should take which was 10,000 cubic feet per

second. This was done without consulting the Sanitary District in any way as to how much would be required for the successful operation of the drainage canal.

"About that time we discovered that we wanted an extra four thousand cubic feet of water to take care of the Calumet situation and we applied for a permit. This was refused, the Secretary of War claiming he could not give us this except upon recommendation of the Chief of Engineers. The Chief of Engineers did not make such a recommendation, but on the other hand recommended that we should be limited to 10,000 cubic feet per second. Mr. Taft, at that time Secretary of War, agreed that a friendly suit should be started in the United States Court by which our rights should be determined. The Sanitary District claims the right to take the water from Lake Michigan for domestic purposes, particularly as Lake Michigan itself is lodged entirely in the United States. The Government, however, claims that the withdrawal of this water would lower the lakes from one to two inches. Undoubtedly it will lower the lakes somewhat but it will not keep on lowering them; it will lower the lakes to a certain point and then stop. We claim that the lowering of the lakes an inch will not affect navigation very much for the reason that the variation in one day is sometimes as much as two feet in the level of the lake, and in a period of years it has been known to vary as much as six feet. We insist that one inch is not enough to fight over.

"The district had assumed that there was no opposition to our taking 10,000 cubic feet. We were fighting for the 14,000 cubic feet and are still fighting for it. We assumed that the Government would not have any objections to our building the canal so long as we would say that pending the outcome of this suit, we would not take over 10,000 cubic feet. I think from conversations I have had with Major Rees that he saw no particular harm in it and reported favorably in regard to it. I also had a talk with General Marshall at one time—and he was favorable to it; Secretary Dickinson said he thought it would be all right—but when we applied for the permit there was a hitch.

It seems the Chief of Engineers thought we should go to Congress for the permit. Whether Congress would grant it or not, I do not know.

"There is a great deal of opposition to our taking this water. Why? Because if we take the water here, they don't have it at Niagara to generate power. They want all they can get for power purposes at that place. That would be the opposition that would develop to our taking water here for drainage purposes. That is about the status of the case at the present time.

"We are in hopes that we may be able to get the Secretary of War to change his mind and give us a permit to construct this channel. He has given us a permit to build the channel but he has not given us any permit to take the water from the lake. To build the channel without being able to take the water from the lake would not be a very wise proposition.

"The question may arise as to why this sewage may not be taken care of in some other way. There are two possible ways in which it may be taken care of; one is that which we have proposed, the other is by means of purification plants. That is one reason why the Sanitary District established what I think is the best experimental plant in the United States, to see if it is practicable to treat sewage in such a way that the effluent from the plant will be harmless. We are carrying on elaborate experiments. So far we have reached no conclusions except that, no matter what we do, our water supply will always be in danger if the effluent of a sewage disposal plant is allowed to pollute its source.

"We have a somewhat different problem from other cities in that respect. If we purify our sewage we must dump the effluent right back into our own drinking water; in most other towns, if they purify their sewage, they dump it into the river and the water supply of some other town and let them take care of it themselves. But here we are putting it right back on ourselves and we don't like it. We ought not to do it. Of course, if we are not allowed to build this channel, we will have to build purification works and do the best we can.

"I believe that, up to the time this question came up, the engineers of Chicago did not understand just what could be done with purification works. They had read what had been done in Europe and in other places and, by a great many laymen and engineers who had not looked into the subject, we were criticised for spending so much money for a drainage channel when we could have done so much better and cheaper by building purification plants. When we investigated the matter, however, we found that those gentlemen did not know what they were talking about, that the purification of the sewage was not enough to make it safe. The best purification to be obtained with a plant that is practicable—you can get one that would absolutely purify the sewage, but it would be so expensive as to make it absolutely impossible of use—is one that would take out about 80 per cent. of the impure matter. About 10 per cent. of the remainder would be harmless inorganic matter; the other 10 per cent. would be organic matter which is not harmless. What we have most to fear, however, is that no matter how big a plant we build, we can not make it so that it is not subject to misuse and abuse. The human element that enters into the problem must be considered. The plant may not always work right and then your damage is done. If we can drain this water away from us, however, and give it a chance to purify itself before it gets to another city that takes its water supply directly from the river, we will have removed the source of danger from Chicago; we will have accomplished what we are after and have secured results much more cheaply than would have been possible with any purification works that could be built.

"To illustrate: As nearly as we can figure, in 1922 it will cost the City of Chicago about \$80,000 more per year to operate a purification plant than to operate this so-called large and expensive channel we propose to build. Mr. Hill and all the prominent engineers in town, with whom I have talked, agree with me that the building of this channel is the only solution Chicago can make that will properly protect us.

"I doubt if the citizens of Chicago realize the importance of this subject.

Doctor Evans and a few others do, but the remainder of us do not think enough about it. We do not take sufficient care of ourselves, but when we get sick, we wonder why we were so neglectful. It would be absolutely criminal in my mind to admit this sewage into the lake after it has passed through septic tanks or through any of the various purification works that are in operation in other cities and which, though they require large sums for maintenance, are apt not to be in good working order at all times.

"The beauty of the scheme for building this channel is that it can be enlarged as the population of the district grows. At this time perhaps, we should build a channel large enough to take care of the population up to about 1922; we should then enlarge it to take care of the population up to 1942. We estimate that without any purification works, the drainage system, if it takes 14,000 cubic feet of water per second, is large enough to take care of the sewage of the population of Chicago up to 1942. By that time we will have to resort to a partial purification of the sewage, by that I mean that the effluent from the larger city that will be here in 1942, should not be dumped into the lake, but should be partially purified and then discharged into the channel. That is, if you take out half of the impurities, the polluted water is only half as bad as it was; with half of the impurities removed the same dilution will take care of twice as many people.

"The situation in Indiana is just as bad or worse than the situation in Chicago. The sewage discharge of the Indiana towns is almost at their intakes. I am informed by some of the reliable authorities that analyses of the water near the discharge of the sewer and also at the intake, have been made and that there were practically as many bacteria at the intakes as at the discharge of the sewers. Of course, these towns also affect the City of Chicago by draining into the Grand Calumet and into the Little Calumet. That water comes down into Illinois and discharges practically at our water intakes. As soon, therefore, as we remedy our own situation we will have to see that the Indiana towns do the same. I am glad

to say I do not think it will be necessary to force them because they seem to be very active and very anxious to do the best they can, if we will help ourselves. We are hardly in a position to ask them to do anything until we remedy this situation in the Calumet District. When we do, however, they will have to remedy their situation. I have seen newspaper clippings where they have been reported as saying that, as soon as we built the Sag canal, they would dump all of their sewage into the Calumet for us to take care of. We can not do this because by so much as we take care of the sewage of the people of Indiana, we reduce our capacity for taking care of that of Chicago. We would, therefore, have to insist upon Indiana taking care of its own sewage.

"If the Indiana towns discharge their sewage into the Grand Calumet—which they do—even if the drainage canal is built it will not help them much, in spite of the fact that there is some gentlemen in Hammond who says it would take care of it and create a very swift current in the Grand Calumet. It will not do it. Your sewage will simply lay there stagnant or else go into the lake at Indiana Harbor and get into your drinking supply just the same.

"It is proposed to cut a ditch through the Little Calumet so as to discharge the Little Calumet east of there into Lake Michigan. It seems to me that is a matter for very careful consideration as it would remove the pollution that comes into the Little Calumet beyond that, as far as possible away from our own drinking supply as well as from that of Hammond, Whiting, South Chicago, and these other neighboring cities." (Applause.)

Doctor W. A. Evans

"Ordinarily the measure of the purity of the water of a city is held to be its typhoid rate. The Chicago typhoid rate was at its maximum in 1891 when it was 175 per hundred thousand. It has fallen until in 1907 it was eighteen, in 1908 it was sixteen, in 1909 it was twelve, and we trust that in 1910 it is going under ten. We had 268 people die from typhoid last year; 228 would be ten per hundred thousand. That is forty less than we had last year, and up to today at noon we were forty-one ahead of the

record of last year, so if we can hold our own in the two months that are left, we will get our death rate from typhoid below ten this year.

"Mr. McClure, before the Association of Commerce a few weeks ago, told of having been in Berlin for a week or two during which no death from typhoid occurred. That was very much to the credit of Berlin. During the week, however, that ended at noon today we have just had one death that resulted from typhoid fever, so we are getting kind of 'Berlinlike' anyhow. When we get under ten we begin to get into the group of well-regulated and well-governed European cities and decidedly out of the American group of cities as viewed by this standard. The standard is, of course, only approximately correct. There are other things that result from bad water beside typhoid fever and there are also other means by which typhoid fever is spread beside water. In Chicago, we have water-borne typhoid, milk-borne typhoid, fly-borne typhoid, contact and carrier cases of typhoid; so you see it is not altogether accurate to gauge a city's water supply by its typhoid rate. It is, however, probably the most accurate gauge that we have.

"This low death rate from typhoid is, of course, a very desirable condition and a very decided improvement over the conditions that prevailed about twenty years ago and yet it is not anywhere nearly as good as it should be. There are cities that are so well governed and in which the protection of the water supply and the disposal of the sewage is so intelligent, complete and thorough, that their typhoid rate is only two, three, and up to six. We won't be right until we have lowered our own rate that far, rather than stopping at the ten that represents our present position. We are not justified at all in stopping until we have improved conditions far and away beyond what they now are.

"But this is not a thing that takes care of itself. The only freedom from typhoid any community can have is the freedom that that community earns. As Mr. Wisner has told you when the scheme of sewage disposal was laid out there was no Calumet District—or rather that district was uninhabited. At the present time there are approxi-

mately 200,000 people whose sewage untreated is going into Lake Michigan. Now 200,000 people constitute a pretty good sized city; there are many cities that would like to have themselves regarded as having 200,000 inhabitants. We are priding ourselves upon caring for our sewage; we have a right to do so, but let us not forget the fact that 200,000 of our people—and I say **our** people because if this contagion of annexation continues we will capture the lot down across the line—are pouring their sewage into Lake Michigan.

“Now let us see what is resulting from that. Let us take Whiting, for instance. The typhoid death rate in Whiting should not materially differ from the typhoid death rate in the City of Chicago. That city has approximately the same milk supply, the same climatic influences, the same type of people as Chicago. The thing that is markedly different is the water. We have preserved the great bulk of that portion of our shore from which we take water against pollution; Whiting has not done so. Last year we had a death rate of twelve and they had, let us say, around 250—that is about the rate that prevails in that group of towns that are located in the northwest corner of Indiana.

“We have, as has been said here today, about 100,000 people who are not situated so very differently from that group of people. Somewhere about Forty-fifth street is the line between the water supply from the Sixty-eighth street crib and that from the cribs farther north. Whenever the wind is just right, the sewage is blown directly from the mouth of the Calumet River, from the sewer outfalls of Whiting and Hammond and East Chicago from the glucose sewer out-falls in or near Robertsdale, and from the dumping grounds to the Sixty-eighth street intake. So our water is not at all as free from sewage as it should be. A flow of four miles in Lake Michigan at the rate of travel that Lake Michigan currents move is not sufficient to serve to purify that sewage. The contamination of various kinds that is poured into Lake Michigan at the mouth of the Calumet River will not be purified of typhoid and other dis-

ease producing bacteria in flowing to the Sixty-eighth street intake.

“Not only that, but we are building another intake down there. There is no part of the City of Chicago that is growing as rapidly as the Calumet Region. In all probability the secondary intake that is now being built off of Sixty-eighth street, before very long will have to be supplemented by still other intakes. This question is a question of shore pollution and all down in here our shore waters are polluted. The general body of water from seven to ten miles away from the shore line and the water that is fifty of sixty feet deep is not polluted and can be used with safety; but the district south of Seventy-first street over to a point about ten miles east of Indiana Harbor is a district in which all of the shore water is polluted and will be polluted until there is a comprehensive effort for its prevention.

“Just what the remedy is going to be I do not know, but there is nothing that is receiving more of public interest than this question. We have with us here today not only representatives of the State of Illinois but representatives of the State of Indiana and of those cities whose people are suffering most from this pollution. I am sure that some solution to the problem will be found. The solution that has been suggested for the Illinois territory has been set forth by Mr. Wisner. He has told us that it will be easy to find some way for caring for the Indiana sewage, and I do not doubt that this is so. I am sure that a way will be found to take care of the sewage problem in its entirety in that part of the lake shore that is developing more rapidly than any other part, namely that at the foot of the lake.

“This, gentlemen, is a question that is of the greatest importance. I have no doubt whatsoever, but that this situation is interfering with the material prosperity of the town of Hammond, of Whiting, of Indiana Harbor and of East Chicago. These towns are not growing as rapidly as would be the case if there were greater security in this water proposition. I feel quite certain that, when they have solved the question of a pure water supply down there and have raised their

datum so as to get better surface drainage than they now have, that part of the Chicago district will develop as rapidly and as completely as the balance of the Chicago district has already done." (Applause.)

Mr. Lawrence Becker of Hammond, Ind. was next introduced.

Mayor Lawrence Becker

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I can only say that we are willing to co-operate with the City of Chicago in any undertaking of this kind. We are waiting on the City of Chicago. Whenever the City of Chicago ceases to dump its sewage into Lake Michigan by way of the Grand Calumet River, the City of Chicago has the power within its hands then to enjoin us from continuing to pollute the lake. There is no sense in the cities along the Indiana shore line going ahead at this time while the City of Chicago is dumping ten times as much sewage in the lake as the district in Indiana. Of course, our sewage goes with yours into the Grand Calumet and empties at South Chicago, just as the sewage does from South Chicago and the district that is drained by the Grand Calumet River.

"The Federal Government, we are informed, has refused the permit to the Sanitary District to build the Sag canal. Any influence that we can bring to bear to co-operate with your representatives in Congress we shall certainly exercise. We shall certainly request our Congressmen and our Senators to support any effort in this line on the part of the City of Chicago and to co-operate with your Senators and your Congressmen so that we may have this channel built. If we are not permitted to dump our sewage even after you build the Sag channel, we are willing to treat it. The drainage will be that way, however.

"The trouble with our American municipalities is that they are crippled and bound hand and foot. Comparisons are made with European municipalities. European municipalities have limited power, so to speak. When they want to do a thing in Europe, they do it; but here you must look up your charter and your state constitution and see what are your powers to raise money, to go in debt, etc. The Ameri-

can has a notion in his head that the municipality should be nothing but a policeman. Europe is ahead of us because its municipalities have charters running back four or five hundred years and are practically states within themselves with unlimited powers. They can even start banks or build tenement houses. Here you must first consult your law books and see what your powers are and find out what you can do, and there stands the great constitutional limitation on going into debt over 2 per cent. The tax dodger sees that his property gets in at about 10 per cent. instead of 100 per cent., so the valuation of your city is usually about 10 per cent. of what it ought to be. The municipality can therefore issue bonds on 2 per cent. of that 10 per cent. of the real valuation of property in this country. Then we wonder why the American municipalities do not progress; why American governments do not do something to protect their cities. We go to the legislature and pass laws as to what the board of health and the different departments of the city government shall do and then we absolutely deny them the right to raise a dollar to carry out those laws. We have one in Indiana at this time, a very good one, passed at the last session of the legislature and recommended by our state board of health; but when it comes to getting the money to make it effective that is another proposition; there is no provision for it excepting by special assessment.

"The district down in our part of the country is going to fill up rapidly and there is going to be a teeming population there. It is going to be a difficult problem to take care of this matter of preventing the pollution of our water, but your solution will be our solution. When you get this Sag canal and cease to drain from the south part of your city through the Calumet, we will be safe. Our water supply will not be safe until you solve the problem for yourselves, but when you solve it you will have solved it for us, for I have said you can go into the Federal Courts and enjoin us from polluting your water supply." (Applause.)

Mr. C. D. Hill, Chief Engineer of

Sewers of the City of Chicago was the last speaker.

Mr. C. D. Hill

"In 1882 I was employed in a minor capacity by the Federal Government in connection with the survey of the Hennepin Canal which was supposed to bring the grain products of the northwest to the Great Lakes. As we proceeded with our work, crossed over the divide and reached the Rock River, we discovered a chain of swamps and marshes leading to a point on the Mississippi River near Clinton. We all thought we had struck the best possible route to reach the river at the highest point; there would be no locks from the Rock Island River to the Mississippi except at Rock Island. However, we were called back to the Rock River and we then ran a line down the Rock River and struck the Mississippi River below Rock Island. At Rock Island, you know, there are quite important rapids in the river. It was decided to build the canal along the latter line. At that time those of us who were engineers were quite certain that the other route was the better one. I still think so.

"The year afterwards the engineer officer located at Chicago, made a report as to the Chicago end. He looked the country over here and decided that the best route for the canal was the Sag valley and the Calumet River. Immediately there was a good deal of commotion in Chicago. The Calumet River was outside of the city limits. While it probably was not of significance, the engineer officer had his station changed the next year. I have always thought that the engineer officer was right and that if we are ever going to have a commercial canal, the Sag valley is the proper place for it, and I believe so today. While I can not quote the present engineer officer, I think many of his predecessors agreed that the Sag Valley would be the proper route if we were to have a commercial canal. I believe that if the commerce of this country ever develops along the waterway from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, a great deal of it will be carried through the Calumet River, by way of the Sag, instead of by the Chicago River.

"But even if we were never to have a commercial waterway, if we were to abandon waterways for the carrying of freight, I still believe there would be a canal built through the Sag Valley for the purpose of sanitation. I have had occasion to make a study of the Calumet District in connection with these questions for a long time, and I never could free my mind from the suggestion that a canal should and will be built through the Sag Valley. It really is not possible for me to plan out any system for disposing of the sewage of the Calumet District without including in my mind as one of its elements a canal through the Sag Valley.

"I am quite aware that the statement has been made that the problem can be solved otherwise. That statement has been made by Mr. Hering, whom I consider the greatest authority on sanitation in this country. Mr. Hering wrote a report on this subject showing how the problem could be solved by filtration; that it was not necessary to build a canal. That report, however, was called forth by a letter of instructions which directed him to report on some method other than dilution. He was compelled to omit from his calculations the method of dilution; he was not permitted to refer to the construction of a canal as the means of solving the problem. Of course, if the canal can not be built, we can solve the problem after a fashion, but not in a very satisfactory manner.

"Mr. Hering made a later report to the Sanitary District in which his instructions were to go into the matter thoroughly, not to leave out anything, to consider all methods. In that report he decided that the best and cheapest method was to build a canal. I do not think it is worth while to consider very much which method is the better because I made up my mind some time ago that we are going to have both and it is only a question which we will have first. If you should adopt the filtration method, you would find that your effluent was not as satisfactory as was desired. You would find the population growing year after year and the effluent becoming poorer. Very likely you would find that the persons in charge of the care and maintenance of these works would not be doing their duty

any better than other persons are doing their duty in charge of other works relating to public health and public safety.

"It is perhaps the fault of American municipalities and of American citizens that such work is not done as well as it ought to be; but it is a fact which must be taken into consideration. It is quite likely that the effluent from such works would endanger our health. Even if we build the filtration works at first, I am satisfied in my mind that eventually the canal will have to be built to help out. On the other hand, if we build the canal first it may provide for our needs for twenty or thirty years. Mr. Wisner has told you it will last until 1942 if the Government gives us the additional 4,000 feet that we desire, but at any rate the time is coming when Chicago will have more than 5,000,000 people—it is impossible to say what the limit will be. But whether it is in ten years or fifteen years or fifty years, the time is coming when the canal method and the dilution of sewage will not suffice, and when public sentiment will not consent to raw sewage being discharged in any waterway. Filtration will then become necessary. When that time comes we will have to use both methods, but at the present time we really do not know enough about filtration methods to be absolutely certain just what we want to do.

"We do not know where we are going to get the money to put the filtration plan into effect; we do not know where we are going to get the power with which to proceed. On the other hand, we do know that a canal will give us immediate relief; we know where we want to build it; we know how we can get the money; all we do not know is whether the Federal Government will issue us a permit or not. It seems to me that we should get that permit; we should ask for it; we have asked for it; we should keep on asking for it, and, if necessary, if we can not do otherwise, I think we should go ahead without the permit for the canal must be built." (Applause.)

The meeting being thrown open for general discussion, Major Rees, United States Engineer at Chicago, was called

upon by the chairman for a few remarks:

Major Thomas H. Rees: "I do not know that I have anything particular to say on this matter except to state that what Mr. Wisner told you as to my position in the matter, when I was called upon to report about the Sag channel, was practically correct—although I was not called upon to consider it from the light in which Chicago looks upon it. I had to report simply upon its effect upon navigation which is all that my office is supposed to take into consideration. Of course, all these other subjects came up in connection with it and, in reporting upon the matter, I stated that I could not see that, if it were conceded that Chicago should be allowed to take 10,000 cubic feet per second from the lake, there would be any objection to a portion of it being taken through the Sag channel, the limit of 10,000 cubic feet per second being applied to the total outflow from all the outlets which might be made. But, in the offices of the chief of engineers and of the Secretary of War, it was considered that the War Department was not authorized to permit any increased diversion of water from Lake Michigan without having some sanction from Congress. For that reason, I believe, the permit to divert any more water from Lake Michigan than is now being taken through the main drainage canal was denied. I was personally very sorry to see that interpretation put upon it because I would have been very glad to see the channel go through and the very necessary relief offered to the communities around the City of Chicago in this matter of their sewage disposal." (Applause.)

Mayor Becker: "Major Rees, what is there to this argument about the lake level being lowered?"

Major Rees: "That is the entire point of objection of the United States to the diversion of the water. I think there is no question among engineers as to the fact that the lake level will be lowered in proportion to the amount of water which is diverted through other than the present outlets. The estimated rate of lowering the lake level is about one-tenth of a foot for every 2,000 cubic feet per second that is taken

out of the lakes. It would take from four to five years to complete that lowering. The entire effects would probably not be reached for about four or five years, and then the lowering would cease at that resulting level."

Mayor Beaumont Parks (of Whiting): "Is it possible, Major Rees, to in any way determine absolutely whether the taking of the water from the lakes through the drainage canal does lower the lake?"

Major Rees: "I do not think it would be practicable, because the fluctuations of the lake are such through natural causes that you can never tell what it would have been if there had been no diversion."

Mayor Parks: "Are not the variations in evaporation sufficient?"

Major Rees: "Yes, variations in evaporation and variations in the rainfall. The resultant is a constantly varying level of the lakes."

Mayor Parks: "In a dry year the evaporation is greater?"

Major Rees: "Yes, and the supply is less and the lake level falls."

Mayor Parks: "And the lake will vary more from that reason that it would from several drainage canals?"

Major Rees: "Yes."

Mayor Parks: "So then it would be practically a physical impossibility ever to determine whether this canal damaged navigation or not?"

Major Rees: "No, it is a practical impossibility to measure it accurately."

Mayor Parks: "It is a splendid theoretical problem?"

Major Rees: "I do not think there is any doubt among those who have studied it that it will have that effect; that is, the diversion of water will cause a lowering of the lake below the level that it would have reached if there had been no diversion."

Mayor Parks: "But still it is a problem for which you can never have an absolute determination?"

Major Rees: "You will never measure it absolutely."

Mayor Becker: "How about the water that goes through the Soo Canal? If you let water escape down here, you don't have to let it go up there."

Major Rees: "It goes out through the Straits of Mackinaw into Lake Huron and thence through Lake Huron to

the Detroit River and into Lake Erie and so on."

Mayor Becker: "Isn't there a channel up there through which the water goes in a northeasterly direction?"

Major Rees: "It goes through the Straits of Mackinaw into Lake Huron."

Mayor Becker: "I thought there was a lock up there?"

Major Rees: "That is from Lake Superior into Lake Huron through the St. Mary's River. That has nothing to do with this question at all. It is another tributary, with a difference of level of over twenty feet between Lake Superior and Lake Huron."

The Chairman: "I would like to ask the Major if there is any evidence of opposition to the proposed scheme of diversion of water here from the water-power interests at Niagara Falls?"

Major Rees: "I am not personally aware of any, but I have no doubt that there is."

Mr. Wisner: "Before the meetings of the International Board of Waterways, there was considerable opposition, particularly on the part of the Canadians and the Canadian Government, to our taking water here. They finally compromised and agreed to recommend that we be allowed to take 10,000 cubic feet. That is what we are asking to take at this time."

"There is one point which Mayor Becker suggested that I would like to bring out. It is entirely possible for the Government to overcome any lowering effects that the drainage canal will have upon the Great Lakes. Two methods have been suggested; I think either or both of them should be used. One was to control the water supply of Lake Superior, to hold it back in the winter time when there is no navigation and to let it out in the summer time, to use it as sort of a storage reservoir to counteract the effect of drawing water here. Another suggested method is to build a submerged dam across the mouth of the Niagara River somewhere below Buffalo and raise the level of Lake Erie about three feet. That would accomplish the same thing as dredging the harbors and would add three feet of water to the navigable depths of Lake Erie where they are very much needed. That would raise Lake Clair two feet and Lake Huron

one foot. In that way any effect that the drawing away of the water here has can be remedied by the building of these dams at a comparatively small expense. I doubt if the whole project would cost over a million dollars. The estimate for deepening the lakes one foot is more than that, is it not, Major Rees?"

Major Rees: "Yes, if you deepen all harbors and channels."

Mr. Wisner: "If you should deepen all harbors and channels by dredging, it would cost over a million dollars a foot; whereas, if we build this dam at Niagara Falls and use Lake Superior as a storage reservoir, you can accomplish the whole thing for less money and get more depth."

Major Rees: "That would not satisfy the power interests at Niagara Falls, however."

Mr. Wisner: "It might not satisfy them, but I do not see how it would affect them particularly, if they are not to be allowed to draw any more water and the scenic value of the falls is to be preserved."

Mr. Francis T. Simmons: "Has it ever been shown in the contention of the interests at Niagara that the operation of the drainage canal has in any appreciable way affected them?"

Mr. Wisner: "It has not and it would not affect them until they should

reach a point where they would draw all the water coming down the Niagara River through the power plants. Then the ten thousand feet which we take and which would have gone that way would affect them. But the fact has been brought home to them that they are taking the water away and spoiling the falls and that in a short time there will be no falls there except in high water. The rest of the time you can walk across the falls any time you like to. They say we should not be allowed to take this water, but that we should allow this water to go around where they might take it and use it for power purposes. They say it is of more value there for water power purposes than it is here for the health of one-thirty-fifth of the population of the United States."

Mr. Simmons: "Are they a very strong force now in this contention?"

Mr. Wisner: "They are a very strong force."

"One other point I would like to bring out is that probably some opposition will develop to the United States digging a deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. That would take commerce from that end. In order to meet that they would need the amount of water we propose to take in order to get a navigable channel in the true sense of the word."

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RELATION OF THE SOILS OF ILLINOIS TO THE PROSPERTIY OF THE STATE

At a luncheon of the City Club on Friday, the 8th instant, Professor Cyril G. Hopkins, head of the Department of Agronomy at the University of Illinois, spoke upon the subject of "The Relation of the Soils of Illinois to the Prosperity of the State." Professor Hopkins' address emphasized the importance of the conservation of America's soil which constitutes its greatest natural resource. He criticized the attitude of mind which regards this resource as practically inexhaustible and charged the Federal Bureau of Soils with a part of the responsibility for the prevalence of this idea. He made an especially earnest plea for the conservation of our phosphate deposits as an essential element of fertility.

Mr. George E. Dawson, introduced the speaker as follows:

CHAIRMAN DAWSON: "If you have been impressed as I have been with what has appeared in the papers for the last two years, it is surely quite apparent to you that there is a real movement back to the land. Jokes have been made about this, in the papers, of course, but I think this spring will see a tide of people going to the land in all directions—in the West particularly—such as has never been before.

"In the good old times every man thought he could run a farm. That period has passed and now it is generally received as undoubted truth that a man, to run a farm properly and as it should be run must have some instruction. He must be prepared for his work just as he would be prepared for any other business. I think that this point is now pretty generally understood, although perhaps not acted upon throughout our state as fully as it should be. The matter of soils and of the peculiar qualities of soils in different counties of the state has not received much attention from the people generally. We are very fortunate today in being able to have an exposition of that matter. Professor Cyril G. Hopkins of the University of Illinois, will speak upon the question of "The Relation of the Soils of Illinois to the Prosperity of the State."

Professor Cyril G. Hopkins

"The greatest study of mankind is not Man, but the principles upon whose comprehension and application depends the preservation of Man's prosperity and civilization. American civilization is not the cause but the product of American prosperity, and thus far the prosperity of this nation is due to our

conquest of the former inhabitants and of the uninhabited wilds, and to the consequent acquisition of the great natural resources of this country, including, primarily, vast areas of rich virgin soil and secondarily, immense supplies of timber, coal, and iron. But the great material problem of the United States is not in the preservation of the forests, not in the conservation of our coal and iron, not in the development of the waterways, important as these all are; the problem that is incomparably greater than all of these is to bring about the adoption of systems of farming that will restore, increase, and permanently maintain the productive power of American soils. The solution of this problem not only deserves but will require the earnest thought and the active support of the educated and influential people in the city as well as in the country.

"That most of the lands that were once cultivated with profit in the original thirteen states are now agriculturally abandoned is common knowledge: that much of the land in all adjoining states is in the process of abandonment is known to many; and that the common lands in the great agricultural regions in central United States are even now undergoing the most rapid soil depletion ever witnessed is known to all who possess the facts. Among the nations of the earth the United States unquestionably stands first in rapidity of soil exhaustion. The improvement of seed, the use of tile-drainage, the invention and almost immediate adoption of labor-saving agricultural machinery, the wonderful development of cheap and rapid means of transportation, and the opening of the world's markets to the American farmer, have all combined to make possible and to encourage the rapid deterioration of American soils, until from every direction the congressmen of the United States must now pass abandoned farms as they travel to the capitol of the nation.

"Today we are the best fed, the best clothed, and the most prosperous nation on the earth; and tomorrow we face the problem the Aryan Race has never solved—the maintainance of our own

civilization. For three centuries America has lived upon the spoils of conquest and inherited wealth and for three centuries America has wasted her substance or scattered it abroad. But even among nations there is a limit to inherited wealth. Truly the two most characteristic attributes of rich young America are bigotry and wastefulness. We forget that other nations have risen to positions of world power and influence and fallen again to poverty, ignorance, and insignificance and that thus far American history has been in large part a repetition of the history of nations long since gone to decay. The land which flowed with milk and honey is now almost a barren waste, supporting only wandering bands of marauding Arabs and villages of beggars.

"Some tell us that the fall of the great empires of Babylon, of Carthagina, Greece and Rome was due to the development of pride and immorality among those peoples, forgetting the fact that civilization tends rather toward peace and security, that morality depends upon education, and that universal education depends absolutely upon material prosperity. Why has the eastern Aryan civilization but one school for every five villages, while the western Aryan, save in Russia, opens to every child the door of the school which leads on, for those who will, to the college and university? Because only a prosperous nation can afford the trained intelligence or education of its people. Poverty is at once helpless and soon ignorant and indolent.

"History tells us that Roman agriculture declined until a bushel of seed brought only four bushels in the harvest—declined until the high civilization of the Mediterranean countries passed into the Dark Ages which covered the face of the earth for a thousand years, until the discovery of a New World brought new supplies of food, renewed prosperity, and new life and light to Western Europe. But the Dark Ages still exist for most of your own Aryan race in Russia and in India, where, as an average, day by day and year by year, more people are hungry than live in the United States, where the average wage is fifty cents a month, where fam-

ine rages always and where the price of wheat sometimes rises to a point where six months' wages of a working man are required to buy one bushel. This is the condition where the absolute needs of the population exceed the food supply and just so surely as the intelligent and influential men and women of America continue to ignore the material foundation upon which national prosperity depends, just so surely will future Dark Ages blot out American civilization.

"Already the question of food has begun to exert pressure in this country. Already the masses, the common people, the "ninety per cent," must consider a reduction of their standard of living. Poverty and degeneracy are even now making such demands upon the revenues of the state that education and research already suffer from inadequate support. The only hope of the future lies in the application of science and education to the control of industry and to the control of population and let us never forget that agriculture is the basis of all industry and that the fertility of the soil is the absolute support of every form of agriculture.

"If systems of permanent progressive agriculture are ever to be adopted anywhere in this country, it must be done while landowners are still prosperous. Some investment is necessary for the restoration of depleted soil, and poverty makes no investments. Much of the abandoned lands of America are far past the point of possible self-redemption and the fault lies not with the farmers and landowners, but with the statesmen who, as James J. Hill says, have unduly assisted manufacture, commerce, and other activities that center in cities, at the expense of the farm.

"There was no need whatever that the cultivated farm lands of the Eastern states should have been depleted. Lying at the door of our greatest markets, with the application of knowledge and with such encouragement as should have been given, those lands could easily have been preserved and even increased in fertility until their present value would have been not five dollars but five hundred dollars an acre.

"Even now are the young men of the

United States putting ninety million dollars a year into Canadian farms. Why? Because they were never taught that by investing those millions in the application of science to agriculture they can remain in the United States and secure greater profit and also save our soils from depletion—yes, make our partially depleted lands even more productive than they ever were and at the same time provide the food that will soon be required to feed our own children.

"Listen! It is less than ten years since the great state of Illinois began the investigation of her own soils and when the farmers of the state asked the last General Assembly to devote one cent out of each dollar of her revenue to the task of securing the definite information that is necessary in order to make possible the adoption of systems of soil improvement, the request was not granted in full because of the demands already made for the support of the nonproductive degenerate classes—and yet, the future prosperity and the future revenue of the state depend primarily upon the soil.

"Much of the land is owned by men and women who live in comparative ease and leisure in the cities and who devote their education, their thought and their energy to the study and discussion of such questions as: Who wrote the plays of Shakespeare? or, How can we improve the condition of the inmates of our jails and penitentiaries? or, How can we educate our children so that they will never need to go back to the farm and work? Already there are people of liberal education who are compelled to count the increasing cost of bread, but who do not know what wheat is made of. They may know the kind of clay upon which Babylonian inscriptions were written but they do not know the elements of plant food taken out of the soil by a crop of corn. There is the most stupendous ignorance regarding these truly fundamental problems.

"Absolutely the most important question relating to American prosperity is that of increasing and maintaining the fertility of the soil, but not one person in a hundred in the average American audience can even name the essential

elements of which wheat is made and without which not a kernel of corn or wheat can be produced. There are plenty of so-called educated people who know that the dative or indirect object is used with most Latin verbs compounded with ad, ante, con, in, inter, ob, post, pre, pro, sub, and super, and sometimes circum, but who do not know wheat cannot be produced without each of the ten elements, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, phosphorus, potassium, magnesium, calcium, iron, and sulphur—and yet the one list of words is as easy to learn as the other.

"Which is the more important to teach the boy and girl both in the town and in the country, the principles of extracting the cube root of an abstract number or the fundamental requirements of the production of a large crop of wheat on depleted land?

"Why do we permit the annual exportation of more than a million tons of our best phosphate rock, for which we receive at the mines the paltry sum of five million dollars, carrying away from the United States an amount of the only element of plant food we shall ever need to buy, which if retained in this country and applied to our own soils, would be worth not five million, but a thousand million dollars, for the production of food for the on-coming generation of Americans? Why this exportation? Because the present owners of American land learned only the art of agriculture and were never taught the science of farming—and it may well be repeated that the responsibility rests not with the farmer, but with the statesman and the people of trained minds and educated thought.

"Why should the average yield of corn in the United States be only 25 bushels per acre and the average yield in Illinois be only 35 bushels per acre, when the average yield upon the farm of the University of Illinois, on normal soil under practical, profitable and permanent scientific systems, is 87 bushels per acre?

"The art of agriculture requires work—physical labor—long hours of daily toil; while the science of agriculture requires thought and study, not necessarily by all who do farm work.

but more especially by those who own the land or who may influence its management, and whose well matured plans for soil improvement could be executed by the most ignorant workman under adequate direction.

"The greatest need of the farm lands of America is not more work, but more thought; and who will think for the land, except the men and women of educated thought? Why should not the study of the soil be of interest, not only to the City Club of Chicago, but even to women's clubs? Is not the soil the primary source of practically all our food and clothing, and the absolute basis of our continued prosperity? Is it not better for American women to study and spread abroad the principles of increasing and maintaining the fertility and productive capacity of the land than to perform a large part of the actual labor in the fields, as the women do in Germany, Austria, and Russia; or than to wander through the dirty streets and alleys like many of the women of China, with baskets on their arms, gathering from the by-places and gutters the excrement of animals and of men, with which to fertilize a patch of ground upon which must be produced the food required to sustain life?

"Is the cost of living high in America? No, not yet. The cost of living is high in India, where ten million of our own Aryan Race have been known to die of starvation during a period of nine months. No, the cost of living is not high in America, but it will be, if we allow the fertility of our lands to continue to decrease, and our population to continue to increase.

"Is it not time that more general and more definite efforts were being made for the control of both of these factors of influence in national progress and prosperity? There is a limit to the productive power of land even under the best methods; but if war gives way to peace and pestilence to science, there is no limit to the reproduction of the human race.

"An enlightened humanity must grant to all the right to live, but the reproduction of the unfit can never be an inherent and inalienable right. What

shall we say of the positive records of an insane hospital which will show that 38 of the inmates were born after their mothers had once been committed and released from the same institution? Is it wise or unwise, just or unjust to permit convicted degenerates to continue to reproduce their kind, simply because only part of their children usually become inmates of penal or charitable institutions? Is it sense or silly sentiment that permits the revenues of the state to be largely consumed in providing almost luxuriant care for the non-productive degenerates, while no adequate provision is made for the education of the industrial classes who alone must be depended upon to provide for the future prosperity of the state and nation?

"Does the average American farm boy have as easy a life, as good clothes, as comfortable a home, or as good an opportunity for an education as the child of degenerate parents, who is placed in the state school for dependent children? If you think so, visit some of these institutions and then visit some of the country homes where parents and children are struggling together to support themselves and to help maintain a one-room country school during a few months each winter. And do you know that more than once a bill has been defeated in the Illinois legislature in which the farmers have asked for the privilege of providing larger and better consolidated schools and of taxing themselves to provide conveyances which would carry their own children to such schools?

"Let us consider briefly a few far-reaching facts which show plainly and unmistakably the goal toward which we Americans are hastening:

"According to the statistics of the United States Government, a comparison of the last five years reported in this century with the last five years of the old century shows that our annual production of wheat has increased from 500 million to 700 million bushels; that our annual production of corn has increased from 2 1-4 billion to 2 3-4 billion bushels; that our wheat exports have decreased from 37 per cent to 17 per cent of our total production; and that our corn exports have decreased

from nine per cent to three per cent of our total production. Thus we have added enormously to our supplies of food for domestic consumption, both by increased production and by decreased exportation, but notwithstanding these increased supplies, the average price of wheat by these five-year periods increased 27 per cent; and the average price of corn increased 77 per cent.

"The latest Year Book of the Department of Agriculture (1908) furnishes statistics of the average yields per acre of wheat and corn for four consecutive ten-year periods, from 1866 to 1905. By combining these two twenty-year periods, the records of forty years show that the average yield of wheat for the United States increased one bushel per acre, while the average yield of corn decreased one and one-half bushels per acre, according to the first and second twenty-year averages.

"If we consider the statistics for the North Central States, from Ohio to Kansas, and from Cairo to Canada, the same forty-year record shows the average yield of wheat to have increased one-half bushel per acre, while the average yield of corn decreased by two bushels per acre.

"Thus, notwithstanding the great areas of rich virgin soils brought under civilization in the West and Northwest during the last forty years, notwithstanding the abandonment of great areas of worn-out lands in the East and Southeast during the same years, notwithstanding the great extension of dredge-ditching and tile drainage, and notwithstanding the improvement in seed and in implements of cultivation, the average yield per acre of the two great grain crops of the United States has not been even maintained, the decrease in corn being greater than the increase in wheat, not only for the entire United States, but also for the great new states of the corn belt and wheat belt.

"Meanwhile the total population of the United States increased from 38 millions, in 1870, to 76 millions, in 1900, or 100 per cent during the last thirty years of the old century—and the only means by which we have been able to feed the continued increase in our pop-

ulation has been increasing our acreage of cultivated crops, and by decreasing our exportation of foodstuffs.

"I need not remind you that there is a limit to our relief in both of these directions. At the most we may ultimately, by large expense of money, labor, and years, add to the area of cultivable productive lands in the United States, by drainage and by irrigation, the equivalent of three corn-belt states, and by ceasing altogether to export corn and wheat, we can further increase our home consumption of those products by another ten per cent.

"Without much doubt our present population exceeds ninety million people, and without much doubt the population of the United States will approach two hundred million people forty years from now, if the increase continues unchecked.

"Thus, the relief which can possibly be afforded by additional acres put under cultivation and by further decrease in our exportations is almost insignificant, compared with the enormous demands upon this country for food. Of vastly greater importance than these is the possibility of restoring to fertility and productive power the great areas of depleted and abandoned lands in our older eastern states and of doubling the average yield per acre on the lands in the great humid section of Central United States. How? By the application of science to agriculture.

"If the art of agriculture has reduced the fertility of the soil, the science of agriculture must restore it; and not only restore it, but increase it even beyond the productive power of the original virgin soil.

"The soil is the breast of mother earth, from which her children must draw their nourishment. The coal mine yields a single harvest—one crop—and is then forever abandoned, but the soil must yield a hundred—yes, a thousand crops, and even then it should be richer and more productive than at the beginning, if the people of the earth are to multiply and prosper.

"The American farmer has learned well the art of agriculture in the hard school of experience, but the science of agriculture is still in its infancy and

its application is almost unknown to him. If Illinois is ever to adopt systems of permanent agriculture, it must be done in the near future, or we too shall awake to find our soils impoverished past the point of possible self-redemption—and need I remind you that the city is the first to feel the country's poverty?

"In America the art of agriculture consists in working the land for all that's in it—in working out of the soil by every expedient known to man the fertility which it contains. Even to this date almost every effort put forth by the American farmer has resulted in decreasing the fertility of the soil.

"Thus, tile drainage adds nothing to the soil, but only permits the removal of more fertility in the larger crops produced. More thorough tillage with our improved implements of cultivation is merely working the soil for all that's in it. Better seed produces larger crops, but only at the expense of the soil. The rotation of crops acts upon the soil exactly as the rotation of the checkbook among the members of the family would act upon the bank account. The ordinary manufactured acidulated commercial fertilizers, as commonly used in the East and South, serve primarily as soil stimulants, and leave the soil poorer and poorer year by year.

"I am sure I need offer no apology to this body of men if, in conclusion, I lay before you the essential science of permanent agriculture.

"We may dismiss at once the one idea most commonly advanced that to maintain the fertility of the soil the farmer should feed all his crops, together with more or less purchased foodstuffs, and return all the manure produced to his own land. Live stock destroy from 80 to 90 per cent of the food value of the grain they consume. In other words, the food value of a bushel of grain is from five to ten times as great as the food value of the meat or milk that can be produced by feeding the grain to live stock.

"We eat meat if we can afford it; if not, we boycott it. Bread is the staff of life. Grain is sold and must be sold from the farm; and the productive power of the land must be maintained in grain

farming as well as in livestock farming, or poverty is the only future for this great country.

"There are six essential positive factors in crop production: The seed, the soil, heat, light, moisture, and plant food. The American people give much thought to the selection of good seed, the soil is well prepared and well tilled, and the heat, light, and moisture are well provided by our favorable climate. Thus, five of these factors are commonly provided in abundance or perfection; but the sixth essential factor, that of plant food, is ignored, misunderstood, or neglected, not only by the farmers and landowners, but even by such men as James J. Hill, and by our own Federal Bureau of Soils.

"There are ten essential elements of plant food. Five of these are provided by nature in abundance, namely, carbon and oxygen, secured by the growing plant directly from the air in the carbon dioxide taken in through the leaf pores, hydrogen from water absorbed by the roots, iron required by crops in small amount and furnished by all soils in inexhaustible quantities, and sulphur supplied by soil and rain in sufficient abundance to meet the meager requirements of the crops.

"The remaining five elements are nitrogen, phosphorus, potassium, magnesium, and calcium. The supply and liberation of these five essential elements of plant food constitute the foundation of permanent agriculture on all cultivable soils in humid sections.

"One of these elements, nitrogen, exists in the atmosphere in absolutely inexhaustible amount, and for general farming it can be secured from the air most economically by the growing of legume crops, which by means of the symbiotic root-tubercle bacteria have power to utilize the free nitrogen of the air, and if these crops are plowed under the soil, nitrogen is thus increased, and at the same time additional organic matter is supplied which as it decays in the soil helps to liberate or make available the other four important elements requiring consideration. This abundant source of nitrogen should be drawn upon to meet the quantitative require-

ments of all non-leguminous crops; but much of our depleted lands remain unproductive because of the practical exhaustion of the soil's supply of nitrogen and organic matter.

"The four other elements are contained only in the soil or earth and one of these, phosphorus, is in a class by itself, because the normal soil contains so little and the staple crops require so much that the yields of all crops, including legumes, are commonly limited because the amount of phosphorus that can be liberated from the meager supply in the soil is inadequate to meet the needs of large crops. Yet this is the element of which we permit the annual exportation of more than twice the quantity required for the total wheat crop of the United States. For every five dollars of foreign money that we now receive at our phosphate mines this material would be worth at least a thousand dollars to our own children for the production of wheat.

"All good soils contain very abundant supplies of potassium, magnesium, and calcium; but as the organic matter has a value aside from the nitrogen it contains, so limestone has a value for correcting soil acidity aside from the calcium which it contains. To help you to understand the easy solution of this phase of the problem, I need only to remind you that there are millions of tons of dolomitic limestone now lying on the banks of the Chicago drainage canal, carrying both magnesium and calcium and the power to correct soil acidity.

"This leaves only the element potassium for further consideration, and you will be glad to know that the plowed soil of an acre of the most common land in Cook and adjoining counties contains sufficient potassium for forty bushels of wheat per acre every year for more than three thousand years, and the subsoil is still richer. In fact there is more potassium in this soil, ton for ton, than there is in the most common commercial fertilizer.

"We need not forget that there are some abnormal soils, such for example as the extensive areas of peaty swamp land in Illinois, which are extremely deficient in this element, potassium, and

the phosphatic limestone soils of the Central Basin of Tennessee and the Blue Grass Region of Kentucky, which are extremely rich in phosphorus; but, as a rule, the normal soils of the United States differ in productive power as they differ in composition with respect to phosphorus, organic matter with its nitrogen content, and limestone with its supply of calcium and magnesium; and the greatest immediate need in this country is for more general intelligence among people of influence concerning the principles which must underlie systems of permanent agriculture, the only foundation upon which the prosperity of the state and nation can be maintained.

"If the members of the city clubs and the chambers of commerce of the United States would devote an hour a day for a month to the study of this most fundamental question you would soon repudiate and revoke the abominably false teaching of the Federal Bureau of Soils, supported by the power of one unscientific man, as the Secretary of Agriculture, to the effect, in exact quotations:

"That 'practically all soils contain sufficient plant food for good crop yields, that this supply will be indefinitely maintained.'

"That, 'so far as the present outlook is concerned, the nation possesses ample resources in its soil for any conceivable increase in population for several centuries.'

"That, 'the soil is the one indestructible, immutable asset that the nation possesses. It is the one resource that cannot be exhausted; that cannot be used up.'

"That 'from the modern conception of the nature and purpose of the soil it is evident that it cannot wear out, that so far as the mineral food is concerned, it will continue automatically to supply adequate quantities of the mineral plant food for crops.'

"That, 'as a national asset the soil is safe as a means of feeding mankind for untold ages to come.'

"Can you blame the farmers for continuing to wear out their lands when these are the widely promulgated teachings from the position of highest authority in this country? And this false teaching is the more to be condemned because

the most common soil type on the abandoned farm lands of southern Maryland near the city of Washington is found to contain only 160 pounds of phosphorus and 1,000 pounds of calcium in the plowed soil of an acre, while the richest black prairie soil of Illinois, with a value exceeding \$200 an acre, contains in the same stratum, more than 2,000 pounds of phosphorus and 40,000 of calcium.

"But even in Illinois our older soils are showing unmistakable signs of depletion, and the addition of mineral plant food is producing marked and profitable improvement, not only on the University experiment fields which are being conducted in various parts of the state, but also on the fields of the more progressive farmers who are already using, not the common commercial fertilizers, but thousands of tons of bone meal, fine-ground natural phosphate, and limestone, in connection with legume crops or farm manures.

"Thus, as an average of the last six years, the application of phosphorus and limestone has increased the yield of corn on the Urbana field from 64 to 87 bushels per acre, and the yield of wheat on the Odin field, in the heart of 'Egypt,' from 15 bushels to 27 bushels per acre. On the Galesburg field, in Western Illinois, the use of raw phosphate has more than paid its cost, and left the soil 25 per cent richer in phosphorus at the end of six years. On the Antioch experiment field, in Lake County, the use of phosphorus produced five bushels more corn in 1902, and 15 bushels in 1903; no increase in oats in 1904, but 25 bushels of wheat in 1905; while the increase was 26 bushels of corn in 1906 and 4 bushels in 1907. In 1908 the increase was 9 bushels of oats, and in 1909 it was 12 bushels of wheat. These are the increases in yield per acre produced by phosphorus in the commonest type of soil in Lake County, which contains in the plowed soil of an acre only 800 pounds of phosphorus but 47,600 pounds of potassium; while 50 bushels of wheat remove from the farm 12 pounds of phosphorus and only 13 pounds of potassium.

"These are only samples of a thousand and proofs easily available to any man or woman of moderate education, show-

ing the possibilities and the importance of applying science to agriculture; and yet the people of prominence and influence in the affairs of life are as a rule densely ignorant concerning these most fundamental questions.

"The University of Illinois secures and disseminates information along this and many other lines of applied science, but the operation of soil and crop experiment fields in various parts of the state, the publication of experiment station bulletins by thousands of copies, and the hundreds of lectures delivered at farmers' institutes and on seed and soil lecture trains in which we have co-operated with nearly every railroad in the state, must all be supplemented by the active efforts of commercial bodies, bankers, merchants, grain dealers, preachers, teachers, and by the press, if the soils of Illinois and the prosperity of the state shall be preserved." (Applause.)

MR. FRANK HIBBARD: "When are the soil tests going to be made in the northern part of Cook county?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "The soil survey is being carried on over the state as rapidly as the appropriations will permit. Lake county has already been surveyed; Winnebago county is being surveyed now; Du Page county will be surveyed before the close of the season, if the work proceeds properly. An investigation will be made in Cook county shortly. The State Farmers' Institute has in a way begun the investigation of Illinois soils and a committee appointed by that Institute has co-operated with the experiment station of the University of Illinois in deciding upon the lines of work and the counties where that work shall be taken up from time to time. The distribution of this work over the state is so complete that when two more counties are completed besides those we have now surveyed, there will not be an unsurveyed county in the state that does not join some surveyed county. You see the distribution of the work by these people is very complete, and Cook county is in line for investigation; its importance is realized."

MR. STOCKWELL: "To what extent has similar work been done in other states?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "Wisconsin, adjoining us on the north, secured from her last legislature her first appropriation for the investigation of her soils. Missouri, I think, has a small appropriation which she has been using for about three years. I think it is safe to say that Illinois is doing in soil investigation as much as all the other states of the Union—and we began just ten years ago." (Applause.)

MR. STOCKWELL: "I suppose it will be necessary to extend further information before pressure can be brought to bear upon Washington to obtain a different head to the Department of Agriculture?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "I can not answer that. I can only tell you the truth about the situation."

MR. GEORGE E. HOOKER: "Mr. Chairman, I think it is often felt by people that somehow consumption of the products of the soil by great cities without the return of any of the waste of those cities to the soil, may perhaps be a permanent robbery. Must the soil be replenished somehow from that waste or are the elements to be secured permanently and sufficiently from other sources?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "If all of the sewage in the United States were lost it would amount to as much in five years as we ship abroad every year, amounting to over five million dollars of the only thing we have ever got to buy phosphorus. That is the present situation. Ultimately, when we have done something along the other line of conserving our great deposits of fertility that we have in this country, then it will be time to exercise some of our energy along this other line. Whether it will ever be practical or not remains to be seen. At the present price of labor it is absolutely absurd to think of recovering the sewage from the cities. The only available thing, the only thing we must absolutely buy to put back upon our lands that is lost through sewage, amounts to a value of three cents per individual in the price of phosphate that you can get delivered in Illinois. You can not handle that product for three cents a year at the present price of

labor. You can do it in China with their organization, but you can not do it in the United States."

A MEMBER: "Who controls the large phosphate mines?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "They are controlled by many people. The most of them are found on lands already owned by farmers and landowners. Many of those people still own more or less of the phosphate holdings. I suppose there are a thousand people in the United States that own some phosphate land. Of course, large tracts are now under the control of a few great companies. The American Agricultural Chemical Company, the Virginia-Carolina Agricultural Company, the Franco-American Salt and Phosphate Company, and perhaps three or four others own very considerable tracts of phosphate lands."

A MEMBER: "What part of the country has the greatest phosphate deposits?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "The deposits that have been most worked are in Florida, South Carolina and Tennessee. Our nearest deposits are in Tennessee. I want to call your attention to the fact that Tennessee at one point is only 35 miles from Illinois, and yet we are shipping our phosphate from Tennessee, a thousand miles across the land to the ocean, and three thousand miles across the water, and farther inland into foreign countries. In the corners of Wyoming, Utah and Idaho, where those states come together, deposits have been discovered that are estimated to equal the deposits of the other three states. They are far from us, of course, and are being worked at the present time to only a slight extent; but the National Conservation Commission has estimated from all of the information it has been able to secure from the United States Geological Survey, that at the present rate of the increase in consumption, the total known supply of high grade phosphate in the United States will be exhausted in fifty years. Now, in addition to that high grade phosphate, there is a supply of low grade phosphate that is not now of marketable value; that no man has estimated. It is known that

the amount of low grade phosphate, however, in the United States is very large; possibly it is large enough to meet our needs for centuries, but we have no statistics regarding that."

MR. R. L. MELENDEY: "What percentage of the phosphate deposits are in the public domain?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "I can not answer that. I understand that a very considerable part of the new deposits that have been discovered in the west are in the public domain. Acting upon the advice of the Conservation Commission and the United States Geological Survey, President Roosevelt, you may remember, withdrew from entry those phosphate lands that were still in the public domain. I think they have still been withheld from entry by private parties with the hope that laws might be framed whereby those phosphate beds could be leased with the understanding that the product must be used in this country and that it should not be exported. If there is anything that portrays the selling of the goose that lays the golden egg, it is the selling of this phosphate which is the key to all permanency in our agricultural development."

THE CHAIRMAN: "I would like to ask Professor Hopkins whether any move has been made in Congress for the Government to take possession of these phosphate deposits?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "I do not know that there has been. That is something for the City Club of Chicago to bring about."

A MEMBER: "How would you suggest controlling the exportation, by export duties?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "I do not know whether a duty can be put upon the exportation of anything from the United States; I have been told it was impossible. But we are exporting now more than a million tons a year, and it has seemed to me that if we could limit the exportation, it would be better by far than to cut it off. If the exportation could be restricted, say by 100,000 tons a year for ten years, and at the end of that time be cut off altogether, the phosphate people would have ten years

to develop their home market and to educate our own people, which they would then do, perhaps. At least it would be an incentive in that direction."

MR. MELENDEY: "I think I can give a partial answer to the question as to the attitude of Congress, and perhaps of the public. One of the bills that has been introduced in Congress by recommendation of President Taft, includes a provision that phosphate among the other deposits is to remain in the public domain. That is part of the legislation proposed by the President and backed by the friends of conservation. As you know, the most important bill the conservation people are working for at this session is the one that gives the President the right to withdraw these lands. There is just this one suggestion that can be made, that members of this Club, acting not as a Club but as individuals, write to their congressmen, urging them to back the president in that particular legislation. That will give time at another session to take up the proper legislation with reference to the withdrawal of these lands; but unless the legislation passes at this session it will be quite probable—at least so the friends of conservation and the President think—that these lands will pass from the public domain because of their value, before the next session of Congress."

MR. HOOKER: "May I ask, Mr. Chairman, in what form is phosphorus commercially usable?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "Phosphorus is made usable simply by taking it from the ground and reducing it to a very fine powder. The investigations have been very complete along that line, showing its value in that way. That is the most economical way and altogether the best way for its use. By using it in that form it is possible for the farmers to put upon their land more than they take out in their crops, so as to have a positive increase in the fertility of the lands and in their richness in phosphate. More rapid action is secured if it is massed through some maturing process, by which for example, a ton of raw phosphate is mixed with a ton of sulphuric acid, and from that

we have two tons of a product known as acid phosphate. The more common practice is to take the acid phosphate, which sells at about four times the price of raw rock, on the basis of its phosphorus contents, mix it with two tons of filler containing nitrogen, of which the air contains an inexhaustible supply, and put in a little potassium, of which also the air contains an inexhaustible supply to be liberated by the farmer, and then sell the product at about ten times the cost of the same amount of phosphorus in the raw rock, under the name of 'Commercial Fertilizer.' That is the common practice all over the East and South, and it has helped to still further deplete their soils."

MR. HOOKER: "For what use is phosphorus exported?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "It is exported for use upon the lands of Europe. The soils of England are now on the average twice as rich in phosphorus as the soils of Illinois. For many years England has been importing phosphorus of every form. They were importing 200,000 tons of phosphatic guano sixty years ago, and twenty-five years ago they were taking 250,000 tons a year of our phosphate and slag phosphorus, putting it on English soils. The yield of wheat in England is now 32 bushels per acre as an average against our 14 bushels.

"I also want to call your attention to the fact, gentlemen, that a bill has been before the present Congress—and I think is still pending—asking that a bond issue of \$20,000,000 be made for the exploitation of the few remaining acres of virgin soil that can still be put under cultivation by the means of irrigation in the West. The farmers in the partially depleted section of the East are thus encouraged to take what few dollars they can, and leave their lands to abandonment, and go on to the new lands of the West. And yet do you suppose you could get a million dollars to help the abandoned lands of Maryland?"

A MEMBER: "What in brief would be the method of restoring the abandoned lands?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "Simply by returning to the soil these constitu-

ents I have named, the dolomitic limestone of which the eastern mountains are full will supply magnesium and potassium, and the phosphorus we are exporting will supply the other demand. When you have done that, grow clover, alfalfa, beans and peas, and so forth, and plow them under, either directly or in the form of manure. If you can establish plants throughout the country, as has been done in Illinois by the Governor of this State and the Board of Prison Industries at his suggestion, putting the convicts in the penitentiaries in southern Illinois to grinding limestone to put upon the soils in southern Illinois—and the farmers there are now using it by thousands of tons—you will accomplish important and far reaching results. Why should not the same thing be done all over the East, so that this product can be put upon the cars at plants where the limestone is in great abundance at the lowest possible freight rate?

"In that connection why should not the railroads in all states do as they have done in Illinois, by making a rate of one-half cent per ton per mile on ground limestone for use on the soil? Only a year ago I came before the Illinois Freight Association in Chicago and asked for that rate and they granted it all through the state. The farmer at any point now knows just what it costs to get it delivered at his station. But in the eastern states the use of limestone on the soil is impossible, because of the prohibitive cost of the material and the transportation expenses."

A MEMBER: "Would not the suggestion that the Government take an interest in these abandoned farms of the East be adding to the earnings of the owners of these farms at the expense of other people, following your previous suggestion?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "I am glad you asked that question. There is one kind of legislation that is not class legislation, and that relates to the basis of all industry in the United States, the soil. It matters not how we do that thing. The soil and agricultural pursuits underlie every industry in this

country. It is not class legislation for a country to take steps to maintain its soils. Such measures interest every individual in the United States and, as I said before, the city is the first to feel the country's poverty. The complaint of the cost of living comes now from the cities. Why? Because the lands will not produce the food; because we have abandoned lands and lands depleted of their fertility."

MR. ENNIS: "Champaign is quite a distance away, but is there any center in or around Chicago where you can get information on this subject?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "I do not know that there is any place where you can get such information as the State University is securing. There is no other agency in the state except the State University that gathers this information. Any man can get it by simply reading the bulletins and other publications that are offered upon the subject. It is merely a question of using the knowledge that exists, and if the knowledge that exists were in possession of such gentlemen as the members of the City Club generally, we would have no such situation as we have in the country now. We would not have the scientists all over Europe pointing the finger of disgrace at us for the kind of teaching that emanates from our own Bureau of Soils."

MR. HOOKER: "The bulletins of the University are circulated, of course?"

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: "Yes, sir, without any expense. Anyone interested in agriculture, whether he lives in the town or in the country, can have his name placed upon the permanent mailing list of the Agricultural Experiment Station at Urbana and receive all the publications, postage free."

MR. R. L. CRAMPTON: "The City Club may be interested in knowing that the Bankers' Association of this State believes this subject is of such vital importance that it should receive the earnest consideration of all similar organizations who are interested in the development of the resources of Illinois."

"At the last meeting of our Executive

Council the following Resolution was passed:

"*Resolved*, That it is the sentiment of the Bankers' Association of the State of Illinois that the recommendations of President James and Professor Cyril G. Hopkins of the University of Illinois as to the preservation of the soil in this state be acted upon by the members of the Association through requesting their officers and directors to use their influence to secure more general recognition of the necessity of returning to the soil the essential elements removed by repeated cropping to the end that the most valuable asset of this State may be saved from deterioration by early action on the part of land owners and farmers. It is further

"*Resolved*, That information obtained on this subject be furnished to Banks, members of the Association."

"We expect to be active in the matter and will be glad if the City Club lends its influence toward securing additional force for the movement."

MR. C. K. MOHLER: "Would it not be a good idea to get up a petition to be signed by the members of the City Club to send in in regard to action on the part of Congress?"

THE CHAIRMAN: "The suggestion has been made here that individuals write to their congressmen in regard to this matter. It was thought, I believe, by the gentleman who suggested it, that that perhaps would be more influential than action by the Club. It is not usual for the Club to take action of that kind, is it, Mr. Hooker?"

MR. HOOKER: "If any member wishes to have the question considered, he may send a communication addressed to the Club and we will see that it is considered. Whatever action seems to be proper will then be taken."

Mr. William M. Bray, Chairman of the State Conservation Committee of

Wisconsin, who was present, was called upon by the Chairman for a few remarks.

MR. BRAY: "In regard to the question that was asked as to how information on this subject may be disseminated, we have an organization for that purpose in Wisconsin. The National Conservation Association, of which Mr. Gifford Pinchot is president and Mr. R. L. Melendy, who is present with you today, is one of the directors, are organizing state committees. I am chairman of the state committee in Wisconsin. We are sending out literature; so far we have sent literature to about 100,000 residents of Wisconsin. We are conducting a newspaper campaign and I have been speaking almost every day for several weeks on the conservation proposition.

"In Wisconsin the situation is a little different from that in Illinois because there we have the forests and water power. The question of the soil is a serious question everywhere, but in Wisconsin we have the forests and water power to look after and we are sending out information on those two subjects as well as the other. In Illinois your coal question is a very serious one; in Wisconsin we have no coal.

"I suggest that if you want to send out information you should form an organization such as the Wisconsin state committee, which consists of about twenty leading men throughout the state, who conduct the campaign. We have an executive committee of three who conduct the management. From Oshkosh, where I live, we are sending out speakers and conducting the campaign hoping particularly to influence the next legislature of Wisconsin to appropriate money to still further advance education along the lines of soil conservation and to intelligently conserve and protect our water power and our forests."

GLENWOOD AND ITS BOYS

On Saturday, March 24, Mr. V. P. Randall, Military Instructor at the Illinois Manual Training School Farm at Glenwood, Illinois, gave an illustrated lecture before the City Club on the subject, "Glenwood and Its Boys." Mr. H. J. Dunbaugh presided. Mr. Randall's address is herewith printed.

Mr. V. P. Randall

"Among the many social problems that confront us, there is none that is more interesting and certainly none that is of greater importance than the so-called 'boy problems,' for if it is true that the boy is the father of the man, it is also true that the boy problem is father to many other social questions concerning men.

"In order to help any boy, the first thing that we must do is to rightly understand him. We must know why he desires to do certain things before we can aid him to overcome his desires to do them.

"Environment plays a larger part in the development of a boy than anything else and in many cases as we see and deal with him we realize that he reflects his mental and physical home surroundings. Every influence of his young life helps to shape and mold his character, the few hours spent in school in securing what we commonly call an education being but a detail of that education which he is daily receiving in the larger school of experience.

"The crowded tenement with its foul air and overcrowding, its poverty, filth and misery, and its entire lack of any inspiring or uplifting influences may be looked upon as a class room where boys are learning certain lessons that mean much to them as individuals and also to society as a whole.

"Parents often add to the problem, and desertion, divorce, immorality, crime, and especially drunkenness, create abnormal and unwholesome home surroundings, which in turn give the boy a false concept of life, its responsibilities

and its vital facts. On the other hand there are those conditions which are caused by accident, sickness and misfortune. Often neither parent nor boy is responsible for these, yet they have their effect.

"The cheap theatres with their reproduction of crime, their display of vulgarity and their exciting influences are always open to the boy, and at a price within his reach, while on the other hand, clean, wholesome recreation and amusement are almost impossible to secure. The cigarette habit, with its vitiating and demoralizing influence plays a part in destroying young manhood, and later on the saloon, if it has not already blighted the boy's home, reaches out its hand and endeavors to lay hold on him.

"Now these conditions, along with others equally well known, tend to produce a distinct class of dependent boys. The dependent boy must rely upon society for something which he requires in order that he may become the sort of a man our country needs. And this is not a difficult thing to supply either, for in the majority of cases what he needs most is simply to be removed from his unwholesome, unnatural home influences, placed in new surroundings, given a new view of life, and started on the right road. Neglect this boy and in the majority of cases he either becomes the delinquent or the juvenile criminal who horrifies us with his crimes or else he joins the army of ignorant, unskilled, jobless, helpless, and often vicious men of our cities. Help him until home conditions change, until a foster home is provided for him, or until he becomes independent and able to make his own living or contribute to the support of his family, and society will have a valuable and profitable citizen.

"The dependent boy constitutes a distinct phase of the boy problem, and in the Illinois Manual Training School Farm, commonly known as "Glenwood" is found an answer that for twenty years has been proving its worth, not by attractive theories, but by positive re-

sults—and results are what the world of today demands.

"This very practical and resultful solution to the problem of the dependent boy is located on a 300 acre farm, 24 miles south of Chicago, and about one mile west of the village of Glenwood, from which place the school takes the name by which it is usually known.

"Since its foundation in 1887, Glenwood has trained, educated, encouraged and started toward better things, 6,000 boys. Today there are 350 boys there, this being the normal capacity of the school. Of this number 75 per cent have been committed by the courts of Cook and other counties. The balance have been placed there by guardians or relatives who are unable to properly care and provide for them at home. None of these boys are delinquent, yet some of them, through their street training, have become what many people who lack patience and understanding call 'bad boys,' but Glenwood starts out with the assumption that the boy is in reality good, and that any evil which is apparent is but the reflection of unnatural influences which formerly surrounded him.

"Acting on this assumption the boy is first given clean, wholesome surroundings. The detached cottage plan is employed, the boys being housed in eleven two story and basement brick cottages. Every effort is made to have them as homelike as possible, and they are equipped with steam heat, electric lights, hot and cold water and bath rooms. The institutional atmosphere, so common in places of this sort is lacking. The cottages, surrounded by trees, shrubbery, and flowers are not all of one type, but differ in architecture. Many of these are memorial buildings, named after those in whose memory they have been erected. In Glenwood the emphasis is placed, not on military training, the shops or the school house, but in the home, and this is always the first consideration. Each cottage is presided over by a competent matron or house mother, who is selected because of her special fitness for the position—and that is more than one can say of many of the boys' own mothers.

"A visit to these homes reveals much

that is interesting. The clean, dry, well lighted and well ventilated basement has at one end the wash room with neat, substantial fixtures and a plentiful supply of hot water. The individuality of the boy is never at any time lost sight of and here we find one of the many proofs of this fact, for each boy has his own private towel. Nearby is a rack where they all keep their tooth brushes. In another part of the basement are the shoe boxes, small lockers in which the boys keep shoes, toys, games, and a collection of strange and curious things which every youngster loves to gather. Going into the cottage the boys enter through the basement and, stopping at their box, exchange their shoes for comfortable house slippers before going up stairs.

"On the first floor is the matron's apartment, the locker room where the boys' uniforms for dress parade and their Sunday clothes are kept, and the large comfortable reading room with its open fireplace, its shelves filled with library games and good boys' books, and its small tables accommodating from four to six boys each. Copies of good pictures adorn the walls, the mantle has its collection of bric-a-brac.

"The dormitories are up stairs, and instead of there being one large room, there are several small ones, each one having in it from five to seven single beds (not cots) with white pillow cases and sheets and a white spread.

"Each cottage has its own flower garden. These help to beautify the grounds, and the boys take a great deal of pride in them.

"The cottages are not merely houses where a number of boys stay and sleep and read, but they are homes where a family of big and little brothers, with the help and counsel of a good woman, are learning to live clean and wholesome lives, and it is on this foundation that Glenwood builds. Through religious teaching, instructive lectures, clean entertainments and wholesome recreation the boys are taught to appreciate better things.

"Although the boys are neither wicked nor bad characters their lack of proper training makes it necessary for many of them to come under some form of dis-

cipline which will without being severe, teach them habits of promptness, obedience, and respect for authority. There is not more than an hour of military drill and setting up exercise during the day, but this is enough to accomplish the desired end and also to be of great physical benefit.

"The members of each cottage constitute a military company, and many a 'gang' hero with a spirit of leadership, directed into right channels, here becomes a capable and efficient captain or lieutenant. These cottage companies take a great deal of pride in their drill work, and all look forward to June 14th, which is the anniversary day, when competitive drills are held, the judge being an army officer from Fort Sheridan.

"Each boy as he enters Glenwood leaves behind him any unpleasant experiences of the past, and starts life anew with a future before him that is filled with glorious possibilities. A careful record is kept of each boy and he receives monthly credit marks from his matron, teachers, and instructors in cottage behavior, grammar school work, manual training work, military drill and general deportment. This makes it possible to watch the boys' progress, detect weak spots, and give to each boy, at least some measure of special help. All boys securing a general average of 85 per cent are placed on the 'honor list,' and wear a much coveted 'honor badge.'

"The preventive and corrective methods here employed are different from those most commonly used. In the first place, an effort is made to show the boy that it is easier in the long run to do right than it is to do wrong, and also that it really pays to do right.

"Punishment consists in loss of privileges. Insolence brings enforced silence. The quarrelsome boy who does not act in a gentlemanly manner in the cottage parlor stands in the hall and cannot play with, or speak to his mates, and the disobedient boy is deprived of his hour in the ball field, or is not allowed to attend entertainments. Corporal punishment is not permitted.

"Each boy spends one half of his school day in the grammar school and

the other half in manual training work of some sort, with the exception of a few of the smaller boys, who spend the full day in grade work, and a few of the boys who have graduated from the grammar school and who spend the entire day in the shops. In the grammar school eight grades are taught by competent teachers holding county certificates. The work is especially adapted to the particular needs of the individual boy, the instruction being based upon the regular Illinois state course of studies for graded schools.

"There is no prolonged summer vacation but occasional vacation days are scattered throughout the season, and this, together with the added zest given by regular manual training work, enables the boy whose schooling has been neglected to make up for lack of early opportunities.

"Upon graduation from the eighth grade boys are eligible for admission to the Chicago High Schools.

"Under Manual Training there are several departments: Machine, Forge, Cabinet and Wood-working, Printing, Shoemaking, Laundry and Bakery. Each department is well equipped with the best modern tools and machinery, and here all boys not detailed to the farm spend half of their school time. The instructors are not only skilled mechanics, and capable teachers, but are also men of good moral character.

"The work is practical. Under direction of the instructors, all repairs in machinery, iron work, carpentry, plumbing, and steam fitting are made by the boys, and so while they are getting an insight into useful trades, they are cutting down the running expenses of the school. In the Machine Shop and in the Forge Shop many tools and other useful articles are made, and quite a quantity of work has been done for outside concerns. In the Cabinet Shop, in addition to the regular carpentry and repair work, some furniture is made, and a number of orders for cabinet work have been filled. The Printing Shop does all the school printing and publishes 'The Glenwood Boy,' a monthly paper, devoted to the interests of the school, which is a contribution to literature on work with boys. This depart-

ment is well equipped to do all kinds of commercial printing. The Laundry, in addition to teaching practical steam laundry operating, washes all clothing and bed linen for 400 residents. The Bakery, with a crew of boys who are learning breadmaking, furnishes all bread and pastry. The Shoe Shop boys make some new shoes and do all repairing. In addition to the above distinct departments, all kitchen, dining room and cottage work is done by the boys, under direction of the chef, housekeepers and matrons. Boys are also trained to fill responsible positions by going to Chicago as city office boy, by acting as mail orderly, and performing clerical work.

"Of the 300-acre farm, 100 acres are devoted principally to the raising of vegetables for the table and fodder for the horses and cattle. Under the direction of a trained farmer and a gardener, the farm is worked by a number of the boys who do their half day's work here. An orchard, a berry patch, and a vineyard contribute to the food supply. A large greenhouse supplies flowers and plants for the cottages and grounds and starts early spring vegetables. The milk is supplied by a herd of cows belonging to the farm. Many boys who have worked on the farm find good foster homes with farmers or go to agricultural college after leaving here.

"In round numbers the annual cost including salaries, repairs and clothing (exclusive of new buildings), is \$70,000.00, or \$200.00 per year, for each one of the 350 boys: (In state and city institutions where boys are cared for, the per capita cost is from \$260.00 to \$350.00 per year.) The sources of income are as follows:

Paid by Cook and other counties for boys committed by the courts	\$28,000.00
Paid by parents and guardians toward the support of their boys	10,000.00
Interest and endowments....	6,000.00
Balance to be raised by subscription	26,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$70,000.00

No State aid is received.

"The school is incorporated and is managed by a board of directors, of which Mr. E. B. Butler is president. Each person contributing \$100.00 or more to the support of the school becomes a life member and is entitled to one vote at the election of officers for each \$100.00 subscribed. The Board is ably assisted by an active and efficient Auxiliary Board, which assumes the responsibility of providing the clothing and caring for the beds.

"There is an old saying that if you give a dog a bad name, he will live up to it. At Glenwood it reads differently. Give a boy a good name and he will live up to it. It sounds theoretical, but it is not, it is practical, and the results secured go to prove it.

"The aim of 'Glenwood' is to make the dependent boy independent, and it accomplishes this both directly and indirectly in various ways. Some boys are cared for, disciplined and educated, until disturbed home conditions have been readjusted. Good foster homes are provided for some where they remain under the supervision of the school until they are eighteen years of age. Others receive a good grammar school education and are instructed in some trade until they are old enough and sufficiently skilled to go out for themselves or to return to their families well equipped to help bear the home burden.

"For over twenty years boys who would otherwise have grown to manhood poorly equipped, both mentally and physically, to fight life's battles, have been sent out into the world after from one to five years at 'Glenwood,' clean in speech and habits, skilled and capable, possessing a knowledge of the value of right living, a respect for law and order, and a determination to fight fair while making the most of every legitimate opportunity. The number thus saved to usefulness, the homes thus held together, and the contribution thus made to American citizenship cannot be expressed in mere figures.

"Commenting editorially on the work of 'Glenwood' the Chicago *Record-Herald* says: 'The *Record-Herald* is in full sympathy with this enthusiasm for the Glenwood boys. It rejoices to see these

young leaders taken at a critical period of their lives, when there is danger to them in their leadership, and brought within the splendid influences of the school. With every boy it is a question of how his ambition, strength and energy shall be directed into right chan-

nels, and its solution will be the easier the more there is of Glenwood faith and Glenwood enthusiasm. For those who believe in practical and resultful effort there is nothing more interesting or worthy of consideration than 'Glenwood and Its Boys.'" (Applause.)

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A HOUSING REFORM PROGRAM

On Wednesday, April 20, Mr. Lawrence Veiller of New York City addressed the City Club on the subject of "A Housing Reform Program." Mr. Veiller is a director of the National Housing Association and of the Department for the Improvement of Social conditions of the New York Charity Organization Society. He was secretary of the New York Tenement Commission of 1900 and during Mayor Low's administration, Deputy Commissioner of the Tenement House Department. He is the joint author, with Mr. Robert W. De Forest of a two volume work on "The Tenement House Problem." His latest book "Housing Reform" has just been published. Mr. Veiller was introduced by Mr. Charles B. Ball, Chief Sanitary Inspector for Chicago.

CHAIRMAN BALL: "We are here to-day to consider the very important subject of 'City Housing,' its effects and what we may do to reform it. This is a particularly urgent question at the present time. To-day we are just learning something of the serious results of bad housing. If you turn to the Atlantic Monthly for March, you will find it stated that of 11,000 men who desired to enlist in the British Army from the City of Manchester, only 1,000—one out of eleven—were accepted, even under a reduced standard. This example is not unique in pointing out the race degeneracy which is a product of slum conditions and of congested housing.

"Although Chicago has been somewhat loath to learn of the experience of other communities, we are coming now to value that experience more than we have done in the past. We are looking for the expert, for the man who has achieved results in his special line in the city in which he lives. It is a pleasure to be able to listen to-day to the

words of one who is an accredited authority on the subject of which he speaks. Mr. Lawrence Veiller, who is with us to-day has been in touch with these matters of housing reform in a way in which no other man in the United States has been. I am sure we shall appreciate what he has to say upon 'A Program of Tenement House Reform.'"

Mr. Lawrence Veiller

"I know that you are a group of militant civic reformers, and business and professional men and that you are not primarily interested in housing reform. It is something with which you have little occasion to deal in the ordinary course of your daily life and yet it is a problem that touches very closely every one of the citizens of a municipality like Chicago.

"Most of us have been conscious of the new conditions that are coming about in this country. Very radical changes have occurred since the country was founded and have brought us face to face with new conditions and new problems. There has been a development from country to city life, fostered largely by the building of railroads and the adoption of the factory system in place of the old home labor methods. Our living conditions and our methods of government have been practically revolutionized.

"You know of course what Europe says about America—that democracy has succeeded in this country except in the large cities and that the one blot upon our American institutions is our bad municipal government. It is of course true that we have not achieved such municipal government as exists in Europe; I think that is largely due to the fact that

we have not recognized as fully as we should have done the responsibilities that rest upon the entire citizenship if democracy is to be a success. I for one believe it will be a success.

"Democracy was not predicated upon a country made up of tenement house dwellers nor even upon a country of city dwellers. Yet that is practically the condition that is facing us to-day. Mr. Ball tells me that one-half of the population of the State of Illinois is concentrated in the large cities. That concentration brings with it very serious problems.—problems that hardly seem capable of solution.

"America has been truly called the 'Melting Pot' of the nations of the world. We are the crucible. We take into this country people from nearly every race and nation. They come to us, possibly the best people physically, but, as we all know, often the poorest from an industrial, economic and social point of view. It is our task to mold these people into good citizens, to make them Americans, if you please. That imposes upon us a further responsibility. Most of our cities allude with pride to their large output of automobiles or of other products of their factories. There is, however, another kind of product which every city is manufacturing,—citizens; especially future citizens. It is absolutely essential for every business and professional man in the city to consider the kind of product that he is getting from the raw material with which he deals; it is equally essential that, as citizens, we look to the product we are getting from this human material.

"I know that Chicago is an inland city, but I am sure that every man here has at sometime had the experience of standing on the shore of the sea where all sorts of wreckage was strewn—here a large timber, or a spar, there some part of a cabin. He has probably pleased his fancy and imagination by wondering from what kind of a vessel this wreckage came, what brought about the catastrophe, whether the pilot had or had not done his duty, whether the ship had struck on hidden rocks in an uncharted sea or whether the disaster was caused by the mutiny of the crew.

"Those of us who have had occasion to stand upon the shore of the social sea, have seen similar wreckage in the great

human flotsam and jetsam of our cities. Here is a pauper, there a prostitute; here a dependent child and there a drunkard. Those of us who are observers can trace back the whole shipwreck and see what caused the disaster; whether it was a pilot who did not know his business, whether, hidden rocks obstructed or whether, the boat itself unsafe the crew had lost their heads and deserted.

"Now let me tell you a little about social wreckage. In the State of New York, we spend for charitable purposes something like \$25,000,000 a year counting only that of which we are able to keep track. Probably a great deal more is spent of which we do not have any record. 'Isn't that fine?', you say. 'What a charitable state New York is.' But isn't there another view to it? Should we not ask ourselves, 'Isn't that a terrible thing; isn't it sad that conditions are such that it is necessary for us to spend \$25,000,000 a year in charitable efforts?'

"In New York State there are 35,000 children in public institutions—wards of the state, deprived of their parents care, brought up as public charges. Of those 35,000 children, three-quarters are there not because of degeneracy, intemperance or delinquency, but solely because of poverty.

"We have in New York City about 80,000 cases of tuberculosis, which constitute a part of our social wreckage. Where do they all come from? What are the forces and conditions that have produced these results? When we trace them back, we usually find underlying everything, a bad living environment for the people in our large cities—not the slums, necessarily, but the general bad living environment. The people who live under these conditions are handicapped from the start. A child born of foreign parents in any of our large cities, doesn't have half a show for its life, its health nor its industrial career. Its vitality is sapped at the cradle.

"I have just come from about a week's tour through some of the large cities of the middle west, notably Detroit, Cleveland and Milwaukee. In Cleveland, the health commissioner, Doctor Ford, and I went on a slumming tour. Doctor Ford examined some of the children and it was very interesting to note that nearly every child he examined had enlarged glands. You know what they

are. They are tubercular. You could roll them around under your finger. Some of them you could feel with your glove. Most of the children were also anaemic, many had adenoids. There was a reason for this. If you had lived in two or three dark rooms, with no ventilation or sunlight, with foul privies in the neighborhood, with piles of garbage and filth underneath your windows, in the alley and before your front door, if you had to awaken in the morning unrefreshed by sleep, but physically worse off than when you went to bed, you too might be subject to tubercular enlargements, anaemia or other ailments that we find in the poorer districts of our cities.

"Now a significant fact is this: We like to think that the immigrant newly arrived brings these conditions to America. It is not so. They are turned away from our shores if they have those conditions. What America is doing for the immigrant physically is to leave him far worse off in a few years than he was when he came here. This is due in large part to the way in which the immigrant is forced to live in our congested cities.

"If these conditions were necessary; if they could not be remedied; if they were some God-given scourge that the human race had to endure for its purification, there would be little use talking about them. But we all know that they are possible of correction. It has always seemed to me that it is stupidity itself to allow conditions such as these to develop in our cities, simply because we are so busy making money that we haven't time to attend to them.

"Bear in mind, gentlemen, that all of these evils and the kindred evils that go with them, are due to two causes. They are not entirely due to greed. All this talk about the landlord oppressing the poor, about the employer of labor, oppressing his employe is, to my mind, extreme. The great class of landlords and employers are not of that kind. These conditions to which I have referred are due to two causes—neglect and ignorance. Neglect is the fault of the community; we overlook these evils because we do not happen to see them. In Milwaukee, it was said, 'This is a city of homes. We do not have any poor housing conditions.' But while I was in Milwaukee, I saw some things that were

far worse than any I have seen in Chicago, far worse than Mr. Ball has seen in Chicago, and far worse than we have in New York.

"In Chicago, you are in the fortunate position of being able to anticipate many of these evils. It is not too late to prevent your city from developing in the wrong way; but you must be about it. We started in New York seventy years ago, and have been at it ever since. It is natural that we should be. That is the point I want to impress upon you, that every city of over 500,000 inhabitants should have a *permanent* organized program for housing reform. The reformers will have to enlist for life. It is a permanent job. It is not something that can be done to-day, passed over and then ended. It must be done continuously. It is just as necessary to have a permanent housing reform movement as it is to have a permanent city government. A mistake that most cities have made is that they have not understood their task to be a permanent one. They have thought that by making an investigation and report the problem would be solved; that somebody else would take it up. They have thought that if they secured a law in regard to it they had completed their task. But things don't move that way.

"What can any city or any group of people in that city do to better its housing conditions. The first and most vital thing to do is to learn what those conditions are. You would have very little respect for a doctor who would give you a prescription before he diagnosed your case. You would expect him to find out the symptoms and get at the cause before he gave you any medicine. The same applies to the housing problem. You must know the symptoms and find out the facts before you apply your remedy.

"Now, making this program applicable to Chicago: I do not believe you know the facts about Chicago. I do not think you have ever had a census taken of your tenement population. I doubt if you know how many tenement houses you have or the extent of your bad housing conditions. But you must know these things in order to remedy them. You ought to take a census. You ought to find out how many dark rooms you have so as to avoid them in the erection of

future buildings. You ought to find out how many ill-smelling privies there are in order to have them removed. Find out where your overcrowded districts are located.

"Having found these conditions, you must then safeguard the future; stop the building of houses that do not provide for proper sanitary living conditions, that have dark rooms; see to it that the outer courts and the windows are sufficient in size to admit the proper amount of light and air; put an end to the erection of houses that are so high as to cause congestion on a given area of land; get rid of your undesirable alley dwellings. You ought to develop along the lines of a consistent city plan—I do not mean like that you have in Chicago—but a consistent city plan for the proper housing of your people. Chicago will be tested far more by its housing than by its lake front. It won't do you any good to have that beautiful architectural scheme worked out on the lake shore if at the same time you have your slums and your bad tenement houses and alleys, as they now exist on the west side. You must prevent the erection of tall buildings which by artificially increasing land values and rents, sooner or later oblige people to take in boarders and roomers to meet their expenses, thereby increasing the congestion.

"You must also study your laws and see how far they can be used to remedy the conditions; then you must solve this big vital question of enforcement. Along with the government by public officers, there must go the unofficial government by citizens to secure an enforcement of the law. The mere fact that I am speaking in the City Club to-day means that. You all appreciate that there must be co-operation on the part of citizens generally if you are to get good city government.

"You are in danger here of being led astray, because you have good conditions in your health department. In Dr. Evans you have a health commissioner of whom you ought to be proud, and in Mr. Ball you have a sanitary inspector of whom you ought to be proud. (Applause.) But you are wrong in assuming that everything has been done that those officers want done—because they can't do it. Dr. Evans would want

to do a great deal more than he is doing and Mr. Ball would want to do more than could be done. (Laughter.) The bad effect of having two good men such as Dr. Evans and Mr. Ball on the job, is that the rest of you lay down and leave all the work upon their shoulders. There are many things that the citizens of Chicago ought to do which are not being done.

"You ought to do for Dr. Evans and Mr. Ball, what we did in New York in our tuberculosis work. Our tuberculosis committee found that the death rate in New York was not decreasing very rapidly. We found that there were a very large number of tuberculosis cases in the city and we desired to make a sympathetic study of the situation. We made such a study and found that half of the things that should have been done were not being done simply because those whose duty it was to do them did not have the necessary funds. You cannot run a machine without fuel. You cannot run a city department without money. What did we do? We laid out a constructive scheme on which our work might be done. We carried on a public campaign with the board of estimate, with the newspapers and the citizens, and secured an increase of \$160,000 in our appropriation for tuberculosis. Instead of four nurses visiting the 45,000 cases, there are now over 150, a small army. We are going to do things in New York.

"I think you have about \$500,000 appropriated for all of your health work in Chicago, including, besides the ordinary sanitary inspection, inspection of milk and other food and of restaurants and bakeries and also medical inspection in the schools. But the citizens of Chicago have to pay a good deal more than \$500,000 in the loss of lives, in the maintenance of hospitals, in courts, houses of charity, and in correctional institutions. You had far better pay this cost directly in preventive measures than to pay it indirectly for the by-products.

"Then you must get good men on the job; you must watch them, see how they work and help them. But, even with a bad official in office, you haven't any idea how stimulating it is to him to know that there is a group of citizens who are so much interested in him that they are

willing to pay somebody \$4,000 a year to watch his department.

"What else ought you to do in your housing program? Take up the question of outlying sections and see how they are developing. Consider the advisability of adopting the zone system. We lump together slaughter houses, slums and manufacturing and residence districts when we might just as well set aside one portion of the city for residence purposes and another for manufacturing purposes. In New York we have done that more than in any other city in the country.

"It would be very unfair to leave you with the impression that most of these conditions are due to the landlord and the employers of labor. To be perfectly frank with you, a great deal of it is the fault of the people. They are ignorant. Half of them do not know that they have a health department; they do not know how to complain; they could not write a letter if they wanted to complain. Others are afraid to complain, fearing that they would be dispossessed—as they sometimes are.

"How valuable it would be to have a trained woman, a nurse, who, in a systematic way could visit the districts of the poor and teach the mothers how to take care of their children and their homes! I know you have visiting nurses in Chicago, but they are going out only on complaint or sick calls. I don't mean merely that; I mean a definite inspection to see about the keeping open of windows, about permanent ventilation, about children with enlarged glands in their necks or with adenoids. Instead of waiting until these conditions are detected in the schools, let us remedy them before they develop.

"You should also consider the organization of a company to manage tenement houses and tenement house construction. Many of our troubles are due to careless and neglectful landlords. If you substitute a careful, efficient and conscientious landlord, you have done a great deal to remedy the conditions. You might also adopt the Octavia Hill system so successfully used in London and Philadelphia, according to which a group of people buy up the old houses and fix them up according to modern standards of tenement house reform.

"All of these things you will have to

work out; so far you haven't been doing it. Chicago has a great deal to do and its effort is at present not keeping pace with the development of bad conditions." (Applause.)

Alderman Theodore K. Long, Chairman of the Council Committee on the Building Department which has under consideration the revision of the city building code, in response to an invitation to speak made the following remarks:

ALD. THEODORE K. LONG: "It is certainly very inspiring to sit here and drink in the stimulating suggestions which our friend Mr. Veiller from New York has given us. This question is a very large one, indeed. To me it is practically new and I feel that all the information we can get on this subject must help us in securing results. As many of you know, the building laws of this city are in a very bad condition. They are under substantial revision. The council committee on the Building Department which preceded the present committee last year spent a great deal of time trying to thresh out a revision of the laws, but that revision has never been acted upon. We have before us a six months job to get the ordinances in such shape as to carry out some of the splendid suggestions of the speaker who has preceded me.

"Mr. Veiller in his discussion seemed to dwell principally upon this thought, which impressed me most, namely, that the evils which exist in our housing conditions are largely due to ignorance and neglect. I would like to suggest another cause in addition to those mentioned, and that is indifference. The problem of money-getting is uppermost in the mind of the business man to-day and these important questions of housing reform get no attention. If we can get away from this money basis and recognize the importance of these practical hygienic measures I believe we can accomplish something in this city in the next few years." (Applause.)

DR. W. A. EVANS: "This club has listened to several talks within the last year on the subject of housing conditions and I believe that from an academic standpoint, at least, we are convinced that Chicago is not acting wisely in its present attitude toward housing conditions. From an academic standpoint we

recognize the fact that the expense of bad housing is being borne by the community and that it is extravagant and uneconomic; we realize that the money we are paying out for charities and philanthropies in the way of maintenance of institutions and the expense of caring for improper citizens, is a penalty for bad housing that is staggering, to say the least.

"Yet up to this time, the city has taken no initiative in the matter. With the exception of the work done by the Health Department and the investigation that was made for the City Homes Association in 1900, we know nothing of our bad housing conditions and, except what we know in an academic way, nothing of the harm that is coming from that bad housing. We have just voted a tax of about \$400,000 for a tuberculosis sanitarium to cure a situation that is due to bad housing, without giving any thought to the things that lie behind the necessity for relief of that character.

"There is a vicious circle in this housing problem: Here is a piece of property upon which we allow houses to be built that are too high. We allow property to increase in value year by year through the addition of industries to those already established. The price of property is determined by its earning power and that piece of property shortly comes to have a certain price. That price, of course, is a paper price primarily, but presently it changes hands or becomes something more than paper price by reason of transfers of other property that is in some way or other comparable with it. The new price becomes the fixed price of that piece of property, and establishes the standard of living and working on that piece of property forever afterwards.

"The things that should be are not standard. The things that are best compatible with a certain earning capacity of that piece of property, by this artificially fixed standard of value, fix the standard of living and work on that piece of property for all time. There is no place in the world where we see the folly of it so much as in our immediate vicinity. We have allowed artificial values to develop right here in this loop district, until certain unsanitary conditions are fixed almost beyond recall. We have jammed and crammed our

people together, and have created conditions that are almost insurmountable. How much better it would have been for all of the people if this district had been spread out. How much better it would have been for our city, if, in some way, a plan had been devised by which the use of the property could be more widely separated. The earning of money would in a relatively short space of time, be on the same basis as at present.

"This artificial basis is making for bad health conditions, and of course bad health conditions come right back upon the shoulders of the producers. All people are divided into two general classes: the productive and the non-productive. The burden of the non-producer in society is cast upon the shoulder of the producing member, and the man who is making money is carrying the cost of every non-productive, unsanitary, every defective element in our community." (Applause.)

MR. GEORGE E. HOOKER: "I would like to know, Mr. Chairman, if anything is done in New York or any other American city in the way of effecting proper tenement housing by a tenement factoring company."

MR. VEILLER: "Only in Philadelphia and New York. In New York the City Suburban Homes Company build modern tenements. It has in recent years enlarged its functions, by offering to manage property for the ordinary landlord. This has been done very successfully though not on a very large scale. They are, however, gradually reaching out. The work is done upon a commission."

PROF. J. H. TUFTS: "In Baltimore there is hardly an apartment house in the city, compared with the great number of independent dwellings. In Chicago most of the dwellings are apartment houses. There are but few private dwellings."

CHAIRMAN BALL: "For every 2,000 families accommodated during the year in newly constructed private dwellings there are about 18,000 who are accommodated in newly constructed apartments; the ratio is one to nine."

PROF. TUFTS: "Has anybody an opinion as to why the one city should take one form and the other city a different form?"

MR. VEILLER: "Baltimore has

quite a few apartment houses, but the predominant type of dwelling is the small house. I think the reason why we have the tenement in New York as the chief type of dwelling for the working people, is the fact that we were the port of entry to the United States and were the first city to feel the large immigration coming to this country. The immigrants came at a time when adequate housing accommodations were not provided for them. There was an immediate pressure to house that large working class in a definite part of the city. That led to the creation of the type and to its rather rapid spread in the earlier years. The tendency having been once started, the development has simply been an augmenting of this original tendency.

"In addition to that I think we all recognize that the tenement or apartment house has certain advantages in the ways of living that appeal to our people. In most places it is easier for the woman of the family to keep house. There is much more freedom or mobility of rental for the tenant. He can move out much more easily from a flat than from a house. He can make a lease for a shorter time for a flat than for a house. He has not the same personal responsibilities in a flat. He can go away in the summer and shut his door and he doesn't have to think about it; there is somebody to look after it. In

the case of a house he would have to arrange with a watchman and even then he would be wondering all the time if he would find his house looted upon his return.

"Philadelphia has developed as a city of private houses due I believe to the building associations that have thrived there. Some say it is also due to the predominance in early years of the American born inhabitants and of the Quaker strain in their blood. I think that you will find that, in almost every instance where the private house has predominated on a large scale, the building and loan association has been back of it. That is true in Cleveland and Milwaukee and especially so in Buffalo. In Milwaukee, a man can buy a house for \$50 down saving in every possible way to pay off the balance. He carries a pretty heavy load, pays off the interest, and eventually owns his home. That, however, doesn't appeal to all classes of our population. You will not be able to find the Italians, for instance, trying to own private dwellings; instead you will find them trying to own tenement houses so as to make money out of them as an investment.

"While, of course, these conditions are due primarily to local causes I believe the underlying cause to have been the ease with which money could be obtained from these building and loan associations."

The City Club Bulletin

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DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

VOLUME III

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Annual Reports and Election of Officers

Reports of Standing and Special Committees and Election of Officers and Directors

Annual Meeting of the City Club, April 26, 1910

The annual meeting and election of officers of the City Club for 1910, postponed from April 16, was held in the Club dining rooms on April 26, President Walter L. Fisher in the chair. The following reports of officers and standing and special committees for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1910, were submitted:

Report of the Directors

Walter L. Fisher, President

Henry Baird Favill, Vice-President

Harold H. Rockwell, Treasurer

Alfred L. Baker

Frederick H. DeKnatel

Victor Elting

Thomas A. Hall

Julian W. Mack

Stephen T. Mather

Frederick F. Norcross

Harold F. White

The past year has been in many respects the most significant and encouraging in the history of the Club. In spite of the fact that our physical conditions have been unfortunately bad, so that neither comfort nor convenience could be properly regarded, the Club has gone on without interruption, gradually increasing its membership and retaining, to a remarkable degree, the adherence and interest of its members.

Beyond question this is due to wide recognition of the fact that the essential value of the Club is in its specific labors directed toward the progress of public affairs. The work of the Club in this field has been more than satisfactory. In two directions the Club has gained strength during the past year or two. The work of its Committees has been not only industrious and arduous, but familiarity with the process has made the Committees increasingly effective and has given a character to their deliberations and conclusions which has raised them far above the ordinary criticisms which are made and sometimes justified as to volunteer organizations.

Our Committee deliberations are critical only in the broadest and best sense, and it is noteworthy that the efforts of this Club have been not only analytical, but definitely constructive. So obvious is this that there has come to pass the second feature of encouragement, viz., a clearer recognition on the part of the community, official and non-official, of the value and trustworthiness of expressions from the City Club.

There is no question that by wise, conservative and thorough work on the part of our various committees, the fundamental idea which underlay the organization of the City Club will be fully justified and its purposes realized. The further we go in our stimulation of public interest and development of principles,

correlating official life and simple citizenship, the more harmonious and effective must become the labors of representative administration.

The Club has been unfortunate in one respect only. The plans for securing a proper home have been delayed. A scheme was conceived for financing such a building as the Club ought to have. No difficulty was found in securing pledges of money up to the amount which was thought to be adequate. The site was secured and an option obtained upon the property known as the Gunning leasehold on Number 19 Plymouth Court. When the time came to execute the lease a difference of opinion arose between the Club and Mr. Gunning, who was the original lessee of the property. The interpretation which he placed upon the option, and the demands which he has made as to the conditions of the lease are such as the officers of the Club have not felt warranted in accepting. As a result, the Club has brought suit against Mr. Gunning for "specific performance" upon his contract. To this action a demurrer has been filed, and the case will speedily come to trial. The Club is standing definitely upon its rights and is disposed to maintain them even at the cost of some further inconvenience and delay.

Many other overtures have been made as to sites for Club purposes, but the Directors have not thought best to depart from their original judgment, and the matter is for a short time necessarily in doubt. The Directory feels no hesitation, however, in predicting that the question of a club house and consequently comfort and agreeable surroundings will be settled within a comparatively short time. In the meantime, it is of the utmost importance not only that the members maintain their great allegiance so far shown, but that they shall continue confidently and with enthusiasm to recruit the membership of the Club.

No other organization in this City, or in any other, affords an equal opportunity for intelligent and earnest unofficial participation in the affairs of the public, and experience shows that a tremendous volume of civic interest and public spirit, particularly among the young men of the city, is available for carrying on what we of the City Club have learned to regard as a most important work.

WALTER L. FISHER,
President.

Report of the Civic Secretary

The report of the Civic Secretary, George E. Hooker, upon the public activities of the Civic Committees was temporarily postponed in order that more time might be given for the reading and discussion of that report. It is expected that an entire meeting of the Club will be devoted to this report at some time in the near future.

The report of the Civic Secretary upon the membership and attendance of the Civic Committees and upon the operations of the Club office for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1910, was as follows:

The civic committee plan was started in 1906. In each of the first two years following there were 21 such committees, each comprising five members, and 105 members were thus serving on these committees. For the year 1908-9 the number of committees was increased to 23, the rule that each of such committees should consist of just five members was abandoned, and the appointees for that year numbered 276. For the fiscal year ending March 31 last there were twenty-three committees, and these comprised no less than 328 members of the club.

During that year those committees held 280 meetings, with an average attendance for each committee of a fraction over five, and a total attendance of 1,524, this total being forty per cent of the possible attendance. As compared with the previous year this was an increase of 49, or 21 per cent, in the number of committee meetings, an increase of 221, or 16 per cent, in the total attendance, an increase of something under one per cent in the average attendance at each committee meeting and a loss of four per cent of the possible attendance. This

loss was probably due to the fact that the reorganization of the civic committees, which should properly have taken place at the beginning of the fiscal year, was delayed until after the middle of that year, owing to facts connected with the unsettled plans of the Club respecting a new Club building.

The five committees holding the largest number of meetings for the fiscal year 1909-10, with their respective records, were as follows:

Committee on Revenues, Expenditures and Accounting, of which William B. Hale is chairman.....	40	Meetings
Committee on Public Health, of which Dr. Sydney Kuh is chairman	36	“
Committee on Civil Service, of which Harry L. Bird is chairman	28	“
Committee on Housing Conditions, of which Prof. J. H. Tufts is chairman	20	“
Committee on Public Education, of which Prof. George H. Mead is chairman	20	“

The Civic Committees are at the present time in excellent working form, an average of ten or twelve meetings being held each week, besides numerous meetings of sub-committees.

Each committee appoints a secretary, who keeps regular minutes of the proceedings of the committee, these being dictated to one of the stenographers in the office immediately after the meeting and written up promptly for permanent preservation.

There are submitted here today annual reports for the last fiscal year from all of the twenty-three civic committees excepting the Committee on Revenues, Expenditures and Accounting and the Committee on Streets, Alleys and Bridges. The completion of their reports has been unexpectedly delayed and they will be submitted within a day or two.

The facts given above do not include the numerous conferences called by order of the Directors or by the Public Affairs Committee or by the Civic Secretary at different times during the year to consider various matters demanding attention, nor do they include the meetings of outside organizations of one sort and another held in the Club rooms. Owing to the limitations of the Club quarters during the past year it has not been possible to accommodate more than a few of such organizations which have asked for accommodations for such gatherings.

The executive staff of the Club, which at its organization consisted, besides the janitor and the dining room service, of a secretary, who devoted half his time to Club work, now comprises six persons, namely, one office boy, two stenographers, one bookkeeper, the Civic Secretary and the Assistant Civic Secretary, all of whom devote their entire time to the work of the Club.

An indication of the operations of the Club may be found in the following statistics respecting the mail issued from the office during the last fiscal year. During that period there were mailed from the Club, 41,638 postal cards; 11,404 sealed letters; 2,316 bills and receipts; 1,057 year books; 1,033 bulletins sent at special request, and 438 miscellaneous pamphlets.

During the last year five particular advances in Club activity have taken place, namely:

First, the Club Library has been enlarged in its contents about forty per cent, and its classification and general arrangement perfected. It is now in good working shape and is proving a more and more important aid to committee objects.

Second, the organization of civic committees has been greatly improved not only in the better adjustment and increased number of appointments on those committees, but also in the records kept of their activities and in their intelligent grasp of their respective subjects.

Third, the plan of maintaining a book of clippings from the daily papers

for each civic committee, having it pasted up each forenoon with its materials from the papers of that morning and previous evening and having it laid at the plate of the committee chairman at each committee meeting, was started at the beginning of the last fiscal year and has been continued to date. This plan involves a considerable amount of attention in marking the newspapers and of manual labor in cutting out and mounting the clippings. It is found, however, to be a very valuable aid to committee work and these compact collections of selected material on important subjects will, as they are continued, compose an invaluable body of information for future research.

Fourth, a plan for a City Club Free Lecture Bureau, which should offer lectures by various Club members on important civic and social subjects, was completed toward the close of the last fiscal year. The little booklet announcing forty-four members of the Club offering such lectures was not distributed to the membership of the Club until early in April, but the work of carrying out this plan was done during the previous fiscal year and may properly be included in a report of the activities of that year.

Fifth, after careful preparation, begun in consultation especially with the Civic Committee on City Planning, there was initiated on the evening of March 23, the first of a proposed series of special discussions or studies designed to constitute a general survey of physical Chicago. The second of this series was held on the evening of the 22d instant. All members of all the Civic Committees are invited to these meetings, and the discussions are intended to be carried on by different civic committees, with the aid of specialists, each committee dealing, so far as appropriate, with its particular subject-matter. They are likely to run through at least the present calendar year, and it is anticipated that the published results will constitute a valuable compendium of information concerning the city.

These advances in Club activity have largely been made possible by the fact that at the beginning of July last the Club added to its staff Mr. Dwight L. Akers as Assistant Civic Secretary. He has in part performed this work himself and in part made it possible for the Civic Secretary to devote time thereto. Mr. Akers' services are made possible by the generosity of Miss Helen Culver, who has provided for his salary during the past year and expects to make like provision for the year to come.

In the above review of the activities of the Club no reference has been made to the actual investigations by Civic Committees of the subjects with which they have dealt, nor to the contents of their reports thereon. At a later meeting of the Club the Civic Secretary will be pleased to present a summary of those matters, together with a general survey of the public work of the City Club.

GEORGE E. HOOKER,
Civic Secretary.

Report of the Public Affairs Committee

Henry Baird Favill, Chairman

Julian W. Mack

Stephen T. Mather

The chief duty of the Committee on Public Affairs is to have charge of the discussions of public questions held before the Club. During the fiscal year thirty-nine such discussions have occurred, all but two of them being held in the dining room as luncheon talks. The plan of holding the discussions at luncheon and having them begin at precisely a quarter past one o'clock, even although the serving of the luncheon may not have entirely ceased, seems to be a time-saving arrangement, as against the plan practiced in the earlier history of the Club under which discussions were held in the library or the lounging room at 2 P. M. No exact record of the number present has been kept, but the attendance has been uniformly good, averaging probably from seventy-five to one hundred, and on a number of occasions has been so large as to make seating a matter of difficulty.

While the majority of the speakers have been local men, a large number have

come from a distance, including six from the Atlantic Coast, three from the Pacific Coast, three from Great Britain or Ireland, and several had returned from extended trips of observation in other parts of the world.

The subjects treated have, without an exception, been interesting and have provoked expressions of marked appreciation. About half of the discussions have concerned local affairs, one having to do with the duties of street superintendent, one with the census, one with the work of the United Charities, one with city planning, one with the white slave traffic, two with housing and building regulations, two with the law's delays, three with matters of public health, five with public education, including the public library, seven with harbors and waterways, one with the city budget, one with the state election laws, one with the need for a state workmen's compensation act, one with taxation in Minnesota, one with the Sunday closing question in New York City, one with rapid transit in New York City, one with the initiative and referendum in Oregon, two with municipal conditions in San Francisco, four with British politics, and one with industrial Japan.

Many of these discussions—like that concerning the duties of the Superintendent of Streets, the milk question, the proposed amendment of the election laws, various ordinances or bills affecting the question of harbors or waterways, and the bill for reforming judicial procedure in Illinois—have dealt with matters which were being actively considered at the time with a view to adoption by the city council or the state legislature.

Under the rule of the Directors, providing that in case of emergency the Committee on Public Affairs may, by unanimous vote, authorize action by the civic committees which would otherwise require approval by the Board of Directors, your committee has on four or five occasions considered such matters and has at various other times consulted with such committees or with the Civic Secretary in regard to public matters under consideration by these committees.

In view of the increased activities of the Civic Committees of the Club in dealing with public affairs this Committee finds that its duties are increased proportionately in scope and importance.

HENRY B. FAYILL,
Chairman.

Report of Special Committee on Publication and Lectures

Stephen T. Mather, Chairman
Albert W. Chase *Samuel R. Watkins*

The Committee for the greater part of the time, after its creation in December, 1909, held weekly meetings.

Its special duties were to look after matters connected with the Bulletin and with press notices concerning the activities of the Club and its committees, and also to assist the Civic Secretary in carrying out plans for a free lecture bureau to be conducted under the Club's auspices.

In regard to the Club Bulletin, the Committee has given some consideration to the suggestion that the Bulletin should be somewhat expanded so as to contain not only full reports of discussions before the Club, but also information about the current activities of the various Club committees, and perhaps likewise items of special interest respecting civic matters in general. No conclusion in this matter has yet been reached by the Committee. The important facts about the Bulletin as published during the last Club year are contained in the annexed report by Mr. Dwight L. Akers, the Editor.

In regard to press notices, the Committee has arranged to furnish the newspapers with reports of the various addresses and discussions held at the Club, these reports being prepared with a view to their adaptation for press use. This arrangement has been favorably received by the newspapers, which have given, on the whole, quite satisfactory reports of Club discussions.

Soon after its appointment Mr. Hooker laid before the Committee a plan

for a Club lecture bureau, which should offer lectures on civic subjects free by different members of the Club. The Committee heartily approved of the plan and the scheme is now an accomplished fact, as members know from the pamphlets recently mailed to them giving the list of forty-four speakers and their subjects. The Committee is arranging to bring these lectures to the attention of the various neighborhood organizations throughout the city, and feels confident that much effective work can be accomplished by this means to bring about a better knowledge of civic matters by the people of Chicago at large.

S. T. MATHER,
Chairman.

Report of Editor of City Club Bulletin

The publication of the City Club Bulletin was begun February 20, 1907, as a means of presenting to the entire Club membership and of preserving in permanent form the addresses and discussions had before the Club concerning public questions. Ordinarily a Bulletin is issued for each of the discussions, held approximately weekly during the major portion of the year, although sometimes two discussions are contained in the same number. Thirty-one numbers of the Bulletin have been published during the fiscal year closing March 31st last, and the Bulletin is now at No. 23 of the third volume.

It is not published at a price, but goes to all Club members as a perquisite of membership. About sixty copies are, however, distributed by way of exchange and fourteen copies to libraries at cost price. These exchanges bring in return to the reading room and the Club library a considerable amount of periodical or documentary literature. A considerable number of particular Bulletins are sent to people both at home and at a distance on special request; copies of two numbers containing discussions on matters then pending in the State Legislature were sent to all members of that body, and another number was mailed to officials of over three hundred American cities as a means of notice concerning the examination for Superintendent of Streets.

The increasing number of calls for back numbers of the Bulletin from libraries and special students and the fact that the supply of some of the earlier numbers is already exhausted, has led to the printing regularly of two or three hundred numbers more than are required at the time in order that future demands may be met.

The policy of making a wider use of the columns of the Bulletin for the purpose of acquainting the Club members with the work of the Club other than discussions seems worthy of careful consideration.

DWIGHT L. AKERS,
Editor.

Report of Library Committee

Edward L. Burchard, Chairman

Edward D. Tweedell

A. G. S. Josephson

John W. Stockwell

George H. Mead

The Library Committee during the year has held seven meetings, the most of which have had to do with the consideration of routine matters of library administration. Later meetings have, however, been largely taken up with a consideration of the broader aspects of the relation of the library of the City Club to other libraries in the city. A conference was held with Mr. Henry E. Legler, the Librarian of the Chicago Public Library, at which this subject was discussed, and similar conferences with other libraries are planned for the future.

The annexed statement by Mr. Dwight L. Akers, Assistant Civic Secretary, who has acted as librarian, gives the facts about the growth of the library during the past year.

EDW. L. BURCHARD,
Chairman.

Report of Librarian

During the past year the library has quite outgrown its available quarters. It now comprises approximately nineteen hundred volumes and also eighty boxes of pamphlet material, classified under forty-five main subject-heads. There are at present awaiting shelf room in the library books requiring about one-third more space than that now occupied. The space demands of the library have increased by almost forty per cent during the year.

This very considerable increase represents a comparatively small expenditure, most of the new material having been received gratis. The expense of the library for the year, not counting the services of the librarian, has been:

New books	\$76.15
Maintenance	92.55
Binding	45.64
<hr/>	
Total	\$214.34

This is an increase of about \$15.00 over the expenses of the previous year.

The books and pamphlets received during the last year have been obtained through purchase, donations and official sources. Among the larger donations from Club members have been a gift of about 150 volumes from Mr. Frank H. Scott, a gift of a somewhat smaller number from Mr. William Kent, and a gift of over forty back volumes of the Annals of the American Academy and the Political Science Quarterly from Mr. Frank I. Moulton.

Other material has been secured from the City of Chicago, from other cities, state officials, from the various bureaus and departments of the United States government, from different societies and civic organizations throughout the country, public service and other commissions, and from a great variety of like sources.

During the last year the whole scheme of pamphlet classification was revised and the pamphlets in this way made much more available. Pamphlet literature is ordinarily the least available of the material in public libraries, although it is frequently the most valuable. The City Club has accumulated a very large amount of this sort of material, some of which is, of course, ephemeral, while much is of permanent value. Some of this is in typewritten form and not easily to be duplicated elsewhere. It is, of course, specialized upon subjects of interest to the Club and particularly to the civic committees. It is also a valuable collection in many ways for the research student. An interesting collection of material now in the pamphlet files of the library is of campaign literature which has been gathered each year during the aldermanic elections ever since the Club was organized.

The principal need of the library at the present time is more space in which to expand.

DWIGHT L. AKERS,
Librarian.

Report of Committee on Admissions

A. A. Rolf, Chairman

<i>W. P. Cortis</i>	<i>Stephen A. Foster</i>
<i>George E. Dutton</i>	<i>Ethan A. Gray</i>
<i>Charles Hull Ewing</i>	<i>Earl C. Hales</i>
<i>George O. Fairweather</i>	<i>Edward Ycomans</i>

The Committee on Admissions is composed of nine members and has in general met weekly, except during the summer months. It has held thirty-three meetings, with an average attendance of five members. The activities of the Committee and the movement of membership in the Club have been as follows:

Persons approved for membership by the Committee.....	181
Persons invited to become members.....	146

Persons accepting invitation.....	119
Persons reinstated after resignation.....	4
Resigned	81
Dropped	18
Died	6
Membership April 1, 1909.....	863
Membership March 31, 1910.....	881
Increase	18

Owing, on the one hand, to the expectations of the Club respecting new Club quarters and of a movement for a considerable increase in the membership in connection with the occupation of such quarters, and owing, on the other hand, to the temporary postponement of those expectations, the Committee has not put forth any special efforts during the past year directed to an increase in the membership. Despite this fact there has been no unusual number of resignations and the membership has increased eighteen, practically through unsolicited overtures by or in behalf of persons desiring on their own initiative to become associated with the Club. The Committee regards these facts as a noticeable evidence of the vitality of the Club under somewhat adverse temporary circumstances.

The Committee is of the opinion that when proper Club quarters are secured, the membership of the Club can, without difficulty, be raised to two or three times its present size.

A. A. ROLF,
Chairman.

Report of House Committee

Frederick H. Deknatel, Chairman
Roscoe R. Gilkey Charles Ycomans

The House Committee begs to report that its efforts to provide for the comfort of the members have been much hampered by the uncertainty of the Club's tenancy of the present quarters. It will be noticed, however, that although the rooms at the disposal of members have been fewer and smaller and the service probably less satisfactory, the attendance has not materially decreased.

In the statement below house expenses such as rent, janitor's service, light, etc., are not taken into consideration, but appear in the Treasurer's report.

Below is given the attendance in the dining room for the year 1908-9 in comparison with the year 1909-10, and also the total receipts and disbursements and net loss. It will be noted from these figures that while the attendance for the year 1909-10 has been somewhat smaller than the preceding year and the total receipts proportionately less, the net loss in the conduct of the dining room has decreased.

1908-09—Attendance, 23,596; total receipts, \$13,108.95; total disbursements, \$14,934.85; net loss, \$1,825.90.

1909-10—Attendance, 22,104; total receipts, \$11,675.00; total disbursements, \$13,218.39; net loss, \$1,543.39.

Decrease in net loss for 1909-10, \$282.51.

F. H. DEKNATEL,
Chairman.

Report of Finance Committee

Victor Elting, Chairman
Alfred L. Baker Henry Baird Favill

The Committee on Finance was appointed on June 19, 1908, and reappointed last year. Its duties were the following:

(1) To provide the funds needed for carrying on the public work of the

Club. Under the method of finance which has obtained since the organization of the City Club, the general expense of operation has been defrayed from the general funds of the Club derived from annual dues. The surplus of those funds has been devoted to the public work. As the latter has increased in volume and cost, the special fund has provided the funds necessary for the purpose. During the past year the cost of the public work was \$7,328.37, and of this sum your Committee has raised approximately \$7,000 from private sources.

(2) To raise the funds necessary for contemplated building operations. Another duty devolving upon your Committee during the past year was that of procuring subscriptions to the fund for the proposed new building. A communication from the President of the Club was sent to the members on June 12, 1909. In this letter the building plan was outlined and a request was made for subscriptions to the amount of \$75,000. After that date the plans of the proposed building were altered and a larger and more substantial structure was decided upon in the event that the lease should be secured. During the few weeks which followed the first communication, subscriptions were received from more than three hundred of the club members, and the aggregate of the subscriptions was \$87,670. Almost without exception these subscriptions were sent voluntarily by mail, and, except in a few instances, there was no personal solicitation of the members. Your Committee felt that if no delay in securing the lease had been encountered, a fund of \$100,000 could readily have been obtained.

Your Committee has given some thought to the development of a future plan of finance. The method hitherto followed of securing subscriptions to the special fund from a few individuals seems to your Committee to be susceptible of improvement. It would be more consistent with the democratic spirit of the Club to afford the members at large the privilege of sharing in the expense of advancing the active program of work. Your Committee feels that such an opportunity should be afforded the members, and suggests that the President of the Club address a communication to the members, setting forth the purpose and necessity of the special fund, the plans of the Club for the future, and the probable cost of the work. Subscriptions to the special fund should be asked for and a subscription card enclosed. It is confidently believed that a large number of the members would avail themselves of the opportunity.

VICTOR ELTING,
Chairman.

The report of Harold H. Rockwell, Treasurer of the City Club, showing the receipts and disbursements of the Club for the fiscal year, was read and referred to the Finance Committee for audit. A condensed statement of this report follows:

Condensed Statement of Treasurer's Report, 1909-10

Cash on hand April 1, 1909.....	\$ 227.07
<i>Receipts—</i>	
Membership dues	\$15,767.50
Restaurant (Cash)	11,474.95
Rent	360.00
Subscriptions to Christmas Fund.....	544.50
Subscriptions to Special Fund.....	6,975.00
Building Fund	1,865.00
Blaine Fund—Education Committee investigation...	600.00
Culver Fund	1,200.00
Other Special Funds.....	625.00
Loans (for offset, see "Loans paid").....	14,000.00
Miscellaneous	1,865.00
	<hr/>
	\$53,699.02
	<hr/>
	\$53,926.09

Disbursements—

Rent	\$ 7,025.00
Building maintenance	2,772.90
Office and house salaries.....	2,582.06
Office and house expense.....	1,259.21
Restaurant (Cash)	13,506.86
Furniture and fixtures.....	377.33
Christmas to employes.....	503.28
Miscellaneous	862.85
Loans paid	16,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$44,889.49

Public Work—

Bulletin	\$2,090.64
Library	214.34
Salaries	3,498.00
Postage	414.50
General	441.67
Education Committee	669.02
	<hr/>
	\$7,328.37
	<hr/>
	\$52,217.86

Cash on hand March 31, 1910.....	<hr/>	\$ 1,708.23
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Following the presentation of reports, the election of officers and directors was held. The Nominating Committee made the following report:

Report of Nominating Committee—Annual Election

We, the undersigned, members of the Committee named by the Board of Directors of the City Club, in accordance with the by-laws, to prepare a list of candidates for officers and directors for the election to be held on April 16, 1910, respectfully report the following nominations:

For President—Dr. Henry B. Favill.
 For Vice President—Stephen T. Mather.
 For Treasurer—Harold H. Rockwell.
 For Secretary—Spencer L. Adams.
 For Directors—John M. Ewen, Julius Rosenwald, Thomas W. Swan, Edward Yeomans,

F. B. JOHNSTONE, *Chairman*;
 ROBERT CATHERWOOD,
 WILLIAM H. FRENCH,
 EARL C. HALES,
 GEORGE H. MEAD,

Nominating Committee.

No other nominations being made, the persons so nominated by the Committee were unanimously elected. After brief remarks by Dr. Favill, the new President, the meeting adjourned.

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DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

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THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE BUREAU OF STREETS

On Tuesday, May 24, at a special luncheon of the City Club, the need of a thorough and comprehensive reorganization of the administrative machinery of the city government was discussed. The immediate occasion for this discussion was a communication sent to the City Council on March 19 last by the Civic Federation of Chicago, recommending that the Bureau of Streets be reorganized as a separate department whose head should be a member of the mayor's cabinet. This communication was referred by the City Council to its Judiciary Committee and thence to a sub-committee of which Alderman Charles M. Thomson is chairman. The proposition is still pending before that sub-committee.

Department of Streets Advocated

In support of its recommendation the Civic Federation cited the relative importance of the Bureau of Streets as an administrative unit of the city government. It was pointed out that the Bureau of Streets has a larger appropriation for its work than any independent department in the city hall with the exception of the Department of Public Works and the Police Department. The Bureau was also shown to rank equally high in the amount of labor employed and in the number of functions subserved. The magnitude of the work of the bureau as indicated by these facts justified, in the opinion of the Civic Federation, the creation of an independent department ranking with the other independent city departments.

Another point urged in favor of the recommendation was that under the present management there is a division of responsibility which is harmful to the efficiency of the administration. The

functions of the Department of Public Works are too numerous and too varied to admit of close supervision by the head of that department. The work is, therefore, very largely left to the direction of the Superintendent of Streets instead of to the head of the Public Works Department, with a consequent division of responsibility between the two. The reorganization of the Bureau as a Department would, according to the Civic Federation, materially assist in securing a proper concentration of responsibility.

Objections to New Department

The chief objection to the plan of the Civic Federation has been that, if it were adopted, the position of Superintendent of Streets would by law be taken out from under the operation of the civil service law and the place would then be filled by political appointment rather than on the basis of ascertained merit. It was also felt that any reorganization which might take place should be undertaken in a thorough, comprehensive manner rather than piecemeal, so that the functions of the various branches of the city government might be properly co-ordinated.

At a joint meeting of the City Club Committees on Civil Service, Water Supply, Drainage and Sewerage and Streets, Alleys and Bridges, the questions involved in the report of the Civic Federation and the objections raised thereto were considered. It was suggested that as the Merriam Commission on City Expenditures expected to make a comprehensive report on the subject of departmental organization it would be unwise to proceed at that time with any radical change in the present administrative machinery of the city. A recommendation favoring delay until such time as the

report of the Merriam Commission should be submitted was thereupon, March 28, 1910, sent to the City Council by these joint committees of the City Club. On May 23rd, at a meeting of the sub-committee of the Council Judiciary Committee having the matter in charge, it was decided to withhold consideration of the proposition until after the report of the Merriam Commission.

At the City Club meeting on May 24, the advisability of carrying out the proposal of the Civic Federation for the creation of a new street department to take the place of the present Bureau of Streets was discussed pro and con, Mr. Robert Catherwood, president of the Civil Service Reform Association, speaking against the proposition, and Mr. Douglas Sutherland, secretary of the Civic Federation, speaking in its favor. Following these main addresses there was a general discussion from the floor. Mr. Francis X. Busch, of the City Club Committee on Civil Service, presided. The Chairman, in introducing the first speaker, made the following explanatory remarks:

Francis X. Busch

"Some time toward the latter part of March a communication was sent to the City Council by the Civic Federation urging that the Bureau of Streets be changed to a department and reciting certain facts in support of this proposal. The matter at first received more or less favorable press comment, but it was regarded unfavorably by many people interested in efficient administration, and after careful consideration of the subject the committees of this Club on Streets, on Water Supply and on Civil Service, with the approval of the Public Affairs Committee, joined in a communication to the City Council on March 28th recommending that the consideration of the proposed change await the final report of the Merriam Commission on departmental organization.

Committee Delays Action

"The Civil Service Reform Association also gave the matter prompt attention, and after careful consideration felt that the ordinance was a serious administrative mistake and voted to oppose the

creation of new departments until the whole subject of departmental organization could be taken up scientifically in its entirety. The Association prepared to oppose before the Judiciary Committee any ordinance embodying such a change. When, however, the matter came before the sub-committee, the chairman, Alderman Thomson, suggested that the whole matter be deferred until the report of the Merriam Commission, and the Civil Service Association concurred in this proposal. The sub-committee finally decided, with the concurrence of that Association, this Club and also the Civic Federation, to hold the subject in abeyance pending this report.

Civil Service and the Streets Bureau

"It is interesting to note when the position of Superintendent of Streets was made vacant last summer by the death of Superintendent Doherty, an original entrance examination for the position was held which resulted in an eligible list at the head of which was Mr. John T. Fetherston. Owing, however, to the fact that no attempt was made to hold a promotional examination in advance of the original entrance examination, the courts on January 28th mandamusd the Civil Service Commission to hold such a promotional examination, if a sufficient registration could be obtained. Under the law allowing temporary appointments to prevent stoppage of public business, a sixty-day emergency appointee, Mr. Fowler, was on February 7th placed in charge of the Bureau, and has since been twice reappointed. The promotional examination ordered by the court was called for April 11, 1910, and there being no applicants it was then open to the Commission either to certify Mr. Fetherston or to hold another original entrance examination. This, however, has not been done. The failure of the Commission to certify Mr. Fetherston or to proceed with another original examination is apparently due to the pendency of the proposal to change the Bureau of Streets to a department."

Mr. Robert Catherwood, President of the Civil Service Reform Association, was introduced by the chairman and spoke as follows:

Robert Catherwood

"In the council proceedings of March 21, 1910, it appears that the mayor transmitted to the City Council a communication from the Civic Federation, by Douglas Sutherland, its secretary, asking for the speedy enactment of an ordinance creating a Department of Streets in charge of a commissioner to be appointed by the mayor. The mayor recommended immediate consideration by the Council Committee on Judiciary. On motion of Alderman Foreman it was so ordered.

Departments and the Merit System

"In former councils, Alderman Foreman has been the author of several ordinances creating new departments. In the present council he has introduced ordinances to create a department of information and publicity and a department of public service, both of which are now pending. It was generally admitted not only that there should be a branch of the city government dealing with information and publicity, but that it should be non-political, with a head chosen by civil service methods. When, however, this proposal was under discussion in committee Alderman Foreman not only objected to this feature, but stated that he would oppose the ordinance if that were incorporated. I mention this to indicate the attitude of proponents of new departments towards civil service principles.

"The proposal of the Civic Federation for an ordinance creating a department of streets under a commissioner to be appointed by the mayor is pending before a sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee, which at its meeting yesterday decided to hold it in abeyance until after the Merriam Commission reports on the subject matter, but the sub-committee declined to refer the ordinance to the Merriam Commission.

Importance of Street Bureau

"The favorable comment upon the proposition for a Department of Streets, its plausibility, the attention it received from the mayor, the energetic campaign in support of it being made by the Civic Federation and the far-reaching consequence attaching to the proposal, require

a thorough discussion of the merits of this question. Examining the letter to the Council, we find that it sets out in detail the volume of expenditures and the large number of men employed by the Bureau of Streets and contends that this bureau should therefore have departmental organization. The letter goes on to say:

"I would be inclined to favor the entire abolition of the Department of Public Works and the recreation of the principal bureaus under it as new departments. The Department of Streets, however, probably has more functions to perform than any of the other bureaus, and, therefore, stands in most immediate need of being divorced from the present Department of Public Works."

"Now, Mr. Chairman, there are at least four main objections to the principle of this ordinance, which I propose to point out, which are not mentioned in Mr. Sutherland's letter, and which so far as I am aware have not come to public attention.

"*First.* Without the slightest reference to the general organization of the city government, this ordinance as well as the pending Foreman ordinances, and those foreshadowed by the Civic Federation letter for the other bureaus of the Public Works Department, undertake to handle piecemeal a vital subject which ought to be handled in a systematic fashion.

"*Second.* The probability of securing a high class man to take charge of streets is far less under appointment by the Mayor than under civil service selection.

"*Third.* It immensely increases the dangers of manipulation for political purposes.

"*Fourth.* It splits up the city government and isolates a branch of work which ought in its very nature to be coordinated in a single department with other closely related activities if we are ever to have effective organization.

Size of Bureau Not Important

"*First.* It is contended that if it can be shown that a bureau spends a lot of money and employs many men it ought, therefore, to be made into a department. The executive branch of the great government of the United States, with its hundreds of thousands of employes and its billion of annual expenditure, is divided into ten departments managed by

ten department heads. For our city government with 16,000 employes and a budget of \$60,000,000 we have 26 departments, 17 of which have been created in the last fifteen years, or over one new one a year. The Supreme Court of Illinois in *Kipley vs. The People* found that in 1895, the year the civil service law was passed, Chicago had nine departments; today the official charts show that we have twenty-six. At present, the Mayor of Chicago is held accountable for the supervision of all the department heads, and we all know that it is impossible for any one man to perform such a task. Will it help the mayor to increase still further the number of departments requiring his supervision?

Too Many Departments Now

"I submit that in respect to the organization of the city government the great need is to cut down and lessen the number of departments to a manageable number and that those few departments be classified on scientific and business lines. Those who object to subordination and correlation of bureaus, those who look with special interest at only one particular branch of public work and those who want to beat the civil service law are easily united on an ordinance creating a new department. The arguments in favor of a department of streets because of the volume of expenditures or business could be applied with equal force to many other branches of the city government, but no such reasons can ever justify or compensate for the evils of disorganization. You might just as easily suggest to the Federal government that the Pension Bureau, the Internal Revenue Bureau, or a number of other bureaus should be changed into departments because of the amount of money expended by them and the number of persons employed. The tendency of all this is to get so many departments that team work is impossible. No mayor, no one human being, can harmonize the inter-relations of so many independent agencies. Each department becomes a law unto itself. Proper team work is fundamental. The mayor, who by law and by force of public opinion is held responsible for the conduct of municipal affairs, is the only person who has any

supervision over department heads. When that supervision is strained and extended over an excessive number of departments beyond the capacity of any human being to perform, the theory of responsibility breaks down, the supervision is a failure and the organization becomes disorganized.

Reorganization Should be Systematic

"The action of the Judiciary sub-committee of the Council in deferring its report until after the Merriam Commission has dealt with this subject is obviously wise. The Merriam Commission has had exceptional facilities for studying the subject in all of its hearings, and for this reason, if for no other, no such piecemeal change as the one proposed should be passed, when the city itself, through an authority constituted for investigation of the whole subject, with a view of systematically dealing with it, is about to make its report.

Civil Service Eliminated

"*Second.* The existing law requires the superintendent of streets to be selected by civil service tests; the proposed ordinance makes him the mayor's appointee. What is the practical difference? The permanent standards under which Mr. Fetherston was selected require a specialist. He must by law be chosen solely for ability and fitness ascertained by practical tests, open, free and competitive in character, through means which are perfectly definite and thoroughly understood, and all politics are prohibited from entering into the choice. From a number of applicants, the highest on the list must be first appointed. On the other hand, a department head is a political appointee and by law is open to be chosen by the mayor without any such tests which demonstrate his fitness. In his choice the mayor has the legal right to consider motives of policy and politics.

Expert Service Needed

"But, we are told, if you wish to insure special qualifications in the mayor's appointee, there is an easy way to reach that. We can stipulate in the ordinance what the qualifications must be. This sounds well, but surely we all know

that any provision of the ordinance which undertook to restrict the mayor's choice by requiring special qualifications could never be enforced. The qualifications could not be tested and in practice they would rest solely a matter of the mayor's opinion. The civil service law provides definite standards; we all know what they mean; we know how to apply them. They are not matters left to the arbitrary judgment of any one man, but are matters of record, and the expert who takes a civil service appointment is reasonably sure, as long as he performs his duties in an efficient manner, of stability of tenure in his office. Ever since the Spanish war, street cleaning and garbage disposal have been generally regarded as a specialty. Scientific treatment of the subject and up to date methods are highly important both from a sanitary and economical point of view. The trained men exist and other cities are competing for their services. Such men will not accept an appointment from the mayor because he can only give them an appointment during his incumbency, but they will accept appointments when the position is under civil service tenure, because that means permanency of employment during good behavior. They can afford to ignore the political situation and devote themselves to business. This point alone ought to settle the whole question.

Non-resident Chief Barred

"Moreover, by making the chief of the streets a department head, we bar all chance of obtaining a non-resident. The best man in the world, if he lived in Evanston or New York, could not be appointed by the mayor. A department head is an 'officer' and an 'officer' must by statute live in Chicago. On the other hand, a bureau chief may be selected, if the civil service commission so rules, from any part of the United States.

"I submit that the probabilities of securing a high class man to handle the street work are far greater under the existing law than under appointment by the mayor.

"*Third.* From an administrative point of view there are practical inconveniences in isolating the control of streets

from other branches of work in the Department of Public Works.

Relation to Other Bureaus

"The superintendent of streets has charge of the cleaning of streets and alleys, removal of garbage, ashes and waste, of snow, dead animals, and street and sidewalk obstructions, of the repair of streets, sidewalks and country roads, except special assessment work, of permits to public service corporations and of enforcement of provisions requiring pavements and walks to be restored in good condition. These duties are intimately related to nearly every branch of public works. The work of the bureau of sewers, of the city engineer, of water pipe extension, the joint use of city dumps, city teams, repair shops and ward yards, the laying of pipes, gas mains and house drains, paving inspection, and the management of pumping stations, all touch the work of the bureau of streets at many points. Conflicts and duplications of work can be avoided by a single department head where separate departments would never do it and would throw the blame from one to the other.

Should be Correlation

"The work of the bureau of streets ought constantly to be co-ordinated with and adjusted to the developments of these kindred activities. The sewers, tunnels, conduits and wires and pipes under the streets, the pavements, sidewalks, gutters, catch basins, street lamps and car tracks on the surface of the streets, the trolley poles, overhead wires, awnings, staircases, viaducts, elevated structures and bridges above the streets, the teams which collect the refuse from catch basins and gutters, from the streets and elsewhere, the dumps where it is weighed and disposed of, and most, if not all, of the duties performed by the various bureaus in the Department of Public Works are so intimately related that they must scientifically and rationally belong in one department. There they can be co-ordinated and minor rearrangements made as experience points the way. The attempt to operate them under separate department heads appointed by the mayor, bars all rearrange-

ments by administrative order, invites expensive and wasteful duplications of work, and perpetuates all the faults of disorganization and business chaos. If we conceive of departmental heads as sub mayors, not too numerous to act as confidential advisers of the mayor, dividing the whole field so that each has charge of closely related activities, prescribing, promoting and defending general policies, free of all routine work, but adjusting and co-ordinating the work of bureau chiefs, and generally seeing that the public servants perform their duties and that the city's policies are carried out, we shall have a workable organization. Then there will be some reality in the present legal theory of responsibility. Under a systematic and rational classification the work of the streets ought to stay with these other bureaus whose work is necessarily related to it.

Political Control Encouraged

Fourth. This proposed ordinance, by placing a political appointee directly in control of street work, increases the dangers of manipulation of administration for political purposes. With thousands of laborers and hundreds of teams, having in its gift most valuable permits, the Bureau of Streets can be easily managed to affect municipal elections. We decrease the chances of honest, business-like administration when we set aside a specialist of the Fetherston type and ask for a political appointee. To do this is to throw away such safeguards as we have, to invite manipulation for political ends and to admit, on behalf of those in power, that this class of political service is needed. If you want to defeat an alderman, see to it that the street bureau neglects his ward. If you wish to elect him, clean his ward and keep it clean, and though he be otherwise the worst gray wolf in the council, many voters will say, 'I don't care what you say about this man, he gets things done; look how he keeps our streets.' In other words, abuse of the street service is easily practiced under departmental organization, but improbable under a specialist. Let us have a fair field and no favor in our aldermanic elections! By keeping the street service a bureau

in the Department of Public Works the place is kept out of politics except as somebody breaks the law.

Change Should Not be Made

"Gentlemen, let us beware how we increase the number of political appointees and decrease the number of high class technical men in our city administration; how we split up the city government instead of knitting the organization more and more closely together.

"I respectfully urge that the proposed change of the bureau of streets into a department ought not to be made at all, and the proposal to refer the whole subject of new departments to the Merriam Commission is obviously the correct one." (Applause.)

Mr. Douglas Sutherland, secretary of the Civic Federation, spoke in reply to Mr. Catherwood.

Douglas Sutherland

"The contention of the Civic Federation for a separate street bureau is, I am convinced, supported by incontrovertible facts. I would like to speak to this text: 'By our streets ye shall know us.' You are all familiar with the condition of the streets in Chicago and with the condition in which they have been for years. We all know that if it were not for our magnificent system of parks and boulevards, Chicago's streets would present a very sorry appearance indeed. Anyone, by looking at our streets, can tell that we have precisely the outgrown organization in our city hall that we have. Our superintendent of streets, the man nominally in charge of the streets, is not actually in charge at all. He is the under officer; he is under two superiors, the Commissioner of Public Works and the Deputy Commissioner of Public Works.

Bureau Should be Department

"It is no argument to my mind to urge that we have twenty-six or even thirty departments in the city hall. Here is the Bureau of Streets, which is a larger bureau than many of the other departments in the City Hall! The number of employees, the expenditures of the Bureau and the duties imposed on the men immediately in charge are larger than

those of the other departments except the Police Department and the Department of Public Works. No one will deny that there is no function of city government more important than the care of our streets. The streets show the nature of the city; they make our trade what it is. If we have better streets, we encourage the teaming interests and the commercial interests as a whole. If we have clean streets and clean alleys it makes for the health of the city.

Give Bureau Its Due

"No one will deny that there are many small departments in the city government that should be co-ordinated. There should be a reorganization and many of these smaller departments could well be merged in this way, but that is no reason for refusing proper recognition to so important a branch of municipal government as the Street Division.

"Mr. Catherwood quoted from our communication to the Council to the effect that most of the other bureaus in the Department of Public Works should be established as separate departments. I think he quoted from Mr. Joseph Downey's opinion which, with other opinions of former city officials, was appended to our communication. This was merely incidental, however, and not a part of our recommendation.

"As to Mr. Catherwood's statement regarding the number of departments, I regret to say that he is slightly in error, for I have checked up that statement by the records in the City Clerk's office and find that instead of seventeen departments having been created in the last fifteen years there have been but seven. This, perhaps, is not a material point, but such are the facts.

The Question of Responsibility

"If you wish to emphasize the importance of the care of our streets, you can do it by placing the man in charge in a responsible position. I believe we are all aiming at what seems to me to be the same thing. You, gentlemen, emphasize the importance of street administration and say that we should have an expert in charge of our streets. We agree with you. The best man we can get

is not too good for the City of Chicago; but suppose you get the best man possible and put him in charge of the Bureau of Streets under the present organization, in what situation will he find himself? There will be two men over him, a Commissioner of Public Works and a Deputy Commissioner of Public Works. Such an arrangement would work out well only under ideal conditions, namely, if the Commissioner of Public Works were interested primarily in efficient city government, and particularly in the street service. Whereas, if the Bureau of Streets were reorganized as a department, you would have just as good a chance of securing a good street commissioner as you now have of securing a good Commissioner of Public Works, and there would be added the advantage that he would be directly responsible for the work of the streets, that being his actual function.

"We believe most firmly that this bureau, not only because it spends three million dollars a year, not only because it has three thousand employes, not only because of its relative size and importance, but because it represents an essential phase of city administration, should be a department. If we are going to remove the present unfortunate conditions, we must make a change of that sort.

No Co-ordination Now

"As to Mr. Catherwood's point that the separation of the Bureau of Streets from the Department of Public Works would result in a lack of co-ordination between the bureaus of the Department of Public Works and the Streets Department, Mr. William O'Connell, former Commissioner of Public Works, Mr. Fred Blocki and Mr. Downey all bore witness to the fact that there is under the present system the greatest difficulty in getting co-ordination among the different bureaus. That would not exist if the street bureau were made a department under a properly drawn ordinance.

"Those who have been to the Streets Bureau to make a complaint or even a suggestion, or to try to get something done, have been referred to the Commissioner of Public Works, or to the

Deputy Commissioner of Public Works. If the superintendent of streets were, however, at the head of a separate department, he could be appealed to directly. Thus the present system is not one which tends towards the increase of efficiency or towards the convenience and satisfaction of the public.

Correlation Possible Under Department

"If the street supervision were placed where it belongs, under a single responsible head, and other bureaus whose functions are closely related to the care of streets were made part of the new department, we should achieve proper co-ordination with responsible supervision." (Applause.)

JOSEPH W. ERRANT: "I would like to call attention to one or two points that were brought up by my friend Mr. Sutherland in arguing for the change of the Bureau of Streets to a department. He says that the head of the bureau today is really not the head of the bureau, but that he has to refer things to some one above him; that is, to the Commissioner of Public Works. That is probably true, but it is not so much a reflection upon the present scheme of having the streets under a bureau with a civil service man at the head of it, as a reflection, perhaps, upon the former Commissioner of Public Works, in that he did not have the administrative ability to run the various parts of his department as they should have been run. The ideal arrangement, I suppose, would be to have a man at the head of this great department who would let his bureau chiefs work in their own fields without interference except as absolutely necessary for administrative efficiency.

Reorganization Must be Comprehensive

"To many of us who have become interested in this matter, there seems to be only one side to the question. All our institutions and our administrative machinery have been built up by patchwork here and there. Very little has been done in the way of systematic organization. As Mr. Catherwood has suggested, a thorough and systematic readjustment of administrative relations must be undertaken after a careful study of the

whole situation, with a view to properly co-ordinating departmental functions.

"I fail to see in the points raised by Mr. Sutherland any valid reason why this change of the Bureau of Streets to a department should be made. I presume that where a change is suggested, the burden is upon those who suggest that change, to show good reasons for it. We have not heard them yet. It is no argument to point out the quantity of work and the number of employes under the supervision of the Bureau of Streets. As Mr. Catherwood has suggested, the Federal government has a number of very large bureaus against which the same argument might be urged. What good reason, then, can be urged for making this change? We still wait to hear." (Applause.)

GEORGE E. HOOKER: "As I understand this proposition, I am not in favor of it. The argument in its favor reduces itself to the feeling that the head of this branch of the city government, if he were appointed by the mayor, would be more independent in his administrative policies than if he were appointed by the Civil Service Commission.

Department Chief Not Independent

"Under the organization of the Bureau of Streets precisely as it is, the Superintendent of Streets is responsible to the Commissioner of Public Works and the Deputy Commissioner of Public Works, both of whom are appointed by the mayor. I do not see that you have any more assurance that a proper Superintendent of Streets would be selected by the mayor than you have that those other appointees of the mayor will be properly selected. You would have no assurance of the character of his administration on independent lines if he were appointed by the mayor. If the mayor wanted to secure systematic and scientific administration of the streets, he might be able to do so by naming the right sort of man at the head of the Department of Streets—if it were a department. But he would certainly be able to secure the same independence by tipping the Commissioner of Public Works or the Deputy Commissioner of Public Works to let the Superintendent of Streets alone.

That would guarantee his independence quite as effectively as placing him at the head of a separate department.

Keep Streets Out of Politics

"I take it, Mr. Chairman, that the Bureau of Streets for many years has been, and is today, that point in the city administration where what we call 'politics' has its fullest operation. It is a fair question whether, under the appointment of the head of the streets department, so called, by the mayor, that branch of the city government would be taken out of the realm of politics or not. I do not think that the proposed scheme is calculated to expedite that result, or is even capable of it. If the streets are ever to be taken out of politics, it would seem that this could best be done by having a man selected under those circumstances which imply permanency of occupation and tenure, and which minimize interference for political purposes." (Applause.)

Permanency of Tenure

CHAIRMAN BUSCH: "It strikes me that one of the most forcible points that has been raised has been that with reference to permanency of tenure. We are all agreed on the need of a highly specialized and technical man at the head of the work of the Bureau of Streets. I would like to ask Mr. Sutherland if such a man could be secured through a system which makes the appointment a political one and subject to change every four years."

MR. SUTHERLAND: "The street cleaning and removal of garbage would be cared for as now under direction of the assistant superintendent of streets, who would be under Civil Service, and who might be required to be a technical man. The question of permanency would be dependent on the appointing power, but on the other hand we should have responsibility clearly defined."

Where Draw the Line?

MR. ERRANT: "You say this work of removing the garbage and cleaning the streets is done under the authority of an Assistant Superintendent? There, again, you have a division of responsibility, if the Assistant Superintendent does his work under the supervision of the Superintendent of Streets."

MR. SUTHERLAND: "You are bound to have division of responsibility."

MR. ERRANT: "Where will you stop?"

MR. SUTHERLAND: "By co-ordinating the proper functions of the Bureau of Streets as related under the present organization, and not incorporating other bureaus which should not be related to them. There is too much work for the Commissioner of Public Works alone."

MR. ERRANT: "Doesn't the Superintendent of Streets have to rely upon the man under him?"

MR. SUTHERLAND: "He does, most certainly."

MR. ERRANT: "Why shouldn't that man be the head of a department?"

MR. SUTHERLAND: "No, Mr. Errant, that is where you carry the theory too far. I can illustrate that, perhaps, by citing the development of our elective system. The old theory of elections was to elect one officer to keep tab on another. But that theory was carried to such an extreme that a perfectly cumbersome ballot and a confusion of responsibility was the result. There has been a similar experience in the Department of Public Works. In the Department of Public Works there are so many checks and balances that nearly every voucher contains six or seven signatures. In such a situation whose is the responsibility for error?"



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THE CHICAGO BUREAU OF PUBLIC EFFICIENCY

The following announcement relative to the formation of a Bureau of Public Efficiency was made on Wednesday, the 8th instant:

"The City Club has had under consideration for several weeks the formation of a Bureau of Public Efficiency along somewhat similar lines to the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. A general plan has been formulated by a committee consisting of Alfred L. Baker, Julius Rosenwald, Charles E. Merriam, Walter L. Fisher and Dr. Henry B. Favill, and a preliminary canvass for funds has met with sufficient encouragement to justify the definite announcement of the plan and an appeal to the public for financial support. Inasmuch as its sole purpose is to aid in establishing sound business principles in the administration of our local government, it is confidently expected that the Bureau will appeal strongly to the business men of the community. The plan of organization is as follows:

A Plan for an Unofficial Organization to Be Known as the Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency.

"(1) To scrutinize the systems of accounting in the eight local governments of Chicago.

"(2) To examine the methods of purchasing materials and supplies and letting and executing construction contracts in these bodies.

"(3) To examine the payrolls of these local governing bodies with a view of determining the efficiency of such expenditures.

"(4) To make constructive suggestions for improvements in the directions indicated under 1, 2 and 3, and to co-operate with public officials in the installation of these improved methods.

"(5) To furnish the public with exact information regarding public revenues and expenditures, and thereby promote efficiency and economy in the public service.

To Continue Work of Merriam Commission

"For the last five months the Commission on City Expenditures has been conducting an investigation into the finances of the city government, and within a few more months will have covered this field in a general way. As this Commission will go out of existence as soon as its final report is made, it is clear that much of the value of its work will be lost unless some means of effectively following up its recommendations is devised. In fact, the usefulness of any such work of investigation is directly in proportion to the persistence with which it is prosecuted. Efficiency and economy cannot be established in the public service as the result of any one effort, but only by continuous attention. Moreover, only a part of the local field has been covered. Similar work

should be done for and by the other local governing bodies, including Cook County, the Sanitary District, the Board of Education, the Public Library Board and the Park Boards.

"It has been suggested that in order to make permanent the results secured by the present investigation and to obtain other benefits in the way of increased efficiency in the expenditure of public funds, a permanent organization, unofficial in its character, should be established. Such an organization would maintain a staff of expert accountants, investigators and engineers, and carry on continuously an analytical and constructive study of public expenditures. The very fact that such an organization was in existence would strengthen the hands of honest officials disposed to co-operate with any such movement, and to restrain those whose interest in public expenditures is essentially personal and private.

What the Bureau Might Do

"By way of illustration of the practical work which might be undertaken by such a body, the following may be cited:

"This year the city budget was placed upon a new basis. Appropriations were carefully itemized and segregated for the first time in the history of the city, with satisfactory results in the direction of economy in appropriation and effective control of expenditures. Unless this work is followed up, however, by proper accounting and by strict supervision of the whole system, the old method is likely to come back little by little.

"This year the establishment of a central agency for purchasing all city supplies and materials has been recommended, and the establishment of standard specifications for materials purchased by different departments, as in the case of stationery, printing, grain, etc. But this work must be followed up, or its effect will be lost, or will be even opposite from that intended. Even a central purchasing agency and standard specifications are liable to abuse.

"Another case in point is the purchase of coal, regarding which important recommendations affecting time of purchase, character of specifications, and

tests of deliveries have been made, but the effect of which may be entirely lost without expert scrutiny of the practical operation of the new plan by some impartial and competent authority.

"Again, it is proposed to consolidate the work of special assessment accounting at a large annual saving, but there are numerous difficulties in the way of the successful establishment and practical operation of the new system. To overcome these, the co-operation of expert accountants with the city force is desirable.

"Such cases might be easily multiplied, for they are found in every department already covered.

A Broad Field

"In addition to the money spent by the City of Chicago, there are several other sets of expenditures, made by the Board of Education, the Public Library Board, Cook County, the three Park Boards and the Sanitary District. As the budget of the city is only about one-half the total local expenditure, it is evident that areas wholly untouched are of great importance. Each of these different systems should be carefully studied with a view to suggesting improvements in the efficiency of the expenditures. The number of these governments and their lack of co-ordination make careful investigation of all of them the more urgent. The accounting systems, the purchase of materials and supplies, and the payrolls of all these bodies ought to be closely scrutinized and constructive suggestions for improvement made. There can be little doubt that a careful inquiry of this sort would result in very considerable economies in the expenditure of public funds by these different bodies. Such an agency would not in any way usurp or take the place of official action. It would recognize fully that the definite authority and responsibility for the conduct of the public business rests with the public officials. It would seek merely to stimulate the highest practicable standards of business efficiency. It would frankly and fearlessly inform the public when and in what respects these standards were not being maintained. Regarding the method

in which this work might be accomplished, it is proposed:

Plan of Organization

"That the Directors of the City Club choose six (6) Trustees for a term of three (3) years, one-third of the number retiring each year.

"That these six Trustees be given charge of the administration of any fund subscribed for the purpose of an investigation of local public expenditures.

"That the Trustees choose a Director to assume active charge of the work under their general supervision.

"That an adequate force of accountants, engineers, investigators, clerks and stenographers be employed.

"A careful estimate of the cost of

maintaining the Bureau has been made, based on the cost of the work carried on by the (Merriam) Commission on City Expenditures. It is thought that \$130,000 will be required for the first two years, and thereafter not to exceed \$50,000 a year, the amount depending on the conditions then established. It is all important to assure the permanency of the work for the first two years, and of the \$130,000 estimated as necessary, \$80,000 has already been conditionally subscribed. The Trustees of the fund will be promptly selected and their names announced. Meanwhile, those who are willing to subscribe for the first two years, or for the first year, can address any member of the Committee or the City Club of Chicago."

THE MILITARY SITUATION IN EUROPE

Rev. Walter Walsh of Dundee, Scotland, who is now visiting the United States, addressed the City Club on Friday, the 3rd instant, on the subject of "The Military Situation in Europe." Mr. Walsh is one of the leaders in his country in the movement for international peace. Mr. David R. Forgan presided and in introducing the speaker made the following remarks:

CHAIRMAN FORGAN: "Gentlemen of the City Club: I believe I have been asked to preside here today because the speaker is a distinguished fellow Scotchman. If anything would make a man an advocate of peace, it ought to be the study of the history of Scotland. For four or five centuries the Scottish people did nothing but fight; they fought for their independence with England; they fought among themselves; they fought the Irish; they fought the Danes and the Swedes and everybody else that wanted a 'scrap.'

Scotland a Warlike Country

"In reading the history of Scotland, you will find that it practically had no such thing as diplomatic relations. Just as soon as any little difference of opinion arose Scotland raised an army and had a fight—and the striking thing about the whole matter is that the fight, no matter

which way it went, never decided anything. (Laughter.) England had over three hundred battles with Scotland, and owing to her large preponderance of weight and numbers, she usually won those battles, but nothing ever came of them. The English army went back to England and Scotland remained just as ready as ever to fight again the next year, for the Scotchmen never would give in. No good apparently ever came of all this fighting. After a time, as you know, the two countries united, but even then their fighting wasn't done, for England invaded Scotland several times after that.

"It is, however, an encouraging thought for advocates of peace that Scottish and English swords have not crossed now for over one hundred and sixty years. The English and the Scotch do not fly at each other's throats quite as quickly as they used to. They have got down now to having an argument about their differences, and even arguing for peace. Next to fighting, you know the Scotch like arguing. There was a Scotchman dying one time, and the doctor looked him over and announced that he could live but five minutes. A lady in the room was very much overcome by this announcement. Approaching the bedside

of the dying Scotchman, she said to him very gently, 'Mr. McDonald, I am very much distressed at the thought that you can only be with us for such a short time. Is there anything I can do for you? Can I sing you a hymn?' The Scotchman replied: 'Na, na; nae hymn for me; I want to argie!' (Laughter.) I have no doubt our distinguished speaker today will make a very good argument for peace, and I will not hold you from it further than to say that Dr. Walter Walsh is a distinguished author and speaker in the peace cause, and it is a very great pleasure to us to have him with us today. Dr. Walsh." (Applause.)

Dr. Walter Walsh

"The Chairman's happy allusion to the history of Scotland brought to my mind the lines in Butler's 'Hudibras' of the hero's famous brand which 'ate into itself for lack of somebody to hew and hack.' The Scottish brand is like that in having no English skulls to cleave now; we have turned to fighting for peace and there will be no more vehement warriors for peace in the world than those coming from that war worn, but never war weary, little country of Scotland.

"It is a little hard to bring a Scotchman to a good meal and then set him to making speeches. It reminds me of two of my countrymen, who were sitting at the Little Blue Bonnet Inn, discussing a liquor, not made in Kentucky, but at a place that bears the name of Glen Livat. They were sitting there in silence watching the ebbing tide in the bottle and the glasses. At last one of them says, 'Sandy, I'm wondering if that flee on the wind'y there is a beasty or a birdy.' 'Haud yer tongue, mon; haud yer tongue. Haven't I tel't ye never to spoil gude whiskey wi' reelegious conversation?' (Laughter.) I hope we are not going to spoil a good luncheon with 'relegious' conversation!

The Military Situation in Europe

"With your tolerance, which I have learned is very great on this continent, I do propose to inflict a few minutes' reflection upon you in regard to the military situation in Europe. I do so, because we are looking to you in this country to help us out of our troubles.

to show us a more excellent way of straightening out our international disputes.

"There is a romance called the 'Wrecker,' written about your western state, California, by our beloved Robert Louis Stevenson, in which there is an enthusiastic young American called James Pinkerton who cries to his friend Loudon Dodd, 'Louden, we have to fulfill the American type. We are under bond to fulfill the American type. The hope of the world is there, Loudon. If we fail, like those old feudal monarchies, what is there left?' In coming through on the train, I have been reading Mr. Zangwill's very interesting play, 'The Melting Pot.' He holds to something of the same idea. America is a kind of crucible; all of the nationalities have been thrown in here to be melted down and out of all this is to come the American type. What that will be, I do not know, but in the absence of the American type, there is the American method, which is attracting attention all over the world.

The Cost of European Armament

"Before I take up the American method for discussion, however, let me touch upon the situation in Europe. I will not burden you with figures. I could tell you about the sixty-seven million pounds that Great Britain is spending this year on its army and navy; of the three hundred and eighty thousand men forming its standing army—nearly six hundred thousand, if we include the Indian army; of similar figures for Germany and France; of the six millions of men who are under arms in Europe every day, at a cost of two hundred and ninety million pounds; of the thirteen or fourteen millions of men in Europe who are under call to take arms whenever they are summoned; but these figures, after all, would convey no graphic idea to your minds. This, however, I think will sum up the matter: We in Great Britain have reached the end of our tether. We can pay no more war taxes. If you want to be let into the secret of the political situation of Great Britain, it lies just there—the taxes have gone up. I remember when I was a young man, our military expenditure

was thirty millions, and Mr. Gladstone, at whose feet I sat when a young Liberal, lifted his hands in horror at the tremendous extravagance of a country that was squandering thirty millions a year on armaments! 'In a short time, gentlemen,' he exclaimed, 'the figure has more than doubled, and we are now spending sixty-seven million pounds on our armaments, not to speak of twenty-five millions of interest on debt for past wars. And there is every probability that within a decade we shall have reached one hundred million pounds annual expenditure in actual provision for ironclads and bayonets.'

'The situation now is this: We cannot tax our working people any more and Mr. Lloyd-George has turned for relief to the wealthy class, to the land owners, and has proposed to put a tax on their land values—an idea for which we owe a debt of thanks to America in the person of Mr. Henry George—and on their unearned incomes, with the result that the House of Lords did an unconstitutional thing, never before done in British history—namely, rejected a finance bill that had been sent up to it by the House of Commons. Thus, now, has come an *impasse*, and Lords and Commons stand at daggers drawn. What the result will be nobody knows, but that critical situation has been reached chiefly because of our enormous and increasing difficulty in meeting our war expenditures.

War and Taxes

'Germany is in just the same situation as Great Britain. Both are in great financial straits, yet their pride is such that neither will confess itself beaten. So they keep on racking their people with taxes, amid mutterings and complaints and with sore grudgings—for, of course, the people always begrudge the paying of their taxes, for whatever purpose they are raised. That being the situation, we are looking to your country for leadership, and you have, to a certain extent, given it.

'Your President Taft a few weeks ago indicated his opinion that a large number of arbitration treaties should be drawn up between your country and others, and that into these treat-

ies should go the two excluded subjects—subjects excluded from most arbitration treaties—namely, *honor* and *vital interests*. Now, if a treaty like that is drawn up between the United States and Great Britain, that means that under no conceivable circumstances could your country and ours ever come to war. There is the beginning of a league of peace, such as our grand, sagacious, broad-hearted, genial Scottish Prime Minister, the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, outlined some years ago. If, also, such an arbitration treaty is drawn up between Germany and Great Britain, and we have a court established with a concordat like that we have with France, we will exclude the possibility of war between Great Britain and Germany. If a similar treaty should be drawn up with Germany, we would then have the three greatest fighting countries in the world formed into a concordat never to fight one another, but to establish peace within their own borders in all time to come and under whatsoever provocation. It is quite certain that such a league of peace has the approbation of the powers of the world.

A World Alliance for Peace

'Speaking over the newly made grave of the late King Edward, the peacemaker, Kaiser Wilhelm, whom some belligerent Britons like to picture as a 'war lord' with fiercely turned up mustachios and with his arm hoisted ready to harrow mankind and who forget that Germany is the one country in Europe that has kept the peace uninterruptedly for forty years, proclaimed the significance of the world's peace. Let us not forget that, in fairness, gentlemen. If, then, these three countries were brought into line, it would be quite certain that France would soon begin to ask inclusion in such a league and that her differences with Germany would by and by be referred to the international court of arbitral justice which your Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, has recently recommended, a court which will be drawn from a panel of international jurists of all nations, which will always be in session at The Hague, and to which, consequently, disputes, both in peace and war, can be referred.

"This has had the sanction—or ap probation, I should say—of your ex-President, Colonel Roosevelt, speaking at Christiania, a fortnight ago, and he has advocated the enforcement, if necessary, of the decisions of that international court by an international police force. It is quite certain, again, that on the heels of that Peace League of which your country would be a distinguished member, Japan would immediately ask to be included, and the same obligations would then rest upon Japan, namely, that all possible cases of friction should be adjudicated by the International Court of Justice at The Hague. And it is quite certain also that Russia is not going to be left out in the cold, and as we are supposed to have always a menace in India from that quarter, Russia, so far as India is concerned, would have to abide by the international law which was administered at the Hague.

Europe's Optical Illusion

"I would like to draw your attention to a kindred subject, which shows that the action of the United States in seeking to find a more excellent way than war for the adjustment of international disputes fits not only with the humanitarian sentiment of our age, but with its practical, common-sense business ideas as well. I suppose I am one of those people, whom an American general has recently written about as 'visionaries, arbitrationists, and disarmamentists who, working through influences upon servile politicians, through the influences of feminism, clericalism, and sophism are driving this already deluded Republic farther down into the deep Brobdingnagian morass from which the deadly gases are always escaping.' That is not my sentence; that is the language of one of your military writers—a distinguished doer of deeds, who apparently is as handy a man with his tongue as he probably is with his sword. But I think that the people of your country are beginning to find out what a distinguished British journalist has expanded into about two hundred pages, in a book called 'Europe's Optical Illusion.' You here are not, I think, under the illusion to the extent that many of our people are in

Great Britain. 'Europe's Optical Illusion' was written by a journalist, resident in Paris, who knows the continent well and who has discussed this very proposition with the most eminent statesmen in European countries. The proposition is this:

"As long as a nation's wealth consisted of gold and silver cups, gems, slaves and so on, it was possible for a victorious enemy to carry off the spoils of the conquered, according to the vandalistic axiom *via victus*, 'the spoils to the conqueror.' But now that the wealth of the world consists in foreign investments, now that securities are planted in different countries of the world, so that no country is self-supporting or self-limited, now that all countries invest, as it were, internationally, each country having its securities distributed among all the other countries in the world, for one nation to destroy the commerce or to shake the finance of another nation is not to destroy a rival so much as a good customer, and is also to involve the conquering nation in the same financial chaos in which it has involved the conquered.

"Once upon a time we had a great highwayman, Dick Turpin, who used to ride a black horse and wear a black mask, and who put a revolver to travelers' heads on Black Heath Highway, and commanded them to stand and deliver—which they generally did, the argument being fairly persuasive. But now travelers carry check books; they do not carry their capital with them in their pocket-books; today Dick Turpin would waste his time and risk his neck for nothing. The nations are like that. They are carrying check books; their wealth is on paper.

Trade Does Not Follow the Flag

"Statistics prove that if any nation thinks it can capture the over-sea trade or destroy the commerce of another nation, it is going in the face not only of natural law but of all economic principles. Nations will never be turned aside by force or violence to trade in unnatural channels. Trade does not follow the flag. It doesn't even follow the tariff. It goes along certain natural lines which are predetermined by the wants

and wishes of the various groups of mankind. Our Richard Cobden long ago made that clear enough to all whose minds were not obsessed by jingoistic prejudices. If you turn to Europe, you have quite sufficient evidence of this fact. Where are securities safest? Not in Germany, nor in France, nor in Great Britain, but in Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, and the other small and practically unarmed countries. Investors prefer to place their money there. Finance knows no country; investors will invest their funds where returns are largest and where investments are safest.

"Statistics of European investments prove that in those little unarmed countries investments are from 10 to 20 per cent better than elsewhere. The *per capita* trade of Belgium, Denmark, and so on, is greater than the *per capita* trade of the militarized countries of Europe. Therefore, what becomes of the argument that your great armaments are necessary as insurance for trade? It would appear, on the contrary, that the heavier your insurance is, the less is your trade and the less secure your investments; that the less protection you give your investments the more valuable they become, and the safer they are. 'Europe's Optical Illusion,' then, is seen to be very much on the same level as that of the cannibalistic savages who eat one another under the impression that they are devouring each other's power, strength and courage. Upon just as superstitious and as unscientific a basis rests the theory of modern militarized Europe, that any one country can become greater by robbing other countries of their wealth or, at least, of their opportunities of earning wealth. She cannot rob them of their wealth, but she may, of course, by destroying their machinery, destroy their opportunities for making wealth. It is an illusion, that one country can capture the wealth of another.

Effect of International Investments

"In Great Britain, we have had a great scare on the part of some of our people. It never came as far north as Scotland. We Scotch, I suppose because our skulls were hammered so hard by English battle-axes, have never been fright-

ened by these 'jingo' scares, and we look to the south and shake our heads with sympathy for England when she is having another fit of the 'sillies.' That scare never came north of the Tweed, but the distinguished philosopher, Frederic Harrison, turned almost blue in the face when he saw in his mental vision, a German army landed in London looting the Bank of England. Suppose it were possible for a German army to land in London and loot the Bank of England. You business men know what would happen. The Banks of Berlin, Paris, St. Petersburg, New York, would feel the shock so severely, that probably you would find it to your interest and their interest to come to the help of the Bank of England and tide her over her troubles. Probably, too, the bank of Berlin would learn that it had destroyed the securities of many Germans, and that Germany's action had reacted upon itself to the great detriment and partial ruin-ation of its commerce and finance. It would be just the same if Great Britain were to do what some Germans fear, namely, send our navy to Germany—as Sir Edmund Cox has advised us to do in the February number of the Nineteenth Century—before Germany can get any stronger, and send her fleet to the bottom of the North Sea, establish ourselves at Hamburg and from there dominate Germany. Supposing it were possible for us to do that, supposing the moral sense of the world would allow Great Britain to commit so great a piracy, we would find that we had destroyed the purchasing power of one of our best customers, and shaken the securities of many of our own citizens. Our condition would be almost as bad as that of the country we had thus assailed.

"Some of you have seen the statue of 'Nike,' the famous statue of victory. The story is told of one of your citizens who, when he stood in front of it in the Louvre and saw the headless form, and the dismembered limbs, said, 'Is this the figure of the fellow who won?' 'Yes, that is "Nike"; that is "Victory." ' 'Well,' he said, 'if that is the statue of the fellow who won, I would like to see the picture of the fellow who lost.' (Laughter.) It is quite certain that a nation which wins

a great fight today is in a hardly less deplorable state than the nation which loses.

Militarism Unenlightened

"These, then, are the optical illusions which it is our purpose to make plain to the world, in order to rationalize the politics and even the religion of Great Britain, so that we shall no longer be subjected to the obsession of obsolete ideas and archaic opinions, so that we may speak in the language of modernism and in terms of modern conditions. It is the province of every enlightened citizen to shake off from politics, from religion, from journalism, those obsolete and archaic notions which have no more meaning today than the language of astrology or witchcraft. If we do that, we shall no longer say of the military system of the world, as the dear old woman said of the theological system of her church, when hearing of some heretical views expounded by her pastor, 'Sure, the hell that was good enough for our fathers is good enough for us.' (Laughter.) It was one of your generals who said that 'War is hell.' I think you will agree with me that the hell that used to be good enough for your fathers is not good enough for us." (Applause.)

Doctor Walsh was asked to speak of his experiences during the Boer War.

DOCTOR WALSH: "The Boer War furnishes an excellent illustration of what I have been saying. We were three years subduing the Boers. It cost us nearly three hundred million pounds. From first to last, we sent over two hundred and fifty thousand men, all to subdue about forty thousand Dutch farmers with guns in their hands. What was the result? The result was that within six years after that war, we gave a free constitution to the very people who were under arms against us and the terms of that constitution were a year ago dictated in London to the proud, imperial British Parliament by two of the very Boer generals who had opposed us in the field. The provision inserted in the constitution of South Africa, denying political privileges to all colored persons, was so distasteful to us that Mr. Asquith had to apologize for it in the House of

Commons. He said, 'South Africa is now a self-governing colony, and we can not object.' This, then, was the only result of all our waste. The futility of modern war to secure the domination of one country by another was never more terribly exemplified. You may make war for pride because you want to hit somebody, but if you make war to capture commerce or to gain political predominance, I tell you you are wasting your power.

The War Spirit in Scotland

"Now, as to my experiences in the Boer War, there were Dr. Spence Watson, chairman of the National Liberal Association, Lord Courtney, the irrepressible Mr. William Stead and a few of us smaller men—'pro-Boers' all—who saw the war coming and did what we could to stop it. We had great conventions in all our towns throughout England and Scotland, but as soon as the war broke out, almost every man, the mayors, the magistrates, and the ministers, quit. It was left to a few of us to fight against a popular war and to receive all the obloquy of that fight. Our meetings were stormed in Exeter Hall in London, where a force of two hundred stewards had to hold the doors by main force and literally keep the pass with their fists, while peace resolutions were being passed on the platform inside.

"I had Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner from South Africa come to Dundee to tell us how the war looked from his point of view. He was not a 'pro-Boer' or Dutchman. He is probably best known as the husband of Olive Schreiner, the distinguished author. He is a distinguished barrister, and a man with nothing but British blood in his veins. But because he was satisfied that our policy was wrong, he came, ever hoping and believing, never doubting, that Great Britain would give him free speech in order that he might tell his side of the story. Two days before he came to Dundee he had been in Edinburgh. The students there had turned out two thousand strong and a couple of hours before the meeting was to be held they had manned the approaches to the hall so that Mr. Schreiner could not get in. When Mr.

Schreiner arrived and appealed for entrance, they said to him, 'Who are you?' 'I am Mr. Schreiner,' he answered, 'and I appeal to your sense of chivalry to let me in.' God forbid, gentlemen, that I should stand here in Chicago to say a single word against my fellow-countrymen, but if this thing could happen in Scotland, it could happen anywhere in the world under the obsession of the war spirit. Those two thousand men fell upon this single unarmed man and trod him under foot. Two of them, more honorable than the rest, picked him up unconscious, shoved him into a cab and drove him, still unconscious, to a Princess Street hotel.

A Dundee Mob

"Two days afterward he came to my town. An hour or two before the time of the meeting, the hall was packed with a vicious mob. They tore down my gasoliers, smashed my seats, broke everything that was breakable and threw stones at my pipe organ. They said, 'If we get hold of Schreiner, we will kill him.' I believe they meant it. All there was left for me to do was to drive Mr. Schreiner in a carriage from the back door to my own house. In an hour the mob came. The police estimated the mob at between two and three thousand. They were headed by bagpipes, and I have never liked the national music so much since. Mr. Schreiner was in my house being interviewed by a reporter while they were smashing the windows. They smashed all of the windows in the house. We possess in our family museum three stones taken from the pillow of the bed where my two children lay. That is British chivalry, gentlemen, and it is American chivalry. I venture to say, when war is declared and when the war spirit obsesses a people naturally brave and naturally generous. The same things happen all over the world.

"Dr Aked, my friend, formerly of Liverpool and now of New York, had just the same experience in Liverpool that I had in Dundee. When Mr. Lloyd-

George, Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain, was mobbed in Birmingham, the home of Joseph Chamberlain, the mob carried revolvers, as was absolutely proven afterwards. They were determined to kill Mr. Lloyd-George that night, for no other crime than that he was a 'pro-Boer,' so-called, and that he believed his country was wrong, and dared to say so and to ask them to stop. He was one of those few men brave enough to dare to voice their protest. He stood in the House of Commons and dared to walk into the opposite lobby and vote against the granting of supplies for the carrying on of the war. That kind of man Mr. Lloyd-George is, and he is now, again I say with pride, Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain. Yet that man, in that high and honored position, was subjected to the humiliation of disguising himself in the uniform of a policeman and permitting himself to be sneaked out of the back door of Birmingham Hall. To that degradation does the war spirit bring a country.

Degrading Influence of the War Spirit

"I have been stoned in the streets of my own town; I have been hissed in my own pulpit on a Sunday evening for daring to say what I thought was the truth about the war, and I say to you, gentlemen, from the memories and feelings branded upon my very soul, that once war is declared (before that, you may be as chivalrous, generous and noble as a people can be), you feel honor is at stake, you set your teeth, and you say, 'Now, right or wrong, we have got to see this thing through.' Nothing can then save you from slipping down to the deepest depths of barbarism and degeneracy. Let us, therefore, find the better way through the courts of arbitral justice, in promoting which your country has practically led the world, and which we, in the war worn, tax burdened countries of Europe, will only be too delighted to welcome and to thank God and you for showing us that more excellent way." (Applause.)



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POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN OREGON

On Tuesday, the 28th instant, following the Peoria conference on the Legislative Situation in Illinois, Senator Jonathan Bourne of Oregon, who addressed that conference upon the measures which had been adopted in Oregon to further the direct participation of the people in governmental affairs, spoke to the City Club on the subject, "Popular Govern-

ment in Oregon." The Senator's remarks before the City Club in their main outlines followed his address to the United States Senate on May 5th last. The address is, therefore, not reprinted in the City Club Bulletin, but instead copies of the Senate address, generously provided by Senator Bourne, are enclosed herewith.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITY PLANNING

The second National Conference on City Planning was held in Rochester, New York, from May 2 to 4, 1910. A large number of experts, in the field of housing and town planning were present. The City Club was represented at the conference by Civic Secretary George E. Hooker, and by Elmer S. Batterson, of the Committee on City Planning. Mr. Hooker presented a paper on the "Causes of Congestion in Chicago."

On Friday, May 20th, at a special luncheon of the City Club, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Batterson presented a critical review of the work of the conference. Mr. Henry E. Coonley of the Committee on City Planning presided.

Mr. Hooker's remarks were as follows:

George E. Hooker

"The notion may have got abroad that city planning means *primarily* the development of costly show places and the cutting of new or broadened streets at vast expense through the central parts of town. It may sometimes involve these things, but they do not express its essential idea. City planning means rather that, in the ordinary growth of cities, there should be realized those practical advantages and those higher results which are attainable solely or mainly, not by increased expenditure, but by

adopting a superior as against an inferior way of doing things. It represents that economy which is to be attained by resorting to intelligent organized direction of growth as against leaving things to the fate of separate, unguaranteed and unrelated initiative. It is a recognition of the hitherto unappreciated and comparatively inexpensive strategy of co-operative design in city development—design which not only perfects the individual elements of that development, but adjusts those elements to each other.

City Planning a New Science

"The modern city involves the most diversified and complex set of relationships ever presented to the human mind for orderly arrangement. Up to a decade ago few people in America thought of these relationships as a proper subject of deliberate and comprehensive direction. Cities were regarded as things which happened, especially in their more general aspects. They might be deliberately embellished, here with a park or there with a public building, the energy of one group of real estate interests might pull development in this direction, as against another group pulling in that, manufacturers looking for sites might be courted and sometimes won, and the living conditions of the poor

might in many cases be relieved by kindly attention. The conception of the city, however, as an organic unity, capable of analysis and improvement not only in detail, but in its broadest aspects, has chiefly dawned upon the American mind within the decade which has lately closed. It is, however, the basic conception underlying the city planning movement.

"It is a conception which almost invariably kindles enthusiasm in the mind which perceives it, and one which is stimulating widespread activity at the present time. At the moment when the second National Conference on City Planning was being held at Rochester, a series of lectures in the same general field was beginning in connection with a six weeks' international exhibition at Berlin on the art and science of city building. A city planning exhibition, accompanied with a series of conferences, was held at Boston last fall in connection with the Boston 1915 movement. Ten days hence there will open in Vienna the ninth international congress on housing conditions, at which attention will be especially directed to the relation of that subject to the general subject of city framework. In July the Royal Institute of British Architects will meet in London to consider the relation of architecture to town planning.

The Washington Conference

"The first National Conference on City Planning in this country was held at Washington, D. C., May 21 and 22 of last year, in pursuance of a call procured largely by Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh, secretary of the New York Committee on Congestion, and signed by various prominent individuals from different parts of the country. The program in its main features presented a review of the highly organized and scientific city planning movement in many parts of the continent of Europe and the comparatively meager and recent efforts in the same direction in American cities. A limited but interesting exhibit of all material on city planning, likewise organized by Mr. Marsh, was shown in connection with the conference. At its close an executive committee was appointed, with instructions 'to arrange for a more complete national conference on city planning and the con-

gestion problem' in 1910, and to present at that time 'a well considered project of organization for developing comprehensive city planning in America.'

"The Rochester conference was held in accordance with these instructions. It was accompanied with no exhibit, save a few desultory maps and charts, and a collection of books on city planning furnished by the Boston Public Library. It was attended by 75 to 100 persons from out of town, most of them from the east, and most of them actively concerned, as landscape architects, engineers, architects, public officials or social investigators, with the practical phases of the subject. The gathering was thus an important body in the knowledge and interest which it represented with reference to the growing movement for the higher organization of American cities. The sessions were opened by an exceedingly discriminating outline of the problem of city planning in general by Frederick Law Olmsted, in which he presented city planning as a 'complex unity' of 'appalling breadth and ramification.' They were then devoted mainly to a consideration of certain specific problems in city planning, of which I propose to consider four, as follows:

City Planning and Congestion

"*First.* The subject of congestion of population and its causes and cure occupied two full sessions of the conference, and brought out not only a lack of any definition as to what should be regarded as constituting congestion, but a wide disagreement as to what should be considered defensible standards in point.

"Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh, secretary of the New York Committee on Congestion, set forth the extreme conditions existing in New York City, where, according to his figures, one-twelfth of the city's population were, in 1905, living on one four-hundredth of the city's area, at a density of from 500 to 1,672 per acre. Mr. Marsh referred to a density of 400 or more to the acre in some parts of Chicago, to a still higher density in parts of Boston, and declared that congestion of population was not only a serious problem in the four or five greatest cities of the country, but also in districts of many other American cities. He attributed

congestion primarily to the high cost of land, and urged that its consequences fell chiefly upon the working people. He figured out that any family in New York earning less than \$800 per year was compelled by rents to accept congested living conditions, and he insisted that our differing standards as to the amount of space demanded for a well-to-do as compared with a working class family were inconsistent with our basic democratic principles.

"Mr. Grosvenor Atterbury of New York, architect of the Phipps House No. 1, which is regarded as a model in New York tenements, thereupon insisted that congestion is not a matter of numbers alone, and that a density of population per acre equal to the extreme examples mentioned by Mr. Marsh need not necessarily be congestion. He instanced the Hotel Seneca, where the delegates were stopping, with a density of perhaps 700 or 800 per acre, as not exhibiting congestion, and cited the Hotel Belmont, the Plaza and the Gotham Hotel of New York City, housing from ten to sixteen hundred per acre, as likewise not representing congestion.

Congestion a Relative Term

"Mr. Lawrence Veiller, director of the National Housing Association, went further and declared that, while there was serious room overcrowding not only in the cities mentioned by Mr. Marsh, but in many others of far less population, there was really no *lot* congestion—no congestion due to excess of numbers housed upon a given area—except in New York and Boston. He declared that the demand voiced by one speaker for a minimum of 500 cubic feet of space per person in sleeping apartments was 'absurd,' since the proper supply of air in sleeping rooms is primarily a matter of ventilation rather than of inclosed cubic space, and he brought his position to a climax by affirming that if, on the typical New York block, 200 by 400 feet, three rows of houses, six stories high and 25 feet wide, should be run lengthwise of the block, with streets 60 feet wide between them, there would be direct light and air for every room, and that these conditions would not represent congestion, although the density would be 1,006 persons per acre. He

claimed that people prefer city life because of its attractions, and that they will for those reasons live in crowded conditions in the heart of town rather than in the outskirts or in the country where there is more room but less life. For this reason he claimed that the thing to do was to provide sanitary houses of many stories for people to occupy in central districts, rather than try to move them out of town to cottages.

"The bold statements of Mr. Veiller, whose primacy in this country as an authority on housing conditions is generally recognized, non-plussed rather than convinced the majority of the conference, and some of those in attendance from the West felt their conviction confirmed that the standards and general notions respecting housing conditions which have developed in connection with New York City ought not to be allowed to dominate the rest of the country, and particularly the cities of the plains. There is no doubt that the abnormal conditions which obtain in New York have, as it were, snowed under the natural feelings of many persons concerning the importance of access to land for the common people in connection with their homes, and concerning the practicability, at least in other communities and with modern means of transit, of providing a yard and garden for those portions of the population which really desire these amenities. While it is obvious, as was pointed out in the discussion, that well-to-do transients, stopping at high-class hotels sheltering ten to fifteen hundred people to the acre, may not suffer from congestion of population, this gives no assurance that tenement house dwellers will not suffer serious evils of congestion from a far lower density.

Congestion in Chicago

"In a paper which I had the honor to present before the conference on 'Congestion and Its Causes in Chicago', I called attention to the fact that within the loop district, containing a quarter of a square mile, bounded by the elevated loop and comprising the core of the business section, it is estimated by the office of the Board of Supervising Engineers that there is a permanent daily population of over 200,000, while the larger area included between the lake,

Chicago avenue, Halsted street and 12th street, comprising a little over two square miles, is similarly estimated to contain a permanent daily population of over 500,000. I stated that while no qualified person has ever attempted to summarize the conditions respecting light and air and general health under which this population travels back and forth and carries on its daily work, yet Dr. Evans had recently in public characterized these central conditions as highly objectionable from a sanitary and health standpoint. I also insisted that in view of the expanded area available for Chicago with proper transit development, our idea as to the space unit for the individual family may and should be enlarged, and that our city should be so developed that those people who want lawns or gardens should have them..

Transportation and City Planning

"Second. The relation of the railroads to city planning was dealt with by Mr. George R. Wadsworth, formerly consulting engineer to the Boston Metropolitan Improvement Commission. Following the general drift of his report of last year to that commission on the railroad problem in Boston, he took a position on this subject which should command attention both from railroad companies and from the public generally. Insisting that 'the primary members in the city framework must rightfully be dedicated to lines of transportation, the railroads,' he contended that the time has arrived when the individualistic system of railroad terminal operation should be abandoned, and should be succeeded by a co-operative plan, under which all railroad properties would be treated together as factors to be rearranged, improved and linked up into a unified co-operative system, in the manner which would secure the most efficient service to the entire community. He declared also that there should then be a uniform charge to any consignee or shipper for goods delivered or shipped at his nearest station, irrespective of the particular location of the latter within the city. In other words, freight receiving and delivery stations would be distributed through the city in a proper manner, and the charge would be the same at all of them.

"The machinery for working out the financial side of such a plan—whether this machinery should be a terminal company, which should take over and operate the terminal properties of all the companies, or whatever it might be—should, he urged, be devised by the railroad companies themselves, as a step demanded by existing conditions.

"As to the precise plan for the physical rearrangement of the properties, Mr. Wadsworth urged that this should be most carefully worked out, under the direction of a public commission, including, among others, representatives of the railroads concerned. But, in view of the fact that, with few notable exceptions, all the experts on this subject 'are in the employ of the railroad companies themselves' and are inured to the mental habit of looking at the subject narrowly from the standpoint of a particular interest, Mr. Wadsworth pronounced it a matter of the highest importance that the public should be represented on such a commission by men who could take the public point of view and consider impartially all the factors involved as subjects for co-operative treatment. He also insisted that such a commission should not be limited in the scope of its inquiries by any narrowing definition of the questions to be considered, but should be left free to consider the entire field of the transportation needs of the community, including all branches of the subject and all facilities, of whatever sort.

"In the discussion of Mr. Wadsworth's paper I ventured to express the opinion that if the city planning movement progresses according to present promise, and if the different railroad companies persist in a refusal to co-operate toward unification in our important cities, the resultant obstruction to effective city planning will provoke a demand from the cities for public ownership of railroads, as a necessity for city improvement, which will be more urgent than the demand heretofore arising from the country districts on account of railroad rates.

The Planning of Streets

"Third. The desirability of variety and of adaptation to site in street lines was brought out by Mr. Nelson P. Lewis, chief engineer of the Board of

Estimate and Apportionment, New York City, in a paper on the planning of undeveloped areas annexed to cities. He urged that, instead of adapting the park system to the street system, the order should rather be reversed, and that bits of woodland, elevations with commanding outlooks and even pieces of low-lying land traversed by streams, should be selected out and secured as parks at the start. He also advocated the establishment for different neighborhoods of 'municipal blocks' where public buildings such as schools, libraries, public baths, comfort stations, police stations, fire houses, etc., should be gradually assembled, and which should thus constitute centers of interest and life for their respective localities. The particular point of interest to me in his paper, however, was his advocacy of methods of handling suburban areas which should induce variations from the rigid checker-board or rectilinear street systems so characteristically prevalent in American cities.

"The first thing to do, he declared, in dealing with sizable unplatted areas annexed or adjacent to cities and destined in time to be built upon, is to establish, with proper intervals and connections between them, a network of roads adequate to serve as a permanent system of main highways, from 2,000 to 5,000 feet apart, for the whole district. For this skeleton of the future street system the existing country roads, some of them straightened, others moderated in grades and perhaps all widened, would in the main suffice. With such a well-devised street skeleton definitely established, he would then permit and indeed encourage diversity of treatment of the intervening spaces in respect to street plan and general arrangement.

"This advocacy of variety in the direction and width of streets was welcome, although it, of course, runs contrary to the ordinary man's notion that every street ought if possible to be straight and of generous width and all blocks of equal size. 'Here,' said Mr. Lewis, illustrating his idea, 'where the topography suggests it, a serpentine system of streets may be laid out; there a generous depth of lots, with space for gardens and ornamental planting, may be provided; here, again, we may find a group of narrower streets compactly

built up with secluded courts and with small houses fronting upon a little plot of grass or shrubbery. Agreeable surprises may await us in strolling through these various sections, while a short walk in any direction will bring us to one of the systems of thoroughfares where the traffic, the business and amusements of the great city will be found. If one of these sections takes on a distinctive character, the neighboring districts will be stimulated to try and establish a character of *their own*.

Variety an Essential of Good Street Planning

"If we attempt to establish a uniform cut and dried standard for all parts of a great city, it is more than likely that we will find that we have 'leveled downward.' In all large cities the individual is likely to be lost, the neighborhood feeling is unable to survive. * * * The general scheme being once established by a system of thoroughfares such as has been outlined, * * * a great degree of latitude should be allowed the neighborhoods and the individual developer, so long as the street lines and grades they wish to establish are not inconsistent with public convenience, with an abundance of light and air, with a rational and economical drainage system, and with good sanitary conditions."

"One of the most unfortunate examples about Chicago of thoughtless adherence to the rectilinear and uniform idea in street systems, irrespective of nature, art or convenience, is found in the beautiful Palos Park region. Although the interesting variety of topography there naturally indicated a system of main roads adjusted to the face of the country, and although such roads would be cheaper to build and maintain, far more practicable, and much more inviting for residence than straight streets, yet the roads thus far built follow undeviating straight lines, and in many cases resemble a hurdle race track in their barren rigidity and their rapid succession of ups and downs. It is to be hoped that something may yet be done to rescue this beautiful district from such violation.

"Fourth. The backwardness of official procedure in this country respecting city planning was incidentally but forei-

bly disclosed in a paper by Mr. Flavel Shurtleff of Boston upon the British Town Planning Act of 1909.

The British Town Planning Act

"This act, carried through parliament by Mr. John Burns, head of the local government board, provides for a most carefully elaborated but broad gauge and far-reaching method for progressive town planning in Great Britain in the future. Its main purpose is *action*, and to that end it not only opens the way for local authorities generally to deal with this subject in an effective way, under a system of supervision by that board calculated to expedite responsible procedure and to prevent litigious delays, but the act empowers the board to *compel* negligent or backward local authorities to deal with the subject. Within a few days after the passage of the act two national gatherings, comprising both laymen and public officials, were held to discuss its *practical application*, and it is regarded as marking 'a new era in English town planning.' For Americans, however, the most significant thing about this act is not its specific provisions, but rather the celerity with which legislation so carefully devised, so ample in powers and so effectively providing for the subject throughout Great Britain, was enacted.

"The awakening of England to the town planning idea came especially, as did the similar awakening in America, from the discovery, within this decade, that town planning was and for a generation had been an established art and science in Teutonic Europe. This strangely belated discovery, brought to definite consciousness by the book of Mr. T. C. Horsfall, of England, published in 1904, on 'The Example of Germany,' came but little earlier in Great Britain than it did in this country. Yet Great Britain as a consequence already has the necessary legal powers and is rapidly perfecting the appropriate administrative machinery for proceeding effectively with the subject, while the official progress made in this country, as shown at the Rochester conference, is fragmentary and comparatively trifling. Improvement reports of greater or less scope, some official and some voluntary,

have been made for forty or fifty different American cities within the last ten years, and a few of these cities are carrying out or seriously considering certain features of these reports, chiefly features relating to some central improvement or item of reconstruction. It was also brought out at the conference that Hartford has a City Plan Commission, created under state legislation of 1907; Seattle has just recently voted to amend its charter by creating such a commission; Chicago has a so-called City Plan Commission, although without any clearly defined object or powers; Michigan cities were last year authorized by the so-called home rule law to provide 'for a plan of streets and alleys within and for a distance of not more than three miles beyond' their limits; and Wisconsin cities have been clothed with similar powers for a distance of one and one-half miles beyond their limits. There are likewise some other instances of official procedure in this country toward administrative machinery for actually handling this general subject of city planning. When compared with actual British progress, however, our own seems meager and scattered enough.

Why America Falls Behind

"One reason for our situation is, of course, our federal system of government, which authorizes no centralized organization on this subject like the British scheme. Still the powers of the national government are undoubtedly such that, had there been the disposition to do so, that government might have instituted inquiries and perhaps made stimulating exhibits concerning American municipal conditions in this particular, and in any event it might have legislated for the national capital in such a way as at least to encourage and guide general action respecting this matter.

"Another and more serious cause for our official backwardness is the obstacles encountered in our State constitutions. These, as they stand, forbid some of the most important exercises of public authority required in dealing with city planning, and to amend them within any given time is always a difficult and in many cases an almost hopeless task. For example, our constitutions probably forbid generally the establishment of the

European zone system of building regulations, which is usually regarded as fundamental to any intelligent and comprehensive city planning. In contrast to English practice they forbid condemnation, in making a public improvement, of more land than is required for the improvement, with a view to recouping for the cost of the improvement by selling this land at the advanced price due to the improvement.

"They make it impossible to do what the British town planning bill does, viz.: refuse damages in condemnation proceedings for private improvements erected after and in violation of notice of application filed for public proceedings to establish a plan for a given unoccupied area.

Constitutional Difficulties

"They forbid such departures from technical uniformity in taxation as might afford commendable and effective leverages in aid of progressive street improvements and city expansion. They prescribe arbitrary debt limits which makes no distinction between debts incurred for productive and non-productive purposes. The constitution of Illinois forbids us to require people to clean the snow from the sidewalk in front of their property. It is impossible to amend that constitution save by a majority vote of all those voting at a state election. The proposition must first have been submitted by a two-thirds vote of the legislature, and even so only one section of the constitution can be amended at a given election. The constitutional difficulties in this field—and they typify similar constitutional difficulties encountered in other fields of public interest—are so unfavorable, so hard to cure by the process of amendment, and so paralyzing to effort and to the whole conception of public action, that the people of the United States sometimes seem destined inevitably to a second revolution, a revolution against the depressing tyranny of our constitutions.

"Another reason for our tardiness in official action is undoubtedly to be found in the lower standard of ability represented in American as compared with European city government—in our preposterous practice of appointing politi-

cians to those administrative positions requiring the highest degree of technical capacity and scientific devotion, and to the consequent demoralization of departmental service *from the top*. High-class scientific men in those positions would naturally be the first to sense the importance of a subject such as the need for city planning.

Backwardness of the West

"American cities are peculiarly in need of proper guidance, powers and procedure regarding this matter. The waste, both economic and aesthetic, involved in their mistakes hitherto in this direction is not to be measured. Perhaps these mistakes are nowhere more conspicuous than in the manner in which the Pacific Coast cities, with their magnificent variety of contour, have been hastily, heedlessly and ruthlessly subjected, under the narrow aims of the real estate boomer, to a rigid checker-board system of streets, applied alike to hill and dale, in most unfortunate disregard of both practical and aesthetic considerations. Happily these cities are now awakening to their need for reform in this particular.

"The cities of the middle west only exhibit less striking examples of mistakes, because their topography is more even, and hence less susceptible to injury from thoughtless and mechanical street planning. Many of those cities have made commendable progress of late in park, and park and playground extension. They are not only commonplace, however, and often forlorn in many sections, but they also exhibit a general crudeness and disorder which have come to be too complacently accepted, and which indicate a partially educated and efficiently organized society.

"City planning stands for that official application of intelligent design to city growth which, without unduly increasing cost, shall produce an efficient and at the same time pleasing physical organization.

Western Conference Needed

"The conference, composed largely of eastern people, was naturally dominated by tendencies and standards of thought developed especially by the particular conditions and problems of eastern cities. One of the resultant convictions left in

my mind was that, in view of the special importance of this subject to the cities of the more plastic west, and of the special features of the problem as there presented, it is desirable that two conferences on this subject, local to their respective parts of the country, should soon be held, one in the middle west, and the other on the Pacific slope, and that each should address itself particularly, and mainly through its own specialists, to the problem of city planning as presented in its particular region.

"Each of these portions of the country is large enough to justify such a conference, and would afford a larger attendance from its own people than could be secured for a more distant gathering. In view, too, of the tendency of the west to copy from the east, it is desirable, as against the danger of too great uniformity of conception in dealing with the physical development of cities in different parts of our wide country. Such conferences would, like that at Rochester, help to direct increased public and professional attention to a subject of the greatest moment to the future of American city life." (Applause.)

Mr. Batterson discussed the various points of view represented in the conference as follows:

Elmer S. Batterson

"City planning is often thought of as having to do solely with something yet undeveloped. The word 'planning' itself suggests a forecast. Some years ago a city of the southwest, then but a small town, made an estimate of its probable growth within twenty years and upon this basis planned out its development for the future. The city, as a result, has been well planned for present needs.

"City planning, as now understood, however, includes not only the directing of the newer growth of cities, but the revision and rearrangement of cities as well. The discussions at the conference of city planning at Rochester had quite as much to do with the planning of those cities of the United States which had already achieved a considerable growth as with those whose development had just begun.

"The introductory address at the con-

ference pointed out the broad scope of city planning, related as it is to every phase of city development, but the speakers who followed, each an expert in his line, emphasized the importance to civic progress of those phases of the subject in which they were particularly interested. These experts represented many points of view, each having its own claims to consideration. Taken together, they formed a very comprehensive study of the whole subject of city planning.

"The civil engineer, for instance, contended for an improved plan of street arrangement. He showed how the checker-board system of street platting fails to serve the purpose intended—namely, the maximum convenience of street travel. He discussed the comparative efficiency of different widths and kinds of streets for different purposes. He suggested ways of bringing undeveloped areas and even the surrounding country towns into the general city plan.

The Architect and the City Plan

"The building architect, on the other hand, was more concerned with the problem of housing conditions in its many phases—particularly, however, as related to the problems of city congestion. A change in the shape of the city tenements—dependent, however, upon a revolution in our ideas of the proper shape of city blocks—was suggested and methods of improving housing conditions through the building of more economical separate houses instead of tenements, were pointed out. Principles upon which co-operative ownership may be encouraged were outlined. Building restrictions and the establishment of a zone system, separating the residential from the factory districts, were discussed as means of protecting the householder against the evils of unregulated growth.

"The landscape architect, a third specialist in the field of city planning, showed how the whole city plan should be drawn so as to exhibit a series of street pictures. Excessive ornamentation in city building is, in his opinion, not to be desired, but the structures and street crossings should be so adapted to the general framework of the city as to produce an harmonious scheme.

"The traffic expert laid great stress upon the fact that the arrangement of

traffic lines and terminals in a city largely determine the direction and type of its development. He suggested improvements in methods of bringing in and distributing freight to all parts of the city and also in gathering and distributing the products to be sent from the city. He showed the insufficiency of good housing or good factory conditions if coupled with inadequate transportation facilities.

Points of View Are Many

"The student of municipal government was also in the conference with many suggestions for improvement in the municipal machinery. He pleaded for the public appropriation of property values added through civic improvement to the end of paying the costs of such improvements. He also pointed out the logic of having a city planning commission as a regular part of the municipal organization.

"The sociologist found many points of personal interest in the problems of the planning and re-planning of cities. He suggested improvements in housing arrangements, together with ways for educating workers to live under more favorable conditions.

"The lawyer also claimed a part in the city planning activity. He showed

where new legislation was needed and how advantage might be taken of present laws to insure the lines of city development which would be least liable to future disarrangement. He suggested changes in assessment systems whereby improvements would be encouraged rather than discouraged by property owners.

"Experts representing these lines took part in the conference, but there were various phases of city planning which received but slight attention. The correlation of the factory and the industrial establishment to the general framework of the city, the adjustment of industrial development of the city to the ideals of civic beauty and order, and the broad problem of the relation of publicity and promotion to the aesthetic features of city development were left for the consideration of later conferences.

"The main lesson to be learned from the Rochester conference is, to my mind, that the work of city planning is too broad for any single individual to be skilled in all phases of the subject. City planning must be developed by the co-operation of specialists along many different lines. There appears to be room for all of us in this great field of civic effort." (Applause.)

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THE WORK OF THE COMMITTEE OF SEVEN

On April 30, 1910, the Chicago Daily Tribune printed the confession of Charles A. White, a member of the Illinois General Assembly, to the effect that he had received a sum of money for his vote for Senator William Lorimer, and that he had also received a somewhat less sum as his share in a general fund—known as the "jackpot"—which was used for the purchase of votes for or against particular bills in the legislature. This evidence was laid before a grand jury and resulted in the indictment, along with two other members of the legislature, of Lee O'Neil Browne, Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, who was charged with having paid over the money. Other confessions followed later, resulting in an exposure of the methods employed in the state legislature, by which consideration of important bills upon their merits had been made impossible, and by which much desirable legislation had been defeated. These exposures were the occasion of a conference of citizens held in Peoria on June 27 and 28, to consider "the breakdown of representative government in Illinois." At this conference the situation was thoroughly canvassed from many points of view and a line of action was decided upon.

The Peoria Conference

The sentiment of this conference was finally crystallized into the following resolutions:

"Whereas, Machine political manipulation has been so applied in the abuse of the minority representation plan and in other ways, that the legislators no longer feel the responsibility to their constituents that is desirable and necessary, but rather give their allegiance to the political lead-

ers, treating with indifference and disrespect the sustained efforts of public spirited citizens to secure needed legislation; and,

"Whereas, It is essential for the prosperity, honor and dignity of the state that the dilatory and corrupt methods of the legislature be changed, and that such vitally essential legislation as a comprehensive civil service law, an efficient corrupt practices act, important amendments to the election laws, just and reasonable regulation of public utilities, and a much needed revision of the forms of legal practice and procedure be speedily enacted; and,

Public Denied a Hearing

"Whereas, Individuals and organizations presenting measures of great public importance have been denied even the courtesy of a hearing, and their measures have in many cases either been distorted or killed in such devious ways that the members of the legislature have avoided any action which would put the members upon record; and,

"Whereas, The ordinary member of the lower house of the legislature, through the present methods of legislative organization and procedure, has lost his power to a small group who advance or kill measures as best suits their purposes; and,

"Whereas, The people of this state, by an overwhelming direct vote, adopted the policy of the initiative and referendum, which expressed desire of the people was ignored by the legislature in spite of the fact that practical experience in other states has demonstrated the effectiveness of these means for obtaining needed progressive legislation; and,

"Whereas, The long standing unsatisfactory conditions in the Illinois General Assembly have now culminated in a series of exposures, and confessions in the public courts, which have brought disgrace to the state, creating a situation which demands the co-operation of all thoughtful citizens in earnest efforts to prevent their recurrence; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, a group of Illinois citizens assembled, as is our constitutional right, at Peoria, June 27 and 28, 1910, agree that every effort should be made to secure an amendment to the Illinois constitution

providing for the initiative and referendum, substantially as now in use in the state of Oregon; and be it further

"Resolved, That the officers of this conference appoint a committee of seven to add to their number and appoint sub-committees to submit this matter to the people of the state and to co-operate with the voters in the various senatorial districts in presenting candidates for nomination or election to the legislature the following pledges:

"(A) That such candidate will work and vote for an amendment to the constitution providing for the initiative and referendum;

"(B) That he will work and vote for the passage of a corrupt practices act;

"(C) That he will work and vote for the passage of a bill providing for a comprehensive state civil service system;

"To the end that the voters of the state may thus be advised as to the attitude of the candidates on these vital issues."

The Committee of Seven Appointed

In line with the plan set forth in these resolutions, a committee of seven was appointed to carry on the campaign in the interest of the three measures advocated in the resolutions, namely, the initiative and referendum, state-wide civil service and an adequate corrupt practices act. The members of this committee were: Walter S. Rogers of Lagrange, chairman; Fletcher Dobyns of Chicago and George E. Cole of Wilmette, George L. Carpenter of Amboy, Frederick A. McFarland of Galesburg, Dr. George Tupper, of Mt. Vernon, and Frank H. Bode of Springfield.

The committee since its appointment has been carrying on an active campaign. It has decided to submit the measures approved by the Peoria Conference to a public policy vote at the fall election and to that end a petition is now being circulated in order to secure the necessary number of signatures. The questions placed upon this petition are the following:

1. "Shall the next General Assembly submit to the voters of the state of Illinois at the next following state election an amendment to the state constitution, providing for the control of legislation by the people, by means of the initiative and referendum; said amendment to provide for the initiation of legislation upon a petition of eight per cent of the voters, and for the reference of legislation upon a petition of five per cent of the voters, the action of the majority of the electors voting to be final; thus restoring to the people the power they

once held, but which they delegated to the General Assembly by the constitution?"

2. "Shall the next General Assembly extend the merit system by the enactment of a comprehensive and adequate state civil service law, thus promoting efficiency and economy?"

3. "Shall the next General Assembly enact a corrupt practices act, limiting the amount a candidate and his supporters may spend in seeking office and providing for an itemized statement under oath showing all expenditures so made, for what purposes made and from what source or sources received, thus preventing the corrupt use of money at elections?"

Signatures to the number of 110,000 are required in order that these questions may be placed upon the ballot in November.—(Note: Since this writing the necessary number of signatures has been secured and the petition has been filed in the office of the Secretary of State. This insures a vote upon these questions at the November election.)

In order to acquaint members of the City Club with the work and aims of the Committee of Seven, Mr. Walter S. Rogers, chairman of the Committee, and Mr. George E. Cole, a member, were invited to address the City Club at a noon luncheon on Monday, the 29th instant. Mr. Alfred L. Baker presided.

Walter S. Rogers

"There are two distinct political situations in Illinois. There are the personal political campaigns being conducted by the candidates of the various parties. Cutting across party lines, there is a contest, the result of which will determine whether Illinois is to be controlled for the benefit of the whole people or operated as a private establishment in the interest of a few. This contest in Illinois is akin to that being carried on in other states. The real issue here and elsewhere is joined over the question as to whether we are to continue to live under a commercialized government or under a responsive, popular government.

The Breakdown of Representative Government

"Here in Illinois representative government has ceased to exist. According to the text books, representatives selected by the people meet in Springfield and enact such laws as may be needed

for the common welfare. As a matter of fact, the people have not elected a General Assembly for years.

"Two years ago when the present General Assembly was elected, in thirty-five of the fifty-one districts the Democratic and Republican parties together nominated but three men to fill the three vacancies. By means of this fine example of team work the voter was disfranchised, as his vote had nothing to do with the result. In the remaining sixteen districts the two major parties nominated but four candidates, so that in these districts the best the voter could do was to reject one of the four.

"Not only had the voter practically no voice at the election, but in most cases he had no voice in the selection of the candidates. In district after district the nomination was simply given to the candidate by the political boss.

"When the Legislature so selected convened Shurtleff, who wears a Republican mask, was elected Speaker by a bi-partisan combination of Democrats and Republicans, receiving sixty-one Democratic and twenty-four Republican votes. Of the eighty-nine Republicans in the House, only twenty-four voted for Shurtleff for Speaker.

"After the election of the Speaker an attempt was made to modify the rules of the Legislature in such a way as to take from the Speaker some of his autocratic power. The Illinois House of Representatives has the same problems regarding rules as has the Federal House of Representatives. The attempt to modify the rules in the Illinois House was defeated.

Autocratic Power of the Speaker

"During the months of January and February the House was in session a total of forty-eight hours and thirty-five minutes, which is a good example of the value of organization in reducing working hours. The time of the members was not taken up by committee work, as bi-partisan Speaker Shurtleff refused to appoint the committees. The bulk of the committees were not appointed until the House had been in session two months. This interval gave the Speaker time to learn what measures were to be introduced and to get

a line on the new members. This delay of two months was planned for still another reason. It permitted business to accumulate and threw all the work of the Legislature into a few weeks. As a result, during the last few weeks of the session the regular rules of the House were lost sight of and business was conducted largely under a suspension of the rules. This worked out in such a way as to give the Speaker autocratic power over legislation. He dictated what measures would be considered and what would not.

"Not only could the speaker determine the course of legislation on the floor of the House, but, having carefully selected the committees, he, together with those about him, controlled the action of the committees. Favorite ways of killing legislation were for the chairman of the committee, to which a measure not acceptable to the organization was referred, to refuse to call his committee together or, if he did hold a committee meeting, have the measure placed on the committee table, there being no way under the rules whereby a measure referred to a committee can be brought before the House unless reported back by the committee. Holding a measure in committee avoids the necessity of those opposed to the measure appearing on the House journal as voting against it. Just put it down that any man who maneuvers to prevent his actions becoming a matter of record is a crook.

The Bi-partisan Combine

"By a vote of 55 of the 127 Republicans and 53 of the 77 Democrats in the General Assembly, a bi-partisan combination of Democrats and Republicans similar to that which elected Shurtleff Speaker later in the session elected William Lorimer Senator. The character of many of the members of the Legislature can be judged from the fact that confessions and grand jury investigations have shown that money was paid to members of the Legislature for voting for William Lorimer for Senator, and that a 'jack-pot' fund, made up of money paid in by people who wanted certain measures enacted or killed, was distributed among certain members of the Legislature.

"Consider briefly what happened to some of the important measures that were before the Legislature. The State Senate, by a vote of forty-five to nothing, passed a bill advocated by the leading commercial organizations of the state granting to the railroad and warehouse commission jurisdiction over express companies. The Commission may have such jurisdiction now. This bill, which would have settled the question of jurisdiction, was referred to the House Committee on Corporations. The citizens favoring the bill tried for weeks to get a hearing before the committee. Hearings were promised. The promises were broken. Finally Chairman McLaughlin of the committee bluntly and insolently told the business men: 'You ain't going to have no hearing.' There was no hearing. The committee never acted on the bill; consequently it never came before the House for consideration.

Commission Government Bill Mutilated

"The smaller cities of the state are anxious to organize under the commission form of government. At the regular session the Senate, by a vote of forty-three to two, passed a bill giving such authorization. In the House this bill was referred to the Committee on Municipal Corporations, of which Mr. Erickson is chairman. Not until three days before the House was to adjourn for the Summer did Erickson call his committee together to give the measure consideration. Then he allowed but thirty minutes for the presentation of arguments in favor of a bill containing forty pages of printed matter. A motion was made that the bill be reported back to the House with the recommendation that it pass. Representative Walter Lantz moved, as a substitute, that the recommendation be that the bill do not pass. That was a parliamentary bungle. Such a motion would have sent the bill to the House, where the members would have to go on record for or against it. Lantz, aided by knowing looks from the chairman, realized this. The motion was withdrawn. Another motion was made and carried that the bill lie on the committee table. At the special session of the General Assembly, however, a commission form

of government bill was passed. The organizations throughout the State interested in the measure brought sufficient pressure to bear to require the passage of a bill. The House, however, mutilated the bill by making the clause providing for a recall of a faithless public servant depend upon a petition signed by seven-fifty per cent of the voters. This change, nullifying an essential safeguard, renders the entire law unacceptable.

Election Reform Killed

"Election officials throughout the state drafted bills intended to clear up doubtful points in the election laws and to purify elections. The bill was sent to the House Committee on Elections. Only after public sentiment was aroused in favor of the bills was it possible to get a committee hearing. The hearing was held in the last week of the session. The hearing over, the committee went into executive session. The bills were never reported out of the committee.

"These are merely examples showing what happens to measures of great public importance. Many other instances might be cited.

"Illinois is backward in many respects owing to the lack of needed legislation. Our taxing system is one that puts a premium on perjury and penalizes the honest. Our judicial procedure needs revision. Legislation is needed to insure reasonable compensation to the injured employee. There are few places which claim to be civilized where an injured employee is less certain of receiving adequate compensation than here in Illinois. The national government and many of the states have prohibited the giving of passes, yet here in Illinois attempts to secure anti-pass legislation have failed. These are also merely illustrations.

A "Jack-Pot" Legislature

"A Legislature practically appointed by political bosses, having a cash register in the form of a 'jack-pot,' working under rules which make easy the killing or mutilating of legislation and which does not enact measures needed and demanded by the people of the state, certainly cannot be said to represent the people of the state. Not only

did the last Legislature not represent the people, but it was an actual menace to the welfare of the state.

"Not only are legitimate business interests made to suffer, but our institutions are cheapened in the eyes of the people. How much pride will the young people who are now reading of a purchased senatorship and 'jack-pot' funds, have in the great state of Illinois? Will Illinois have the same significance to them as it has to the men one finds throughout the state, who love Illinois and who fondly remember listening to Lincoln and who worked and voted for him and for Grant? I tell you that a loss of confidence in our institutions, a loss of pride in them, is as serious loss as we as individuals and as a community can suffer.

"The question is: What are we going to do about it? What are we going to do to restore representative government in Illinois? Elect better men to the Legislature, surely; but something must be wrong with a system which permits of such abuses. And we are confirmed in this by the fact that other states have had similar experiences and are busily engaged in remodeling their institutions with a view to destroying the power of the political and commercial hierarchy now in control and supplanting it with a real democratic popular government.

A Constructive Program

"The Committee of Seven has confidence that a popular government can be established and maintained in Illinois. We are advocating certain changes in our laws, which, we believe, will do much toward restoring truly representative government. Not only are we presenting a constructive program but wherever we go we ask for constructive suggestions. If anyone has a better program than ours we will gladly take it up.

The Committee is advocating a state-wide civil service law designed to take public employes out of politics, to take them out of the control of political bosses, and to give the people of the state of Illinois a carefully selected, experienced set of employes who will take pride in their work and render faithful and devoted service. A man

who now holds a public appointive office is a slave. He can't say his soul is his own. He can't express an idea or an opinion unless he first knows that it is in accord with the wishes of the political boss who controls his job. An adequate civil service law will set such men free.

"The Committee is advocating a corrupt practices act, limiting the amount that a candidate and his friends may spend in seeking office and requiring the publication, under oath, of itemized statements of all campaign receipts and expenditures. At it is now, the man with a 'barrel' or a large campaign fund, contributed by those who expect to get something in return for their money, has an immense advantage over the honest man without money. It have watched a great many political campaigns. I have never seen a campaign where a crook was running where that crook was not amply supplied with funds. Who puts up the money and why? Does anyone endow a crook for philanthropic reasons?

"The Committee is also advocating a state initiative and referendum. The referendum is in wide use in this country and is the best safeguard yet devised to prevent legislative bodies from voting away the rights of the public. There is no point in paying a man's campaign expenses, in bribing him to vote for a measure, when a petition may be filed requiring the submission of the measure to popular vote.

The Initiative and Referendum

"Through the initiative it is possible to enact needed legislation when it is found impossible to secure such legislation through the General Assembly. All that is necessary is to secure a petition signed by eight per cent of the voters of the state and the measure mentioned in the petition will be submitted to popular vote for adoption or rejection. The initiative takes from the legislator his value as an instrument in warding off or killing legislation.

"No one but the individual who is setting up a strawman as a target has any idea of superseding the Legislature by having all measures acted upon by the people. Both the initiative and referendum as conceived in this country are looked upon as devices intended to

check and correct the action of legislative bodies.

"Measures of great public importance should be submitted to the people. Only through the discussion of great issues can the people be kept interested in public affairs.

"Time after time men have yielded to temptation and accepted bribes simply because the amount offered to them was so great as to break down their power of resistance. Fifteen or twenty thousand dollars, which may be a mere trifle compared with the value of a franchise or a privilege, means economic independence for the ordinary man and is a sum larger than he can possibly save in a lifetime. It is a moral crime to put a man in a position where he may be so tempted, when it is unnecessary to do so. The initiative and referendum prevents bribery. The legislator has little to sell. He cannot prevent legislation, and the people hold a veto power over what is enacted.

"The Committee stands for civil service, for a corrupt practices act, for the initiative and referendum, as parts of a new system of government which will be truly democratic and which will be responsive to the demands and needs of the people of the state. No one of these measures by itself will be fully successful. This is illustrated by the direct primary. The enactment of our first primary law was the result of great public pressure. Our later laws have come comparatively easily because the political powers that be found that a direct primary law would not harm them very much. The value of a direct primary law, however, would be greatly increased were it safeguarded by an adequate corrupt practices act, and strengthened by the removal of public job holders from the political arena, backed up by the initiative and referendum, and thus made a part of a real democratic system of government.

Party System Must Be Responsive

"We are not opposed to party organization. This government cannot be run without parties. We do insist, however, that not only honesty and responsiveness to public demands should be found in our state government, but that honesty and responsiveness to the

will of the members of the party should be found in party organizations. A party organization, consisting of a group of men, who, for selfish purposes, hoodwink a section of the people into believing that they are members of a real party organization, standing for real principles and measures, is a sham and a lie; and the man who thinks he is a member of a real organization when in reality the organization is only a dummy one, is a plain every day fool. What we need in Illinois as much as anything else are real, live, virile, party organizations headed by men of principle, who are capable of intelligent leadership.

"Thus far there is no open opposition to the program advanced by the Committee. There is, however, a subtle, underlying opposition. That people who are profiting by the present political arrangement in Illinois will allow their advantages to be taken away without a fight is, of course, not to be supposed. That some people do profit, and profit enormously, under present conditions is unquestioned. Otherwise, how account for the immense campaign funds and 'jack-pots' and the fund used for bribing members of the Legislature to vote for Senator Lorimer. To the man or group of men who profit by such an arrangement there is no appeal.

Business That Corrupts is Piracy

"I want to say here that any business the nature of which is such that, in order to make a profit, it is necessary to corrupt legislators and to have unfair advantages is not a legitimate business. It is a form of piracy and should be dealt with as such.

"There are men who think they must corrupt public officials to obtain fair treatment. Such men can free themselves from any such supposed necessity through the enactment of an initiative and a referendum amendment, by means of which, if unjustly treated, as will then be unlikely, an appeal can be made to the people at large at a much less expense than it costs to keep a Legislature bribed. Not only is the cost less but one, at the same time, maintains his self-respect.

"There are a class of people who shy at a proposal such as the initiative and referendum because they fear to place

more power in the hands of the people. I believe that the people of Illinois are honest and intelligent. I believe they are selfish enough and have brains enough to see that they cannot injure property rights without injury to themselves. Then, too, almost everybody in Illinois owns property, which he is interested in keeping and having protected. Don't forget in this connection that this is one of the richest farming states in the country, that there are thousands and thousands of wealthy farmers who are vitally interested in property rights. This fear of the people leads back to the fundamental proposition that we must trust somebody. The question is: Whom are we going to trust? Are we willing to trust the group that was in control of the last General Assembly in preference to trusting the whole people?

"This effort to restore representative government in Illinois should especially appeal to members of the City Club, of the Association of Commerce, of the Commercial Club, of the Retail Merchants' Association of Illinois, and similar organizations, as members of these organizations are studying public problems and using their power and energy in furthering needed progressive legislation. Practically all such work is lost, unless the Legislature at Springfield is made up of men who will honestly give consideration to such proposals and who will act upon their honest convictions. Not until Illinois has a really representative government will such proposals receive consideration.

Big Issues Involved

"We should not lose sight of the fact that great human values are involved in this struggle. To the Legislature we must look for laws regarding sanitation, providing for the care of the blind, the pauper old and the insane, for laws dealing with relations between employer and employe. The actions of the Legislature have much to do with determining the conditions under which we live, much to do with determining whether we are to be exploited or not.

"We (I speak now in behalf of the Committee of Seven) believe that representative government in Illinois does not exist. We believe the patriotic cit-

izens of the state should busy themselves in working out such changes in our system of government as will result in the powers of the great state of Illinois being used to further in a broad, humanitarian way, the social and commercial interests of the people as a whole.

"We believe in a direct primary law. We believe that the people throughout the state should organize and work for the enactment of a state-wide civil service law, of an adequate corrupt practices act and for an amendment to the constitution providing for the initiative and referendum.

"We, on our part, as a committee, are furthering this movement by holding mass meetings throughout the state, at which these issues are discussed. We are circulating a petition asking that these three propositions be put on the Little Ballot next November; we are getting in touch with as many organizations and influential individuals throughout the state as we can find with a view to co-operating with them.

"We want and solicit the help and co-operation of every citizen to whom such a program appeals." (Applause.)

George E. Cole

"The other day Alderman Merriam said to me, 'Mr. Cole, I should think that a man who has been in this work as long as you have would be utterly discouraged.' My answer was, that at no time since this work started had I felt as optimistic as I do now, and as sure of the ultimate triumph of good government." (Applause.)

An Optimistic Outlook

"I went to Peoria last June in company with some thirty men from Chicago who represented all classes of honest opinion. At the conference there, the discussion ran the whole gamut from strong radicalism to strong conservatism. But by 5 o'clock the next afternoon we had agreed unanimously upon the program which has just been described by Mr. Rogers, that is, state-wide civil service, the initiative and referendum, and the corrupt practices act. Fifteen, ten, five, *even one* year ago, that could not have occurred in the state of Illinois. (Ap-

plause.) That is why I am sure of the ultimate success of this movement.

"In reading history we do not realize altogether how things happen, and how slowly they come about. In the American Revolution over a quarter of a century elapsed between the adoption of the first act of parliament to which we objected, and the final adoption of the constitution. That quarter of a century was not uninterrupted progress; it was a series of setbacks and defeats, but it kept coming on, coming on, until the final triumph. Thirty years passed after the adoption of the South Carolina nullification acts before Lincoln signed the emancipation proclamation. That period, too, was a period of defeats and discouragements, but all the time an irresistible public sentiment was being built up. That is what we have been piling up in this county, in this city, and in this state—an irresistible public sentiment. That is the one irresistible thing that is going to win honestly.

Minority Representation a Failure

"Broadly, of course, this matter of honesty and reform in the state of Illinois is not as great an event historically as the Revolution and the Rebellion, but locally it is, perhaps, as important. We hear a good deal about representative government as the government to which we should cling. But we do not have representative government in Illinois and have not had it for thirty years—at least, so far as our legislature is concerned. Our minority representation plan has made representative government impossible. I doubt if there are half a dozen men in this room who have ever voted for a member of the legislature in the lower house where his vote has counted for anything. If they did they went outside of party lines to do it.

"Now what is the initiative and referendum, for which the Committee of Seven stands? The initiative and referendum is really an intelligent, up-to-date method of restoring the old New England township government, and adapting it to large commonwealths. Let us see how that would have worked in the last few years with some of the

questions that have been before us as a community.

"A few years ago a sustained and intelligent effort was made to secure the enactment of a comprehensive civil service law in the state of Illinois. That effort was backed by a strong public opinion. The legislature had been considering the question for months. One day there came into my office seven of the very best members of the legislature in the lower house, every one of them honest and aggressive in the cause of civil service. They came to me and said, 'Mr. Cole, we have come here to say that in our opinion we cannot adopt this legislation. We cannot carry a comprehensive civil service law. We believe that we can get a partial civil service law applying to the charitable institutions. There is not a single leader that is *honestly* for that law. They are knifing it secretly. Public sentiment is so strong that they can probably be forced to give us a partial law if we will accept it; we cannot, however, get a comprehensive civil service law.' I discussed the situation with them thoroughly on that day and the next, and after talking the matter over with the Secretary of the Legislative Voters' League, I advised them to take the partial law—which was later done, and the legislation secured. Supposing, however, we had had the initiative and referendum, what would have been the result? We could have said to those members of the legislature: 'Gentlemen, pass that law! Pass it as it is written! That law has been approved by some of the best legal talent in the state of Illinois and by others who have given it thorough consideration. It is a complete and satisfactory law. Pass it as it is or we will appeal to the people through the referendum.' That law would have been passed. That is what the initiative and the referendum will do. Obviously, it is not intended that every law that is passed must be submitted to a referendum. It is intended, however, that the legislature shall know that back of the law is public opinion and public opinion that is effective. It is representative government with a big stick.

Pass Reform and the Salary Bill

"Here is another illustration of my point: An effort was made some time ago to do away with passes in the state of Illinois. Some of our big political leaders announced themselves as in favor of such legislation; they did not favor it honestly, but they pretended to, for they knew that public opinion demanded it. A bill was therefore introduced in the General Assembly doing away with passes in the state of Illinois. Some of the members of the legislature insisted, however, that if passes were to be abolished, provision should be made for the increased transportation expenses by increased salaries. So a bill was introduced, raising the salaries from one to two thousand dollars per session—a not unreasonable sum. The *salary* bill was passed, but the *pass* bill never got out of committee, and is not out of committee yet. (Laughter.) If we had had the initiative and referendum, we could have told these gentlemen: 'If you don't pass those bills together we will put them to a vote of the people and you will run the risk of losing your salary bill at the same time that the pass bill is endorsed.' Under those circumstances, I believe both bills would have passed. That story illustrates why we want the initiative and referendum. Now why do we want the civil service law?

Civil Service and the Padded Payroll

"Civil service will wipe out the stuffed pay roll. A few years ago the Secretary of the Legislative Voters' League, with some assistance, analyzed the legislative pay roll and gave publicity to what he found. He found that if every man on the pay roll should come to Springfield at the same time to report for duty, the corridors of the State House would be so full that the crowd would be forced out into the street, not only blocking the work of the legislature, but stopping the traffic on the streets. It is that condition of things which the civil service is intended to cure.

"The meaning and need of a corrupt practices act are so obvious and so well understood that any statement as to why we support it is not needed.

"I want to drive home to the conscience of each individual, his part in this business. I preached a sermon the other day up in Wilmette. I am not going to give you the sermon, but I will give you the text, which you can find in the third chapter of Revelations: *'These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest, and art dead.'* That is the State of Illinois.

"*'Be watchful and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die; for I have not found thy works perfect before God.'* Those are the



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SOME ASPECTS OF THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT.

On Monday, the 19th instant, Mr. Francis J. Heney, well known for his prosecution of the Oregon land frauds and also the prosecution of the San Francisco graft cases, spoke before the City Club on the subject of "Some Aspects of the Conservation Movement. In the course of his remarks, however, he also took occasion to endorse the movement now on foot in Illinois for the establishment of the initiative and referendum as a part of the machinery of the State government. Alderman Charles Edward Merriam introduced the speaker.

Francis J. Heney

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I heard a man describe the difference between an insurgent and a stand-patter the other day in this way: He said a stand-patter is willing to accept the label on a can of tomatoes as being sufficient evidence that the can contains tomatoes (although it may, as a matter of fact, contain corn), whereas an insurgent wants to look inside the can and see whether it really has tomatoes in it or not.

"Now, it is difficult for me to give you any idea of my conception of what insurgency means except by going into a general statement of the conditions existing in the United States today, and the cause of these conditions. We all feel that our prosperity in a material sense has been very great, and that we want that prosperity to continue, but there is an underlying feeling of unrest growing out of the fact that the impression prevails among all of us, perhaps, that some men are getting a little more than their share of this prosperity. We want to see it distributed a little more evenly than it has been in the past.

"Before we can undertake to remedy an evil we must first find out what caused it. Mr. Taft said not long ago

that he did not know what caused the high price of living, and I will not be presumptuous enough to say that I do know, but I want to point out to you some of the conditions which have existed in the United States which may perhaps account for the inequalities now existing in the ownership of private property.

The Menace of Great Wealth

"To begin with, please do not put me down as a man who is opposed to any man getting all that his talents entitle him to. I am not a socialist in the sense that everything should be divided equally among all of us. On the contrary, I believe that the highest development of the human race can be attained by an amount of individualism sufficient, at least, to give every man a chance, a prize to work for (if you want to put it that way) in the development of his faculties. But away back in 1826, in one of his famous speeches, the one at Plymouth Rock, I think, Daniel Webster told us that any country whose laws are so framed as to permit the accumulation of large wealth in the hands of a few must inevitably reach one of two ends: either the many will become subservient to the few, or the many by force and violence will take from the few that property and redistribute it. Now, there is a certain philosophy in that, and those words were uttered by one of the greatest statesmen we ever had in this country. I know that too many of us are inclined to think that a man is a demagogue the moment he commences to talk about restricting the accumulation of wealth in the hands of any individual. But the men who got up the Constitution of the United States feared power. They were afraid to trust to the states the power to tax imports or exports from one state to another.

Why? Because of the selfishness that is in the human race, and the dangers that might arise, and the friction that might occur from one state trying to take advantage of the people in another state through taxing its imports or exports. They were also afraid to trust power in the hands of an individual.

Efficiency Not the Only Test

"We all concede that a monarchical form of government is capable of being more efficient than a democratic form of government. There cannot be any question about that. The great railroad corporations can be run better by a one-man power than they can by a democratic government of stockholders. There is danger in the one-man power, however, whether applied to public business or private business. We are accustomed to say that public business cannot be run without corruption, and to contrast private business with it. We have had some recent illustrations of how corruption may creep into private corporations in some of the states of this Union. Probably it would not apply to Illinois or the Illinois Central Railroad, but it would to some other large corporations.

"On the other hand, we have illustrated what can be done by government control in the building of the Panama Canal. You have had no rumors of corruption or inefficiency. On the contrary, the whole civilized world looks with wonder and admiration at what we, as a people, as a government, have done there. But if we could do that, perhaps we could build a transcontinental railroad; perhaps we could have built all the transcontinental railroads. Before I have finished today you will perhaps see what a difference it would have made in the distribution of wealth in this country had we done so.

"I want to premise now by laying down this proposition—and I am merely quoting another man, Mr. Frederick Howe: 'Monopolies and trusts have not been created in this country by *law-breakers* so much as they have been created by *law-makers*.' Before I have completed my talk you will see that this is absolutely true.

"We began our national existence about 130 years ago with a little strip

of country along the Atlantic coast, gradually spreading out. In the beginning the original colonies claimed the land as far as the Mississippi River. There was some dispute about which of those colonies owned Illinois, but finally the whole question was settled by the cession of the land lying between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River to the general government. Thereupon about three millions of people owned a vast domain in common. It contained timber. It contained all the coal lands which are now owned—more than 96 per cent of them—by one company—perhaps it would be more accurate to say, which are now controlled by one company. Of course, it would have been socialistic for the people to have undertaken to administer these lands for the benefit of all the people. The only true American way of doing business was to get rid of them as fast as possible and to ultimately let three or four men have them all.

The Government and the Indian Lands

"If we had been taking care of these lands for the Indians we would have handled them as we handled the Chickasaw, the Cherokee, the Creek and the Choctaw lands in Oklahoma. The income in the year 1907 from royalties upon the coal that is in those lands, the sale of lots and the interest upon the money already accumulated gave to ninety-eight thousand Indians—under government management, not private corporation management—\$150 for each family of five; and the management of the property of the Osage Indians for the year 1907—oil and gas royalties, etc.—gave to these Indians, numbering about 2,230, \$606 apiece, or \$3,000 for each family of five. Do you know how much the average American citizen earns today? It is less than \$600 a year. Those Indians got over \$600 apiece, men, women and children, under government management.

"I announced that I am not a socialist, and I repeat it; I am going to stand today squarely upon the platform laid down by Mr. Taft at the Conservation Congress. I am not going one inch beyond it. As I am not going one inch beyond it, just keep putting out of your

minds the idea that this is socialistic talk.

"What is the trouble? Let me give you an illustration. Minnesota was allotted a grant of land by Congress to be given away for the building of railroads within the state. This was an exceptional grant, different from that made to other states. Minnesota was also granted the school sections similar to those granted the other states. About a score of years ago, in the early '90s, some iron ore was discovered in Minnesota in the Mesabi district. A few years before, iron was discovered in Minnesota, in Michigan, in Wisconsin and other districts. Much of it lies so that all that has to be done to get the ore is to run cuts into it and shovel it out, at a cost of about six cents a ton. My friend James J. Hill—or one of the corporations controlled by him—got hold of enough of that iron ore land so that he told a friend of mine that he owned four hundred million tons, and that the United States Steel Corporation would have to come to him for it. He said that the Steel Corporation did not have enough ore to last them as long as they estimated their supply would last, and that within less than—I have forgotten the number of years, twenty at the outside anyhow—they would be compelled to use his ore lands. A few years later they went to him and they had to pay ninety-two cents a ton royalty instead of twenty-five cents—the amount they had been paying elsewhere. Under what sort of an arrangement did Mr. Hill become the owner of four hundred million tons of iron ore that once belonged to all of us in common? By what sort of business management was it that while we expected to keep up equal opportunities in this country we permitted to slip into the clutches of one man four hundred million tons of iron ore? We will come to that in a moment.

Minnesota's School Fund

"The State of Minnesota has held back some of its iron ore school lands in that section, and it gets twenty-five cents a ton royalty on all ore taken out. Thirty-five mines only had been discovered upon school sections up to last year. Minnesota now has a permanent school fund of more than nineteen mil-

lion dollars. This permanent school fund comes from that royalty of twenty-five cents a ton on iron ore, from the sale of timber—not of timber lands, but of mature timber selected and cut off under state inspection and sold for just compensation—and from the sale of other lands which are agricultural in character.

"What has the general government done by way of contrast? Here you will see how the monopolies and trusts in this country have been created by the lawmakers more than by the lawbreakers. In 1878 the Timber and Stone Act was passed. The Secretary of the Interior—I think it was Mr. Carl Schurz—two months after the law was passed, wrote a report, which was printed and sent to every member of Congress. The President in his report to Congress called attention to it. I quote from this report:

The Timber and Stone Act

"In the opinion of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, which is on record in this department, these two acts are more calculated to hasten the destruction of the forests in the states and territories named than to secure the preservation of them.

"Of this act the Commissioner of the General Land Office, in a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Interior, expresses the following opinion:

"It is a fact well known that while almost all the timber-bearing land in those states and all the territories, except Dakota and Washington, is regarded as mineral, only a small portion is so in reality. The effect of this bill will, in my opinion, be to prevent the survey and sale of any of the timber lands, or the timber upon the lands, in the states and territories named, thus cutting off large prospective revenues that might and should be derived from the sale of such lands or the timber upon them. It is equivalent to a donation of all the timber lands to the inhabitants of those states and territories, which will be found to be the largest donation of the public domain hitherto made by Congress."

"After a careful consideration of the above named act and its probable effects, I venture the prediction that the permission given the inhabitants of the states and territories named therein to take timber from the public lands in any quantity and wherever they can find it, for all purposes except export and sale to railroads, will be taken advantage of, not only by settlers and miners to provide economically for their actual current wants, but by persons who will see in this donation a chance to make money quickly; that it

will stimulate a wasteful consumption beyond actual need and lead to wanton destruction; that the machinery left to this department to prevent or repress such waste and destruction through the enforcement of the rules above mentioned will prove entirely inadequate; that as a final result in a few years the mountain sides of those states and territories will be stripped bare of the timber now growing upon them, with no possibility of its reproduction, the soil being once washed off from the slopes, and that the irreparable destruction of the forests will bring upon those states all the calamities experienced from the same causes in districts in Europe and Asia similarly situated.

"It appears to me, therefore, that the repeal of the above named act, and the substitution thereof of a law embodying a more provident policy, similar to that of the above mentioned Senate Bill No. 609, is in the highest degree desirable. If the destruction of the forests in those states be permitted, the agricultural and pasturage interests in the mountainous regions will inevitably be sacrificed, and the valleys in the course of time become unfit for the habitation of men."

Deforestation in Europe and Asia

"The foregoing was written, printed and distributed a few months after the law was passed. What are the conditions in Europe and Asia referred to in the paragraph before the last? Hundreds of millions of acres of Northern China and other parts of Asia are absolutely uninhabitable, merely because the forests were removed from the adjoining mountain ranges, where formerly that land was under a high state of cultivation and supported millions of people. The same conditions began to confront us in this country, but it was not until within the last five or six years that we broke the Rip Van Winkle sleep we were in and commenced to realize that within a few short years we would be facing the same calamity unless we stopped the cutting away of our forests.

"Mr. Taft said in his speech at the Conservation Congress that thoughtful men and scientific men have always known that this result would come from the methods we adopted of permitting our timber lands to be denuded. Thoughtful men always knew it. Well, my friends, Congress always knew it. Every year for thirty-two years from the time the act was passed down to the present time a report has been made in substance exactly like the one I have

just read to you from the Secretary of the Interior—only that instead of being a mere prediction, after the first year it became the statement of an absolute certainty. The Secretary of the Interior told Congress and the President what was taking place. What was the result? Why, under our representative form of government was there nothing doing in the way of legislation to stop it?

Congress Makes Situation Worse

"A repeal of the Timber and Stone Act has been recommended for thirty-two years, every year since 1878; an act for the repeal of the Timber and Stone Act has been on file in both houses of Congress every year since 1878, thirty-two years ago, but nothing has yet been done by Congress to save the remaining timber land which is not in forest reservations. Fourteen years after this iniquitous law was passed, and in the face of the annual request and plea of the Secretary of the Interior for its repeal, Congress extended its provisions unmodified to Montana, Idaho and other places, so that Mr. Clark and other millionaires could get all the timber they wanted in those sections of the country. They were not getting enough under their private ownership because the law did not extend there at that time. With fourteen years of reports from the Secretaries of the Interior telling them of the stealing and the criminal destruction of forests that was going on, Congress went right ahead and extended the territory over which this vicious law could operate. Yet we are a self-governing people, and the most intelligent self-governing people on the face of the earth—we think. We are insulted if anybody intimates that we are not.

"Thirteen million acres of the finest timber on earth has been taken up under the law, and the last report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, Mr. Dennett, is to the effect that about twelve of those thirteen million acres have gone into the hands of a few speculators and monopolists. 'But,' I hear somebody say, 'if we had not done that, our Northwest would not have been developed.' But the greater portion of this land has been taken since 1900, and it is practically all being held for a fu-

ture rise in the market. It is preventing the development of those states in which it lies. California, with her magnificent forests and wonderful mines and agricultural lands, has only a little over a million and a half of people in it today. Why? Because of the vast holdings that prevent men of small means from coming in and populating the state and becoming efficient citizens in it. It is due, my friends, primarily to the *lawmakers*, because unless the laws had been so framed as to permit of and even encourage this stealing, the stealing would not have taken place.

"The way to stop yellow fever is not simply to doctor the patient who has it or screen him off from the mosquitoes which carry it—although that is very important—but to destroy the mosquitoes which carry it. We have practically wiped out yellow fever in the Canal zone in that way. And the way to stop the stealing of timber is not to put a few men in jail—as I did in Oregon—because the stealing goes on just as much as ever. The way to stop the stealing is to repeal the iniquitous timber law. There cannot be any question about that.

Withdrawals of Timber Land

"Fortunately we have saved some of our timber lands because at some time—inadvertently, no doubt—Congress passed a law authorizing the President of the United States to make withdrawals for forest reservation. Some of the Presidents did make withdrawals of this sort. Roosevelt made more withdrawals than all the other Presidents combined. But he had to use the machinery already given to him for action in the matter, and the usual policy was to await the recommendation of the Commissioner of the General Land Office.

"When Mr. Binger Hermann was Commissioner of the General Land Office, he constantly insisted on an amendment of the Lieu-Land Act of 1897, which he contended gave to speculators millions of acres of timber land that they should not have had. It gave an unfair advantage to the railroads. Millions of acres of railroad lands were put into forest reserves. The owners of these lands cut the timber away and

then used these denuded lands as a base upon which to make selections of the finest timber lands remaining outside of the reservations. Every year, beginning in 1897, the year the law was passed, the Secretary of the Interior has called the attention of Congress to that matter and begged it to modify the law. There was no modification. Members of Congress—that is, the organization—were not there to represent the people and the people's interests. You know an insurgent cannot get a bill up in the house; it has to go through Joe Cannon's committee before it can come up. The Senate has a similar system; a bill must go through one of the Senate committees, and Mr. Aldrich, as you know, has a great deal to say about the organization of those committees. So the people must wait—until when? Why, until the timber land is all gone. Then Congress will give you a law—when the horse is out of the stable.

The Lawmakers and Monopoly

"Now, the withdrawal of these lands for reservation purposes started trouble. In Oregon, where we indicted and convicted a United States Senator and a Congressman and secured an eleven to one verdict for conviction against another Congressman, who was an ex-Commissioner of the General Land Office, for defrauding the government of the United States—mostly for defrauding it out of public lands—there was a great protest. Congress passed a law taking from the President the right to create any more forest reserves in Oregon, Montana, Idaho and a few other states which I do not now remember. President Taft the other day at the Conservation Congress said that he was told by the Agricultural Department that there are more forests in these states that ought to be put into reserves, and that he intends to recommend to Congress that a law be passed permitting him to withdraw them. Well, Mr. President, unless you wield the big stick as your predecessor is accused of having wielded it, you will never get it. You can never get such legislation by a mere recommendation. As I have already pointed out, the repeal of the Timber and Stone Act has been recommended every year for thirty-two years, and it

is still on the books; stealing is going on under it just as rapidly as ever. That is a small part of what has been done by *lawmakers* to create monopoly. I have told you about that part only by way of illustration.

"Let me tell you the source of our greatest trouble now in the United States. About the time the Civil War commenced we did not know much about mining coal. Perhaps there are some here who can remember when the first attempts were made. We had no idea that coal was worth so much, and that it could be mined for fuel purposes to create steam. Steam has not been in use such a very long time. Its use has developed today to a point far beyond what any one dreamed of fifty years ago. How do you create steam? There is only one way, and that is by the use of something that will create heat. The products which will create heat are very few in number. There is coal, there is oil, there is the natural gas (which was discovered later than 1860), and aside from these there is nothing except wood, timber. We are seeing the end of the use of wood for the production of heat for we need it for other purposes. Moreover, we must preserve the forests for the benefit of our agricultural lands. Energy is also created, aside from the use of steam, by the harnessing of running water. Therefore we have to deal mainly with running water, coal, oil and natural gas as the energy-producing resources. I care nothing about all the other natural resources. I will give you the gold mines, the silver mines, the iron mines and the copper mines. If you give me the energy-creating natural resources, in a short time you will be absolutely subservient to me.

Energy Producing Resources Most Vital

"You cannot maintain your present standard of civilization, your present methods of making clothes, shoes, houses and iron for structures and railroads and steamers, and you cannot propel your transportation facilities except by having the energy with which to run your machinery. You do not get this energy from the gold, silver, copper or iron mines, but from coal, oil, natural gas and water power. There are made in this country 250,000,000 pairs of

shoes a year. That is an average of four or five pairs for every man, woman and child in the country. You could not make all the shoes and clothes we wear by hand, and at the same time keep up the present standard of civilization as to comforts and luxuries. It takes more energy to create and operate the utilities and conveniences and necessities of life than is possessed by our ninety millions of human beings. We have learned to use those energies of nature for the benefit of mankind.

"Well, what is the significance of all this? Is there any danger of the control of these natural energies getting into a few hands? More than 96 per cent of the anthracite coal east of the Rocky Mountains is already under the control of one company. As shown by the investigation that was made by an official commission, the control of this coal was in the hands of eight railroads. Some of those eight railroads have been consolidated, and more than 96 per cent of the coal is now controlled by one company. That coal creates energy. That energy competes with human energy and has driven the latter out of many fields of operation. If I own the energy of twenty men, if I can make a profit of fifty cents a day off the labor or energy of each of them, I will make \$10 a day. If I can make a profit of fifty cents a day off the labor or energy of 10,000 men I will make \$5,000 a day. If you have 10,000 men employed and are utilizing their energy without the aid of machinery, and if I own the energy of 10,000 men, in a form which can be applied to the running of machinery, how can you compete with me? I don't have to feed or clothe the producer of my energy as you do.

Conservation of Water Power

"Now, as to water power. There are thirty-seven millions of horse power readily available in this country, according to the reports of the Geological Department on that subject. What does that mean? One average truck horse working eight hours a day does about four-fifths of what we call the unit of horse power. It would take about ten men to do that work—sixteen, to be accurate, but call it ten. Thirty-seven million horse power means the energy of

three hundred and seventy millions of men for eight hours a day every day in the year. Compare the energy of 370,000,000 men for an eight-hour working day with the water power which is running always and which does not wear out. It can be run on and on and on forever. It is inexhaustible. If one man owns this water power he owns the energy of 370,000,000 men forever. Do you think you can compete with that man in the production of wealth if he owns that and you possess no other energy than that which God Almighty has put into your body? Does it require any argument to convince you that it is the most stupendous folly to permit a few men to become the owners in perpetuity of all the energy supplied by nature and to delude ourselves into the belief that we can continue to enjoy equal opportunities in competition with the absolute owner of all that energy which nature has so generously supplied for the benefit of all mankind?

"Roosevelt commenced to agitate against this menace to industrial liberty during the last two years of his administration. He insisted that we should hold back what water power and coal was left. The United States Steel Corporation could not be an effectual trust except by having control of the greater part of all the iron ore, so as to give it control of the price. After getting control of the greater part of the iron ore, what did it discover? It discovered that it was at the mercy of the men who owned the energy-creating natural resources. Immediately the steel company started in to acquire sufficient coal lands to supply it with the energy needed to utilize its iron ore. Without that energy it could have been and would have been subservient to the men who owned it.

"During his administration President Roosevelt commenced to call the attention of the country to these momentous questions. Taft at the recent Conservation Congress said: 'We must hold on perpetually to our water power, to our coal, gas and oil.' He did not say why, but the reason is that it is an energy-creating natural resource.

Monopoly May Retard Development

"Somebody will say that is socialism. Do you suppose if one man owns

37,000,000 of horse power he is going to develop it any more rapidly than the needs of the country require it? Not at all. He would develop it just that rapidly and no more. We might just as well hold it ourselves until the time comes that we need it.

"Australia and New Zealand do not sell their coal; they lease the coal mines. Yet in San Francisco we use more Australian coal than we do coal produced in the United States.

"John Graham Brooks told me that a friend of his, a big manufacturer, wished to put up a factory in Canada. When he notified the government that he would like to buy sufficient water power in perpetuity to run this factory the Canadian official simply grinned in his face at the idea. 'Why, Mr. Minister,' the manufacturer asked, 'do you grin at me?' 'Why,' said the Minister, 'we do not *sell* our water power. We will *lease* you all you want for your purposes. As rapidly as you show us that you can use a certain amount you can have it at fair rates, but we do not intend to let that inheritance of the people get into the private ownership of an individual.' That country is under the control of a monarchy, and yet we, a self-governing people, have permitted a few men and corporations to acquire unrestricted ownership in perpetuity of enormous quantities of the water power which we recently owned in common.

"President Taft said in his speech that there are three thousand billion tons of coal in this country. What has become of it? Two thousand billion tons are already under private ownership—practically under one control. Only one thousand billion tons are left in public ownership, and monopolists are already trying to acquire the immediate ownership of all of it. Isn't it time for somebody to commence to 'insurge' in this country against the men who are making our laws and are thus enabling a few men to monopolize the energy-creating natural resource which has become essential to the comfort and happiness of mankind?

A Question of Environment

"Now, the lawmakers who have done this are not all bad men. They did not all buy their elections to the United States Senate. There are men in the Senate with whom we would all be will-

ing to sit down to lunch, who nevertheless vote against the people's interests every time. There is a little story, if you will bear with me a moment, about a fox terrier dog which was taken on a farm one day and allowed to run out among the chickens. There were two kinds of chickens on the farm, brown Leghorns and white ones. The little fox terrier, the moment the feed was on the ground, commenced to run around and herd the white chickens away from the feed. It was not the dog's fault that he did that. He had been raised on a farm where they did not have anything except brown Leghorns, and he thought that the brown Leghorns were entitled to get all the feed. The trouble with that dog was environment. He was a good dog, a faithful dog to his instincts. So, my friends, perhaps old Uncle Joe Cannon is a good faithful 'dog,' and I do not use the word now in any offensive sense. He is a faithful, loyal representative—not of the people, but of the interests who send him to Congress and who help to frame the rules that govern the House.

The Southern Pacific Grant

"You have read the history of the Southern Pacific Railroad's management, the history of Huntington and his friend and partner Colton in California. Our present trouble in this country began with our improvident and extravagant legislation in 1862. At the time of the war there was raised a great hue and cry for a transcontinental railroad to California. There was some fear that California might go out of the Union. That fear was used, together with some other means of persuasion that were not shown on the surface, to secure an act from Congress by which a corporation, created for the building of a transcontinental railroad, was to receive aid in the form of government bonds. The Central Pacific Railroad received over twenty-seven million dollars of government bonds for building a little over eight hundred miles of road. It was to receive sixteen thousand dollars a mile for a portion of the road, forty-eight thousand dollars through the mountains and thirty-two thousand through the desert. Of course, the construction accounts were not checked up very close-

ly—not as closely as the expenditures on the Panama Canal are being checked up by the government. The road was built for much less than twenty-seven million dollars, and the difference went into the pockets of the people who controlled the company—Huntington, Crocker, Stanford and Hopkins. Those men took millions of dollars of profits from the sale of those government bonds. After selling them for more than enough to pay all of the honest bills, they put the balance in their pockets. Then they went back to Congress—that was in 1864—and they got a change in the law which provided that the government should not have any first lien upon the railroad, but that it should have only a second lien, and that they could issue first mortgage bonds to the same amount as the government bonds. Then they issued another twenty-seven millions of first mortgage securities, sold them to investors and pocketed practically all of the proceeds. One would think that was enough, but no. They issued one hundred millions of stock. (They were running through a desert country up there, and when man puts water on desert land it produces wonderfully.) Thereupon they watered this stock, and we wonder how it is that there is such an uneven distribution of wealth in this country today. My friends, do you see how they made their money? Is there anything about their methods which indicates that they possess very much more intelligence and farsightedness than other men? Is the wealth of Huntington, Stanford, Crocker and Hopkins traceable to the possession by them of the traits of intelligence and farsightedness?

The Northern Pacific Grant

"We gave the Northern Pacific Railroad Company a grant which has been estimated to be worth over a billion dollars, and it is said that that would give a net profit over and above the cost of building the railroad of nine hundred and some odd millions of dollars. You would say that those gentlemen ought to be satisfied with that, but were they? No. That road has been overcapitalized in the same way, and yet 'Jim' Hill says that the high cost of living is due to the extravagance of the common people.

Well, it is; it is due to the extravagance of the people, or rather to their lack of intelligence in permitting their representatives to become the representatives of Mr. Hill and other men like him while masquerading as representatives of the people and of the people's interests. The proceeds of the sale of those granted lands under wise management would have built ten transcontinental railroads, even if the construction had been accompanied by a lot of stealing and corruption. Suppose the government had built ten transcontinental railroads. Does anybody think the government could not have built them? 'Jim' Hill says that I accused him of working for fifty thousand dollars a year. I did not do anything of the kind. When 'Jim' Hill has the fixing of his own salary, I would hesitate to estimate what he does pay himself, either as salary or in some better and less conspicuous way best known to himself and to those who practice his methods of high finance. I know that he claims the credit for somebody having made four hundred millions out of the four hundred million tons of iron ore up there. That is a little more than fifty thousand dollars a year for the ordinary lifetime. But I do know this, that out of the Northern Pacific land grant we could have built the railroad and then have turned around and built the Panama Canal, and then have turned around and built another railroad across this continent, and still have had money to burn.

Government Lands Monopolized

"We have given away one hundred and fifty-five million acres of land to railroads. We have given away three hundred and sixty-five million acres of land for wagon roads and canals and railroads. One-quarter, practically, of all the available agricultural land in the United States is now owned by a very small number of people. Let us stop to imagine what has become of the balance of our public lands. From the beginning of the government down to the present time we have held out land to the homemakers. How much do you think they have taken under the Homestead Act in the past fifty years? Only one hundred and fifteen million acres up to date. That is all which has been

taken under the Homestead Act, not including the commutation clause. Thirty-five million acres have been taken under the commutation clause, which permits the taking of land after the tenants have lived on it or pretended to live on it for eight months. Of those thirty-five million acres, it is estimated by experts in the government service that about ninety per cent was taken fraudulently.

"Today the big business interests are trying to create a central bank in order to concentrate money and credit in New York City. I know that in 1907, when the panic came, there was no shortage of money in California, outside of San Francisco. Business had been good in California, and yet we could not get money because our banks had placed a large part of their reserve funds in New York City, where they could get high prices for call loans. High prices for call loans can be started by a few men in New York to make money go there. After they get it there it is a well-known fact that the money is manipulated by three systems or groups of men. How do they get the use of it? Read the history of the investigation of the life insurance companies. Hundreds of millions of dollars were turned over to certain trust companies, and the trust companies were controlled by the three groups of men, the Harriman group, and the Standard Oil group, and the Morgan group. Those three groups monopolized the chances for men to undertake big profitable enterprises by getting all of this available cash into their hands. If you give to any set of men the opportunity to control such a large proportion of the ready cash in this country they have the drop on you every time.

Railroad Rates a Tax

"The land-granted railroads fix your rates upon the theory that the present owners paid for building those railroads themselves, and you are having some difficulty with them right now. But our trouble does not stop there. After they had the railroads built they commenced to discriminate unjustly in their freight charges. Why, the framers of the Constitution of the United States knew that men could not be trusted with power to impose taxes in a way which would dis-

criminate between individuals, and consequently they put a clause in the Constitution which provides, in effect, that all taxation shall be equal and uniform. All of our state Constitutions have similar provisions. In those days we never dreamed of transcontinental railways, or that the time would come when a private corporation would be in a position to levy taxes, in effect, upon all commodities transported from one state into another, or even from one point in a state to another point in the same state; to arbitrarily fix the rate of taxation and to discriminate unjustly and unfairly between individuals. We permitted this to be done without restriction for about two score of years, and until a few beneficiaries of the iniquitous system had accumulated fortunes so vast that they stagger the imagination, and yet we find people wondering what the matter is and why the cost of living is so high.

"I would like to mention one or two other points, a little aside from the main line of this talk, but which I feel to be very important. I understand that there is a movement in this state for the initiative and referendum. They are very important tools for self-government which you ought to secure if possible. Let me give you an illustration.

The Initiative in Sacramento

"When the Western Pacific road tried to get into Sacramento, California, it could not get a franchise from the city. It had purchased a depot and grounds, and yet it could not get a right of way from the City Council which would enable it to reach its terminal. It tried to bring the question before the people at an election, but the Southern Pacific named the men on both tickets and the people could take their choice. The Southern Pacific management raised a number of issues like local option and women's suffrage and things of that kind, and thus managed to confuse the people on the one important issue of that particular campaign. The result was that the Southern Pacific got its Council elected again, and the Western Pacific was just where it had started. Then the attorney for the Western Pacific discovered that there was inserted in the charter of Sacramento, at some

time when the interests must have been asleep, a provision which is called the initiative and which provides that if you want an ordinance passed by the Council—such as an ordinance granting a right of way—all you have to do is to get up your ordinance, get fifteen per cent of the voters to sign it, and thereupon an election must be called and the people are given a chance to vote upon it. This was done in the case of the Western Pacific ordinance, and when it came to a vote it was carried by twenty-four to one. What a sad commentary upon representative government as it usually works out in this country and as it had worked out in Sacramento without the aid of the initiative!

Los Angeles and the Referendum

"I will give you one more illustration. Los Angeles is some distance—over twenty miles—from the ocean. The city has been growing very rapidly. It is a city of somewhere about four hundred thousand inhabitants. Los Angeles wanted to reach the ocean; she wanted a harbor front. San Pedro seemed to be the best place. Mr. Huntington got in and started work at a place called Santa Monica. He was not able to get hold of the water frontage at San Pedro at that time, and therefore he worked on Congress to make an appropriation for Santa Monica. Mr. Binger Hermann again came to the rescue of the big business interests—he was a member of the committee in the House—and he proposed that they should give Santa Monica three millions and San Pedro about three hundred thousand. But Los Angeles woke up to the situation and made a hard fight, the result of which was that San Pedro finally won out after a long struggle lasting a number of years. The Southern Pacific, in the meantime, had succeeded in getting control of the greater portion of the water frontage of San Pedro—it is seldom that the Southern Pacific gets left. The city owns only a very small important frontage, and that is at the end of a creek—a river, they call it, although it is so narrow you can jump across it—which runs from Los Angeles down to the ocean.

"In the City Council only a few years ago an ordinance was passed granting

for a railroad right of way the entire width of this river bottom down to San Pedro to a man named Gilmore. H. E. Huntington was back of it. The Mayor was out of town, but the clerk had to sign the ordinance before it could go to the Mayor. A representative of the Southern Pacific got hold of him by 'phone and wanted him to come to his office. He said he could not do that. The representative said: 'Meet me at the hotel. I don't want to be seen going to your office.' So the clerk met him at the hotel and was there offered a thousand dollars to sign the ordinance, but the clerk said he would not do it; and he went back and wired the Mayor to return. The Mayor returned at once, promptly vetoed the ordinance and publicly denounced the action of the Council. The Councilmen threatened to pass the ordinance over the Mayor's veto, but the Good Government League of Los Angeles called the attention of the public to the fact that the charter of Los Angeles contained both a referendum and a recall provision. The league pub-

licly arranged for the circulation of a petition to refer the ordinance to the people for a veto vote by them if the Council dared to pass it over the Mayor's veto, and at the same time the league publicly announced its intention to circulate a petition for the recall of any Councilman who voted to pass the ordinance over the Mayor's veto. The attempted steal stopped right there.

"That is very briefly the working of the referendum in Los Angeles. The recall alone certainly would not have been effective because the Southern Pacific could have afforded to have paid a million dollars for the votes of those six Councilmen. The Councilmen could have faced a recall provided they had a sufficient amount of money in their pockets to pay them for losing their offices and the disgrace thereof; but the referendum clinched the matter, because the parties in interest could not bribe a majority of the people of Los Angeles, and they knew they could not deceive the voters on that proposition." (Applause.)



The City Club Bulletin

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DWIGHT L. AKERS, Editor

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THE PENDING "CONSOLIDATED TRACTION" ORDINANCE.

A special luncheon of the City Club was held on Thursday, the 16th inst., to consider the proposed ordinance for the acquisition and rehabilitation of the lines of the Chicago Consolidated Traction Company by the Chicago Railways Company. The principal issue involved in the discussion was a communication from the City Club Committee on Traffic and Transportation to the Local Transportation Committee of the City Council, urging that certain lines included in the Consolidated properties be abandoned as useless and expensive duplications. This proposition was discussed by Mr. Charles K. Mohler, Chairman of the Committee. Mr. Walter L. Fisher, Special Traction Counsel, discussed the more general phases of the ordinance. Dr. Henry B. Favill, who presided, spoke briefly as follows:

DR. H. B. FAVILL: "I want to take occasion to call your attention just for a moment to a thing very characteristic of the City Club—a thing important for all the members of the City Club, especially those who are not particularly active in committee work, to realize. The issue before us today is not one of any very great financial or even civic importance. It is a question of administrative efficiency. There has been no popular clamor about it, pro or con. It is one of the humdrum questions of Chicago municipal life. If the activities of this club, or its power to participate in the consideration of the question at issue had been dependent in any degree upon popular recognition or clamor, or the intrinsic importance of this matter, this meeting never would have occurred, and the activities which have led up to it never would have taken place.

"The fact is that we have a system of committees, steadily, intelligently and conscientiously working upon all sorts of public questions, big and little. Our Committee on Traffic and Transportation has all the time, as is illustrated by this present situation, had a hand and mind on the situation, becoming not only reasonably, superficially interested, but deeply and thoroughly studious as to the merits of the question.

"That is characteristic of what is going on in the City Club underneath the surface. It is characteristic of what we aim to have the City Club be and do. This is a good opportunity to call your attention to the fact that even when there is no great popular or public recognition of the situation, the City Club is really, studiously and honestly studying the propositions that are before it.

City Club Raises Question

"This question today is the result of a discovery by our Committee on Traffic and Transportation in the course of its study of the situation, of something which it believes to be an error, namely, that in the proposed purchase and rehabilitation of the Consolidated Traction system there appears to be certain wasteful duplication in prospect, adding not only to the cost of the purchase, which perhaps is a negligible matter, but adding also to possible administrative complexities in the future. It is not a very big question that they have raised, but it is very pertinent to the immediate situation. That question has been presented to the City Council by the chairman of our committee, Mr. Mohler. It is now under consideration by the Council Committee on Local Transportation and has met with some opposition. This meeting is for the purpose of hav-

ing our committee set before us the results of its investigation, with a view to getting whatever support the contentions of the committee seem to justify."

Mr. Mohler was then introduced and spoke as follows:

Charles K. Mohler

"The City Club Committee on Traffic and Transportation for several weeks past have had under consideration the proposed ordinance to the Chicago Railways Company, covering the territory now occupied by the Chicago Consolidated Traction Company. The ordinance has been considered almost wholly from the standpoint of the traffic and transportation needs of the city as a whole. No effort was made to pass on the fairness of the valuations.

"This ordinance provides for the taking over by the Chicago Railways Company of the lines of the Consolidated Company on payment of their present value, and for their rehabilitation and operation hereafter as a part of the street railway system of the north and west sides. As a result of these investigations, the committee concluded that about eight and one-half miles of single track of the Consolidated Company might be discontinued without serious impairment of this combined system. The sections of lines making up this mileage date from the Yerkes regime, which was characterized not only by high finance, but by an effort to put car lines on all streets which might possibly serve for an entry for competitors. If an entirely new system of transportation were being laid out today, the mileage in question would undoubtedly be excluded.

Unnecessary Mileage

"This mileage consists, first, of the so-called Fulton street line on the west side; second, of certain portions of streets on the north side over which the Southport avenue cars operate; and, third, of a short stretch of dead track on a portion of Clybourn place.

"The reasons which moved the Committee in recommending the abandonment of these tracks are as follows:

"The Fulton street line, located on Monroe, Morgan and Fulton streets, ending at Western avenue, is at no point

in the route more than two short blocks, and for the greater part of the route it is only one block from some other and parallel line of transportation capable of handling all the traffic the territory is likely to develop for some years to come. In view of the crying need of added and better transportation facilities in the outlying districts, there is little valid argument why this territory should be doubly served, when the abandonment of this route would mean only the added walk of one or two short blocks to reach another line with more frequent car service.

Useless Transportation Facilities

"As to the parts of lines over which the Southport avenue cars operate, which the Committee recommended to be abandoned, it appears that they likewise are at no point far removed from parallel lines, and that operating efficiency would not suffer, but in some respects would be improved by their discontinuance. The streets now used by the cars of the Southport avenue line, and which should be abandoned, are Franklin street north of Chicago avenue, and Elm and Crosby streets. The Southport avenue line as now operated has a light traffic. The car interval is six minutes during non-rush hours. At Franklin and Erie streets the cars divide, half going by one route and half by another to reach Elm and Crosby. On both routes taken by the divided service there are other lines within a block able to take care of all of the traffic which originates in this territory. So far as routing is concerned, the Southport cars could better go straight out Larrabee street to reach Clybourn, and avoid the present tedious roundabout route. Neither traffic nor transportation requirements at present justify the continuance and reconstruction of tracks on these streets.

"The track on Clybourn place between Clybourn and Southport avenues has not been in use for ten or twelve years, and can be abandoned, as it apparently is not needed as a connecting link or part of a through route.

"The reconstruction of the total amount of trackage involved would cost not far from \$455,000. The annual revenue accruing to the city from a saving of

that amount would be over \$12,000. The Fulton street line would require operating equipment. The cars and men could be much better employed on Lake street to give more frequent service. The reconstruction and re-equipment of this useless trackage can hardly do other than retard the supplying of adequate transportation facilities where they are unquestionably much more needed.

"When the City Club Committee presented its report to the Council Committee on Local Transportation, it was arranged that the matter should be taken up with the Board of Supervising Engineers and the aldermen of the wards in which the trackage lies, and it was so taken up at a meeting yesterday morning. At this meeting the aldermen of these wards objected—almost wholly on local grounds—to the omission of any of the mileage in question, and it was alleged in behalf of the "Consolidated" bondholders that such omission might occasion litigation. At the same time Mr. Bion J. Arnold assured the City Club Committee that even though the ordinance be passed in its present form and without the omissions recommended, the City Council could subsequently take up this subject and deal with it just as freely and effectively as by now amending the pending ordinance.

"The Committee has at no time had any desire to place obstacles in the way of the general settlement contemplated in the pending ordinance. If the omission of the mileage in question is likely to endanger the adoption of the ordinance, this fact may justify the suggested postponement. But it is the opinion of the Committee that before steps are taken for rehabilitation under the ordinance, the trackage indicated should be eliminated from the streets to be rehabilitated." (Applause.)

Walter L. Fisher

"Mr. Chairman and Fellow Members of the City Club: When the new ordinances of 1907 were passed, it was impossible to deal with the Consolidated Traction situation in the sense of really making it an integral part of the settlement. The Chicago Union Traction Company or those in its interest owned the stock, or substantially all of the stock, of the Consolidated Traction Company,

but that property was subject not only to the old underlying bonds which had been placed on the various lines at the time of their original construction, but also to the second mortgage, which was a blanket mortgage covering the entire system.

"Mr. Yerkes, you know, built the Consolidated Traction system not as a system, but merely by getting franchises from various outlying municipalities and a few from the City of Chicago to cover certain extensions which he wished to make. Instead of taking those franchises for the benefit of the then existing corporations on the north or west sides, he incorporated a separate company for nearly every separate line. Now, in some cases that was justifiable, for the reason that the territory was then outside of the city limits, although it has since been added by annexation. As a matter of fact the purpose was very clearly what Mr. Mohler has indicated, namely, to get possession of the lines of approach to the city as this territory became more important from a transportation point of view, so that it might be controlled. History says that Mr. Yerkes held it out of the original settlement, contrary to the understanding, and that there was quite a row over it, resulting in the issue of the blanket mortgage and the adjustment of the matter with Mr. Yerkes, through which his estate now holds the large amount of bonds claimed by it.

Obstacles to Early Settlement

"In 1907 it was impossible to clear the situation up, for the reason that these bonds had not yet matured, and there were franchises running on all these lines for unexpired periods. In addition to that, there was an exceptional case in the west division, where the town of Cicero had granted the so-called 'midnight ordinances,' giving a fifty-year franchise to certain lines, or attempting to do so, under the terms of the Allen law, then in force, though later repealed.

"Not being able to deal with the matter at that time, we did the best we could with it. In the first place, we provided that the Chicago Railways Company should maintain through the Consolidated Traction Company, all of

the through routes that were located in that territory throughout the term of the grant in the same manner and to the same extent as though those lines were in its own territory. We also provided for a system of universal transfers to take care of all the territory which was not served by the through routes, a system so drastic that it was said in the committee at that time that if the Chicago Railways Company could not by agreement with the Consolidated interests, maintain its right to the transfers, it would have to station a man with a pocket full of nickels at the end of each of the lines of the Railways Company that connected with the Consolidated, and hand a passenger the five cents to continue on his journey.

City Retains Control of Situation

"Another of the principal provisions was that, if the provisions I have mentioned and certain others were not maintained, and the operating agreement kept in force, the City of Chicago would have the right, arbitrarily, to take over the property of the Chicago Railways Company without paying anything for it and run it, simply paying the interest on the capital account as it then stood until such time as the Railways Company made good. With all those drastic provisions in the ordinance, we have had no trouble since with the Consolidated Traction system—except one trouble, which has been inherent at all times, namely, that that company or that series of companies has at no time been able financially to really take care of the physical part of the property. The service has consequently been poor, especially on some of the lines. There has been a certain amount—about fifteen miles, I believe—of actual rehabilitation of a character substantially similar to that shown on the main lines of the Railways system.

"So far as my personal attitude towards this matter is concerned, I may say that immediately that these ordinances were adopted, I then commenced and have since continued at sufficiently close intervals to be regarded as somewhat of a nuisance, I am afraid, by some of my friends in the city hall, to urge that the Consolidated Traction Company should be given immediate at-

tention, that it was absolutely inevitable that we would have to meet the problem, and that the sooner we got ready for it, the better for all concerned. But for one reason or another, nothing was accomplished until this last spring, when the situation got so bad that we had to meet it. The concern went into the hands of receivers in the Federal court. Some of the lines were in such bad physical condition that it was almost impossible to operate cars over them. In many other cases, while the tracks themselves were not so bad, the streets required repaving. It was necessary for the company to secure the funds with which to rebuild the tracks and to do the work which the ordinance required. Of course, we did not want them to put in tracks that were not the kind of tracks that should permanently occupy those streets.

Debt Limit Prevents M. O.

"Finally, action was forced by circumstances. Meantime, a few of the franchises had actually expired, and the others, with the exception of the fifty-year ordinances, were approaching expiration. What were we to do under the situation? Not a single thing has happened since the passage of the ordinances of 1907 which has made the principles in those ordinances less applicable to the situation in Chicago. Upon the contrary, everything which has happened since has made those principles more natural and more necessary. The Supreme Court of the state of Illinois has handed down a decision sustaining the validity of the Mueller law as a law, but holding that the certificates to be issued under that law would constitute a municipal indebtedness, and therefore could not be issued—not because the law was not valid, or the certificates would not be valid, but because the city had reached its constitutional limit of indebtedness. That obstacle is absolutely in the way of the financing of any of these enterprises by the City of Chicago. That obstacle will remain until a constitutional convention has modified the provision to which I have referred.

"Under those conditions, how were we to meet the situation? The proposition advanced by the Consolidated Company in reference to it was that we ought to

give them a new franchise, that we should meet them on the same basis as the other companies, appraise their property, and give them a twenty years' franchise along the same general lines as those laid down in the 1907 ordinance. I myself have been at all times opposed to that. The committee of the City Council was a unit, so far as I could ascertain—certainly the sub-committee was—in opposition to any such procedure as that, and its position was that it would continue its opposition unless an operating agreement could be worked out between the main company and the Consolidated Company, under which, for operating purposes, the situation would be handled just the same as though there were but one company in the field. I did not feel that that was a satisfactory solution of the question.

Judge Ball's Decision

"In the midst of that situation, as you know, a decision was handed down holding the original company liable on the bonds of the Consolidated Traction system, or on certain of those bonds which were attempted to be enforced against the Chicago Railways Company, upon the ground that as a matter of fact it took over the obligations—as least, obligations of a certain character—of the Union Traction system at the time that it took over its assets, and that what happened in their reorganization was really a consolidation. The lower court rendered a decision to that effect.

"That did not affect the rights of the City of Chicago in any way; its interests were absolutely protected. But it did create a situation where it was possible to bring about a consolidation in fact of these properties rather than an operating agreement. The result was an attempt to draw an ordinance along the general lines of the ordinance here in question. The first ordinance, however, was drawn on the theory of authorizing the Chicago Railways Company to buy the system. It had been my judgment that there was serious legal doubt as to the validity of that. It also seemed to me that there were serious questions of public policy in the way; that, as a matter of fact, the valuations

of the old ordinance were adopted as a result of a series of compromises, and that the old ordinances contained a few provisions which experience had shown to be unwise, and which I personally felt called upon to unqualifiedly condemn. Therefore, I made the suggestion in the Committee of Local Transportation, which was adopted by that committee and accepted by the company, that we should simply treat this as an extension of the Chicago Railways Company. We would say: 'Here in the City of Chicago are certain streets where lines of street railway are operated by the Chicago Consolidated Traction system. That system is not being operated in a manner satisfactory to the public. Therefore, we order the Chicago Railways Company, and authorize it to make an extension over those lines. Finding upon those streets certain street railway properties, it is authorized to buy that property at its valuation for the purpose of rehabilitation as a part of the new system.' That is the principle upon which this ordinance has been drafted.

Valuations Favorable to City

"As far as the valuations are concerned, they are the most favorable to the city which have ever been made on street railway property in this city. They are distinctly more favorable than the valuations made in the original ordinances or any of the ordinances that have been passed since.

"Since the original ordinances were passed, three systems have been brought under its general provisions. The Calumet and South Chicago systems were forced into consolidation under an ordinance of the same general character as the ordinances of 1907. In that ordinance I advocated the elimination of certain of the provisions that were in the old ordinances. One of the things that I desired to have eliminated was the provision that in case the city authorized anybody but itself to buy the property, it would have to pay 20 per cent bonus. We got that out. I also attempted—but unsuccessfully—to get out of the ordinance the provision that in ordering extensions in the future—under the provision that the city should have the right to order additional ex-

tensions over and above a certain mileage arbitrarily each year—those additions should not be ordered arbitrarily nearer any then existing street railway line than one-half mile.

"In the case of the Twenty-second street line, the so-called 'Chicago Southern Railway,' we got rid of the whole matter by providing for an extension by the City Railway Company. The City Railway Company took that line over and bought it under this provision. We also got rid of the 20 per cent purchase bonus.

Franchise Values Not Allowed

"In all of those ordinances, however, the property had been valued, substantially as valued in the original ordinance. It included the franchise values. When we come to the ordinance in question, we find a provision referring to the report of the appraisers, Mr. Arnold and Mr. Weston. The original valuation, based upon the same theory as the ordinances of 1907, amounted to \$4,829,383.46, with the paving included. In the present ordinance, however, we eliminated absolutely all the franchise values, to the amount of over \$751,000. There is included in the four million dollars which the Railways Company is authorized to pay for the Consolidated property, not one dollar for franchise values of any kind.

"When the physical property was taken up for valuation, it was figured upon the basis of what it would be worth for rehabilitation purposes. Let me give you an illustration of what is meant by that. There are certain outlying lines that are provided for in this ordinance on streets in which there is no paving, and, in some cases, not even underground work. On those streets, transportation is wanted right away. They cover long stretches connecting one center of population out on the west side, let us say, with another center towards the northwest. Street car facilities are needed to enable the residents to get from one of these centers to the other. We are arranging upon those streets for temporary tracks. The theory is to take the old material that is available on some of these streets that ought to be rehabilitated entirely and completely, and to put on those

streets the best possible tracks and foundation. The old material, so far as it is suitable, can then be used on these outlying lines, which are in immediate need of transportation. Such value as this material would be worth for that purpose would be allowed. In the case of a track which has a life of eight years, where it is perfectly apparent that it would be bad business policy to order that line taken up say inside of five years, the engineering experts went over it, estimated the probable use of the property as nearly as could be done, and said that that property, instead of being sold today, should be used for the purpose for which they think it would be properly adapted, allowing it its value for that purpose.

Railways Company to Purchase

"By that theory, which is distinctly more favorable to the city of Chicago than the theory adopted in the ordinances of 1907 or any subsequent ordinances, the result was a little less than four million dollars. The city of Chicago therefore put in a provision that the Railways Company was authorized to pay for the 'Consolidated' property an amount which the Board of Supervising Engineers would certify hereafter item by item, line by line, as the value of that property for rehabilitation purposes—but with the proviso that the total amount so certified should not in any event exceed four million dollars.

"The valuation in general, as I understand it, was made just as the old valuations were made, namely, the physical condition of the cars was noted—many of them were photographed—the rails were examined and measured, as I understand, by an instrument invented for and used in the valuations upon which the original ordinances were based, by which the actual height of the tread of the rail could be measured to determine just how much it had been worn down. This was done step by step throughout the entire system. I know of no valuation of railroad property of any kind, city or state, steam or electric, that has ever been made with the same degree of thoroughness that the valuations in the original case and in this particular case now before us have been made.

Method of Reorganization

"Now, as to the main provisions of the ordinance. It is provided that the Chicago Railways Company may acquire the title to this property within a certain period of time. The only way the company can acquire this title is by means of foreclosure proceedings under the original bond issue. That is the method which is being followed, and that has a bearing upon the immediate issue that we have before us this afternoon. When it comes to purchasing the property, including the lines, to which Mr. Mohler has referred, that property must be foreclosed as an entirety. I mean that each system on which there was a bond issue must be foreclosed and the property sold as an entirety. I doubt whether it could possibly be worked out in any other way in court. Fortunately, the value of the few tracks to which attention has been directed in this matter—which, by the way, was never discussed in any of the meetings of the committee, because it was not called to their attention—is only a little over \$86,000. Although this is a substantial sum of money, if you consider the fact that we have gotten rid of three-quarters of a million of franchise values, I think we can ignore it in any final adjustment.

"There is, however, the other side to that question, which has been called very properly to the attention of the authorities by the City Club. That is the rehabilitation of those lines in the future, which would cost perhaps four or five hundred thousand dollars—at any rate very much more than the value to be allowed now. If those lines are not proper or necessary, they will only add to the capital account of the company an amount on which five per cent will have to be paid. For that reason if those lines are not economically sound, if they ought to be abandoned as a part of the entire perfected system, that certainly should be provided for. If this matter had been discovered soon enough the question as to the desirability of discontinuing those lines might probably

have been worked out to a conclusion now, so that we might get to some real judgment in the matter and reach an agreement. That, however, is very difficult now in view of the short length of time that is available. Of course, we can wait just as long as we choose, but it is very important to get the rehabilitation work done on some parts of the system before the stormy weather this fall.

City Can Prevent Unnecessary Rehabilitation

"There seems to be a real difference of opinion as to whether or not this Fulton street line, which is alluded to by Mr. Mohler, cannot be made a useful part of the entire system. I have no means of forming an opinion that I would regard as of any value on that point. The other lines seem to be much less justifiable than this. Fortunately, however, the ordinances of 1907 contain a provision which is applicable to the situation, perhaps not as completely or as satisfactorily as I would like to see it, but nevertheless one that probably covers the ground.

"Assuming that the Chicago Railways Company acquires this property, and the Board of Supervising Engineers remains in doubt as to whether these lines ought to be used as a part of the perfected system, the ordinances provide that the work of rehabilitation must be done under the direction and supervision of the Board of Engineers, and that they must approve all contracts that are let. If the board holds up the granting of those permits or the approval of those contracts until we have reached a conclusion there will be no trouble about getting results—always subject, however, to the fact that it will be necessary, as it should be necessary, to convince the City Council as a whole that from the point of view of the elected representatives of the city they wish to have those lines discontinued. We cannot substitute either our individual opinions or the opinions of the Board of Engineers in a matter of this sort to those of the City Council.

"Now, the ordinances of 1907, after

providing for the removal of certain tracks that the company has a right to remove in the event that they do not use those tracks continuously, provide that:

'The City shall have the right by ordinance to require the company to remove any tracks or portions thereof, the further maintenance of which is at any time no longer reasonably required in the operation of the said street railway system.'

"So if the City Council passes an ordinance of the character provided for in that section it can eliminate those lines from reconstruction. Such an ordinance would, in my judgment, be binding upon the street railway company. Of course, it will be necessary for the Council to act. The only point of importance upon which emphasis must be laid is to see that such action is taken before the rehabilitation proceeds, so that the City Council may determine before that money is expended whether it wishes the money to be so expended or not.

When that is done the matter can be taken care of.

"As to the other provisions of the ordinance little need be said. The half-mile limit of the future extensions to which I referred has been entirely stricken out of this ordinance. The very large number of necessary extensions in the west and northwest sides have been taken care of.

"I should be delighted to have my attention called to anything in these ordinances that is not provided for. I believe that if there is anything that is of importance in these ordinances that ought to be amended it should be done even if it is done the last day, if it is done—as I said in referring to the other ordinances—after the Mayor has taken his pen in hand and dipped it in the inkwell. If this policy is pursued I think we will have an ordinance that will work entirely satisfactorily and that will protect the public interests." (Applause.)

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"LITTLE BALLOT" No. 2—CIVIL SERVICE EXTENSION

A "Little Ballot" luncheon was held at the City Club on Monday, the 17th instant, for the discussion of the second question on the Little Ballot proposed by the Committee of Seven, namely, *Shall the General Assembly extend the merit system by the enactment of a comprehensive and adequate state civil service law, thus promoting efficiency and economy?* Mr. Charles L. Capen of Bloomington, president of the Illinois State Civil Service Reform Association and chairman of the Peoria Conference on "the breakdown of representative government in Illinois," at which the Committee of Seven was appointed, made the address. Mr. Edgar A. Bancroft, who presided, before introducing the speaker spoke briefly as follows on the political situation in Illinois:

Edgar A. Bancroft

"Illinois is a state disgraced. I hope that we are a state ashamed. Only so may we recover from the disgrace. The cause is general neglect and indifference on the one side—a sort of deterioration in political morality—and, on the other, the rule of bosses instead of the rule of leaders—a sort of political padrone system. The cure is general interest and independence among the people plus leadership—a leadership which creates and inspires such interest by advocating a real cause, real principles and real purposes of public welfare. We want a strong and sharp division on party lines—not on the basis of party organization, but of party principles. We want the two warring groups to be thoroughly organized, active, aggressive—not in order to obtain plunder to divide among bosses and camp followers, but to obtain legislation and a public service

solely in the interest of all the people. We want to supplant the influence of the few large interests that are in politics with the vital interest of the many who are out of politics. We want less business and money, and more principle and men, in politics.

The Little Ballot

"This is the purpose of the Little Ballot:

"1. A civil service law which will emancipate the public employes from partisan control and devote them to the public service; that will make them competent to serve the public, but incompetent to serve the bosses; that will make the honor of the service the inducement, and not the unearned salary.

"2. The initiative and referendum—to destroy the vendibility of legislative representatives. When the corrupt influence of public officials is futile, it will cease. The briber will refuse to pay when he cannot be sure of his purchase. After all, it is the briber, the man who furnishes the money, who is the chief criminal. He creates the atmosphere and opportunity and temptation leading to political debasement. The initiative and referendum also removes the small group between the electors and the higher officials, and puts the ultimate power in practice, where it is in theory, in the people. It makes the people directly responsible for the public servants and makes public service responsive to the people.

"3. A corrupt practices act is an absolutely essential accompaniment of the direct primary and the initiative and referendum. The direct primary and the referendum magnify the influence of organization and publicity. Therefore they increase the influence of money.

which can create and sustain the organization and promote, and extend the publicity. The corrupt practices act is essential to destroy this improper power of money and the purchased publicity in politics.

"It is the first of these subjects, a statewide civil service law, that is to be discussed this afternoon. I have pleasure in presenting Mr. Charles L. Capen, president of the Illinois Civil Service Reform Association." (Applause.)

Charles L. Capen

"The Peoria Conference, as you all know, was a spontaneous meeting of individuals. None of the persons present were there as delegates except some three or four representatives—whom we were especially glad to have—of the labor unions. There were representatives there from thirty-two of the cities and larger towns of the state. A large representation, particularly of farmers, came from the central and southern parts of the state. The conference was composed of men of much more than average intelligence. They were certainly men of influence and of determination.

"I believe that this was the first meeting of its sort that had been held in this state since 1860, or possibly 1858. For some reason the people of this state have failed to obey the injunction of Edmund Burke that 'when bad men unite, good men must organize.' Here was an organized meeting for which the public was ripe and to which it was ready to listen.

"The conference met at a very opportune time. The state had but shortly before been stirred by the disclosures that had been made and it was confidently believed throughout the state that those disclosures were but a very few of those that could be made if full information were at hand.

"Prior to the meeting some elaborate work had been done to present the situation to the conference in a concrete form. The trouble with a great many of our criticisms of bad politics is that, in a general way, we believe that things are going wrong, but cannot cite concrete facts. Before this meeting was

held an investigation was made by a certified accountant into the expenditures of the state government. Certain facts were obtained that impressed the conference with the need for reform and have since impressed the people of the state. After a discussion of two days by these very earnest men, who were men of all parties—Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, Prohibitionists—the unanimous conclusion was reached that these public scandals were, after all, but the outward signs of deeper disease within, and that the only cure and preventive for the future would be to strike at the roots of that disease. It was resolved by a unanimous vote that the most important thing for the people of Illinois to do was to adopt the three measures which have been proposed on the Little Ballot and which have already been described to you by the chairman of this meeting.

Civil Service Abroad

"I believe firmly in all three of the measures, but I am going to confine what I have to say to the second, that providing for an extension of the civil service. It seems peculiar that agitation for civil service reform should be necessary in this country. In England, when there is a change in ministry, but seven positions in the civil service can be affected. There can be but seven removals from the civil service of the British Empire when there is a change of administration. It is the same with the other nations of Europe. Germany to a great extent educates its public servants at the public cost; it educates candidates for the civil service about as carefully as it educates its officers for the military service. Even in China, where revolutionary progress is now taking place, one of the very first steps in the improvement of the methods of government was the establishment of a system of civil service. And when the United States remitted to China a large part of the Chinese indemnity due the United States, the Chinese government at once decided that the whole of that indemnity should be devoted to educating the brightest and best of the Chinese in the United States for the purpose of enabling them the better to per-

form their duties as officials of the Chinese Empire. And Japan, I am satisfied, today has the best system of civil service on the planet.

"In this country, during President Washington's administration of eight years there were but fourteen changes, all told, in the civil service. President Adams made thirty-four removals. When Jefferson came in over seven hundred persons were removed. During Jackson's administration, the party policy that 'to the victors belonged the spoils' was publicly announced and President Jackson acted accordingly. During the civil war there was a complete sweep, owing to the fact chiefly that many of the officials were Southern sympathizers, or were suspected of being such, and of course it would not do to have them in the public service in time of war. But those who have read President Lincoln's history will remember the awful abuses of the patronage seekers. Hour after hour, this man, who had worries and outside responsibilities enough to kill any ordinary man, had to listen to the requests of office seekers, until, at the close of the war, within a few days after Lee's army had surrendered, he said: 'Now will come the office seekers, more dangerous to this country than were the rebels in arms.' The danger is hardly less today.

The Federal Civil Service

"In 1881 the first Civil Service Reform Association was formed, with the result that in 1883 the Pendleton bill, which was an important step in the extension of the merit system in the Federal service, was passed. From that time to this the National Civil Service Reform Association, formed by such men as Carl Schurz, D. B. Eaton, George William Curtis, Wendell Phillips and Senator Jenks of Rhode Island, who introduced the first real governmental civil service bill, has been a constantly useful factor in the progress of civil service.

"It is impossible for me at this time to trace the steps that have been taken in the development of civil service reform, but we find that three-quarters of all the officeholders in the Federal gov-

ernment are under civil service. President Taft and Secretary Hitchcock, who are very earnestly at work to place our Post Office Department upon a self-supporting basis, have within this month extended civil service so as to include 15,000 more employes of that department, the reason given being that of economy. President Taft is an advocate of civil service, and there is no danger of any retrogression in the Federal government. There can be improvements in the Federal civil service, no doubt, as there was an improvement when the consular service was placed under the merit system—with the result that we have now men in the consular service who can speak the language of the country to which they are sent and who, by examination, have demonstrated that they have had the necessary training to fit them for the very important duties of their office.

The Merit System in the Public Schools

"Illinois seems to have been more backward than the Federal government and most of the states of this country,—except, perhaps, a few of the Southern states—in adopting civil service methods. At times the state seems to have made no progress at all in the way of civic betterment. The Illinois State Civil Service Reform Association and the Chicago Civil Service Reform Association—which, by the way, has done very much more work than has the State Association—were organized quite a number of years ago. Perhaps the first result from the work of our state organization was with reference to the teachers in our public schools. We have forty thousand school trustees in this state and fifteen or sixteen thousand rural schools. Formerly the teachers in these schools were selected haphazardly. Some were appointed because they were proteges of one or another of the trustees. Some were appointed through motives of charity; for instance, a place might be given a poor girl merely because she needed money. The result was that our rural schools, which are of the vastest importance to this state, were managed in a deplorable way. A law was passed, however, that no person should be allowed to teach

in the rural schools or in any of the public schools except after passing a satisfactory examination by competent authority, either the county superintendent of schools or the state superintendent of public instruction. At once there was an enormous improvement in our schools. In this state I doubt if there is now a person who has children to educate but believes firmly in civil service in the public schools.

"We have a civil service law governing appointments to the state charitable institutions. That law, I believe, is fairly well administered. Officers connected with those institutions have told me that they would not dream of going back to the old spoils system today.

"Our penal institutions, however, with something like a thousand employes, are not under the merit system. In the County of Cook there are at least two thousand more employes that do not come under that system, and in the state at large there are at least another thousand. Our present effort is to take away the spoils system and to remove the spoilsmen from five thousand offices in this state.

"Voluntary" Contributions at Pontiac

"I am going to talk about the corrupt practices act only to this extent: Large sums of money spent in getting nominations for elective offices have kept out of politics and out of office many a good man who could not conscientiously expend such large amounts of money. The corrupt practices act at this point fits right in with the civil service. You have heard of the disclosures at Pontiac. Over five hundred dollars was raised from the employes of that institution—not for the purpose of defeating wicked Democrats, either; but the boss of that institution was running for renomination to the Legislature at the Republican primaries and collected the five hundred dollars to help defeat his opponent in the primaries. All that is admitted. Superintendent Russell and the chairman of the Board of Trustees said that these facts were true, but that the contributions were voluntary. What is meant by 'voluntary' in that connection I cannot understand. There certainly are no such 'voluntary'

contributions where the merit system prevails. Nobody ever heard of them. Certainly such voluntary contributions from men of small income, who in this time of high prices have their families to support, are unknown in private employment.

"But suppose it was true that these contributions were voluntary, suppose every dollar of them was a spontaneous donation, volunteered, not asked for, what then? To my mind that does not relieve the ignominy of the thing one particle. In the army and navy of the United States an officer has the full right, and exercises that right as far as he chooses to vote, to express his opinion on any proper occasion, but it is an element of ethics both in the military and naval service that no officer in the army or navy shall be a partisan. If an officer were to give money for the purpose of assisting a candidate or a party in office he would receive the condemnation not only of all his brethren in the army, but of every citizen. Why shouldn't there be a like sense of honor and of propriety in the civil service? Our public employes are paid by the people at large. A large part of all the money that was collected at the reformatory was paid by Democrat, Prohibitionist and Socialist taxpayers. Why should any part of that money be used against them for the purpose of defeating their men and their measures and for keeping them out of office? You must remember, gentlemen, that under the primary law we have two elections now to where we used to have one, consequently the spoilsman has two opportunities where he had but one before.

"Slush Funds" Prohibited

"In one of the institutions of this state which is not under the operation of the civil service law and which might, therefore, be administered under the spoils system, the trustees have practically put the institution on a civil service basis on their own initiative. Three or four years ago the County Central Committee sent word to the president of that institution that the employes must contribute \$350 to the campaign fund. That president at once called the trustees together. The employes were

summoned and told that if any one of them gave one dollar toward that fund, or to the campaign fund of any other political party, it would be considered a serious offense. It is needless to say there has been no attempt to collect a 'slush' fund from that institution or from any employe connected with it since.

"The collection of money in this way is degrading. A man who is fit for an office, who has the ideals that any man ought to have before he becomes a public servant, would not knowingly accept money gathered in this way. Certainly he would not demand it.

Civil Service a Money Saver

"Now, what is the relation of civil service to economy? That is an important question. Our taxes are very heavy in this state, as you know. The figures show a rather remarkable uniform saving of 25 per cent in the cost of managing institutions under the civil service as compared with those in which the spoils system prevails. This saving arises not only in the amount of salaries paid, but in the increased efficiency and in the lopping off of unnecessary offices that are created because some spoilsman has a political debt to pay. If other state institutions are fair examples, our penitentiaries and our reform schools can be managed better than they are now for 25 per cent less than the present cost by the mere introduction of improved civil service methods.

"A very striking example of this occurred at Los Angeles. At Los Angeles they are building a wonderful aqueduct, 140 miles long, to cost \$125,000,000. It was decided that this should be built by the city. The mayor appointed persons to see to the carrying out of these plans, but it was soon found out that these persons knew better how to manage ward elections than they did how to build aqueducts. The thing was a failure. They stopped. Then the work was put under civil service. Rigid examinations were held for the positions from that of the chief engineer down. This examination was not a mere paper examination; it was a practical test of the candidate's efficiency

for the particular work in hand. The authorities then went ahead with the project, and it is one of the most successfully managed public works in the world. The aqueduct will be built for far less money than it would have been built for under the spoils system. Another little incident in connection with the building of this aqueduct illustrates my point. After they had built many miles of it, it was found that the working force was not large enough to build a certain small connecting link, so an extra force of men not under civil service was set to work. The connecting link was built, but the cost of it, instead of being \$25,000, as it would have been under the civil service, was \$43,000.

A State Without Leaders

"Most of all, therefore, we need an extension of the civil service to purify our politics and bring public life and public administration to a point of higher efficiency and economy. This state, it has been said, now has no political leader of prominence. It did have men like Douglas, Lincoln, Oglesby, Palmer, Black and others to whom the people looked for guidance. The people of each party looked to their respective party leaders. Who are the party leaders of Illinois to-day? Who is the Democratic leader of Illinois? Who are the Republican leaders, who state public sentiment, who guide public opinion? These questions answer themselves. We have for our leaders, who control the legislation at Springfield, men who obtained their leadership and retain their positions through 'slush' funds and the doling out of offices to their supporters. The extension of the civil service will very largely do away with all those things. I am not expecting the millenium to come; we can do but one thing at a time and do it well. But, after all, some steps are longer and better than others, and this is one of the longest and best that could possibly be taken.

"The Peoria Conference did not discover any of these things. They were not talked of for the first time at that meeting. The people were ripe for them and glad to have the conference take them up, for, while it was not

very great in numbers, the conference was the focus or center upon which they could gather. It has met the universal approval, I think, of all but the spoilsmen and the baser sort of politician throughout the state.

"To secure a vote upon this Little Ballot we had to get 117,000 signatures. If any of you have tried to circulate petitions you can have some idea of the immense amount of work that was expended in doing that. Over 133,000 signatures were sent to Springfield, and here is the Little Ballot.

"Little Ballot" Will Win

"There is only one danger about that Little Ballot. There is no danger in the world of its being voted down. Nine-tenths, I believe, of all that vote upon it will vote for it. The danger is that it may be overlooked by many of the individual voters.

"There is one thing to be done, and, as far as I know, but one thing to be

done. The initiative and referendum, of course, has to be secured under an amendment to the constitution. The other two measures have to go to the Legislature. A majority of the candidates—and I believe a majority of all that can be elected—have pledged themselves to support civil service extension. I believe they are honest in that, but, after all, politicians will sometimes be politicians. What we need is to get pressure enough upon a majority, to bring every influence to bear upon the Legislature to see that they will give us an adequate and sufficient merit law covering the entire state, so that we can have a state managed throughout as well as our charitable institutions are managed; so that we may have a state freed from the abuses of patronage and spoils and a state for which its citizens will no longer need to hang their heads." (Applause.)

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"LITTLE BALLOT" QUESTION No. 3—CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT

The second of the series of "Little Ballot" luncheons held under the auspices of the City Club took place on Thursday, October 27, the subject under discussion being the third public policy question proposed by the committee of seven to be voted upon at the November election, namely: *Shall the next General Assembly enact a corrupt practices act, limiting the amount a candidate and his supporters may spend seeking office, and providing for an itemized statement under oath showing all expenditures so made, for what purposes made and from what source or sources received, thus preventing the corrupt use of money at elections?* The speakers were Mr. John O'Connor, who drafted the corrupt practices bill presented to the General Assembly in 1905, and Mr. Merritt Starr. Hon. John P. McGoorty presided.

Hon. John P. McGoorty

"Probably the greatest menace to our institutions or to the institutions of any Republican form of government, is the corrupt use of money in political campaigns, to bring about the election of candidates. It is well to keep in mind that the proper control of the expenditure of this money is probably the greatest of all needed reforms, because a purified ballot in our elections will insure the other reforms which the people are demanding. The enactment of an adequate corrupt practices act is, therefore, a subject of basic importance.

"I have now the honor of presenting, as the first speaker, Mr. John O'Connor, of the Chicago Bar, who drafted a bill providing for a corrupt practices act,

which was presented to the General Assembly of 1905." (Applause.)

Mr. John O'Connor

"In corrupt practices legislation as in much other legislation, England has been in advance of the United States. The American statutes dealing with corrupt practices in elections are based, more or less, upon the English acts. Prior to 1883, England passed a number of corrupt practices acts and amended them from time to time, until the results of its experience were embodied in the Act of 1883, which, with some modifications is, I believe, still in force. This act punishes treating, undue influence, bribery and personation, limits expenses of candidates and specifies the purposes for which expenditures can be made, prescribes the mode of collecting and disbursing election funds, and requires detailed public statements of receipts and disbursements, and a violation of the act entails forfeiture of office and disqualification for office for a fixed period after conviction.

Results of English Act

"A writer, speaking of this act, says:

"When this act was under discussion, it was freely predicted that it must fail of its purpose, because the evils complained of were such as could not be changed by legislation. This prediction, however, was not fulfilled. The expenses of election in England have been reduced by at least one-half through the operation of this Act."

"An account in an Appendix to Ivin's 'Machine Politics' published in Harper's 'Handy Series,' April 15, 1887, describing the condition of things in England before the passage of the English Act, says:

"In 1880 an unusually large number of members of Parliament were unseated for corrupt practices at the election. An investigation was made by a royal commission of twenty-four members. * * * At Macclesfield, the agent of the conservative candidate testified that he had bought up sixty Liberals at 5 pounds per head and their beer; that to try to conduct an election without money was a farce; that, although he had returned his expenses at only 610 pounds, his expenses had actually been 2,590 pounds; that 5,700 votes had been polled altogether, and that of this number, 1,000 had been bribed; that his own candidate had polled 2,678, of which he, the agent, had bought and paid for 1,863, at an average of 6 shillings and 8 pence each and had paid 550 pounds for clerks, messengers and committeemen."

"Recent history convinces us, if we didn't know it before, that Americans can hardly afford to point the finger of scorn at the English."

"A writer referring to an article of Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks, of Cornell University, entitled "Money in Practical Politics," published in the Century for October, 1892, says:

Corrupt Practices in U. S.

"From this article it appears that vote buying (in the United States) is a profession and is carried on with the system and precision of a scientific art. The voters are all known and classified into those who are entirely independent and will not yield to any improper motives. Those who may be influenced by promise of office, business opportunity or patronage, those who can be reached by threats (loss of employment and the like), and those who are of the lowest type of 'floaters' or 'commercial,' who large or small, or even for drinks. It is humiliating to read of farmers who are willing to receive from candidates pay for their own time and that of their men on election day and college students who accept from candidates their expenses home, giving in return their ballot in favor of the candidate making the advance."

"Yet so blunt has our moral sense become in public matters that it is doubtful if the farmer and the student in the cases mentioned fully realize that they are accepting bribes, and that, so far as the injury to the public interests is concerned, they are to be classed with the 'bum,' who sells his vote for a glass of whisky."

"Only a few days ago a prominent citizen in answer to the charge made at a church meeting that it was the rich who corrupted our legislatures, pleaded in ex-

cuse that they were compelled to do so and in proof of his statement said that certain citizens of Evanston who wanted to procure an enabling act for parks in that city were obliged to pay \$2,500 to get the bill through the Legislature. 'The half,' he is reported to have said, 'has never been told about the corruption of the Illinois Legislature. Rich men have had to be corrupt if they expected to get anything from our State Legislature.'

"What an amazing statement! It does not seem to have occurred to this exemplary citizen that the man, rich or poor, who gives a bribe is as great a criminal as the man who takes it. Put a good corrupt practices act in force and you will hear no more talk of this kind especially in a church meeting."

"But, gentlemen, our own statutes take the same view. If you will examine them, you will find that they punish the man who takes the bribe, but do not punish the man who gives it. In fact, they state explicitly that the man who bribes is not to be punished. The theory of the legislators who passed the law, as I understand it, was that if the briber were exempt from punishment, the man who was offered the bribe would be in fear of his disclosing the transaction and would, therefore, be restrained from accepting. Now, it would occur to you and me, I believe, that if either of these persons were to be exempt, it should be the man who accepted the bribe, rather than the man who gave it, because, in most cases where bribery occurs, the briber is a much more intelligent man and, generally, a man of higher social standing than the man who is bribed. He has, therefore, a good deal more to fear from discovery than the other man."

What Corrupt Practices Act Will Accomplish

"A complete corrupt practices act aims to throw as many safeguards as possible around the ballot box. It prohibits illegal voting, bribery, intimidation, political assessments and even the bribery by promises of money, of office or of delegates to a nominating convention and other improper means of exercising an influence over the result of an election. One of the most vital provisions in a properly drawn corrupt practices bill is

a provision for publicity of expenditures. The third proposition on the 'Little Ballot' upon which I have been asked to say a few words is as follows:

" 'Shall the next General Assembly enact a corrupt practices act, limiting the amount a candidate and his supporters may spend in seeking office, and providing for an itemized statement under oath showing all expenditures so made, for what purposes made and from what source or sources received, thus preventing the corrupt use of money at elections?'

"In 1905 a committee appointed by the Hamilton Club, of which I was a member, presented to the Legislature through Judge McSurely, who was then a member of the Legislature, a draft of a corrupt practices act. This draft contained the following provisions regarding the publicity of expenditures:

Corrupt Practices Bill of 1905

" 'Section 22. Every candidate voted for at any election held under the Constitution or the laws of this state, shall, within thirty days after such election, file, as hereinafter provided, an itemized statement, showing in detail all the moneys and other things of value contributed or expended directly or indirectly, by himself or through any other person, on account of or in respect to his election. Such statement shall give the names of all persons who received such moneys or other things, the specific nature of each item, and the purposes for which it was expended or contributed. To such statement shall be attached an affidavit, subscribed and sworn to by such candidate, setting forth, in substance, that such statement is in all respects true, and is a full and detailed account of all moneys and other things of value so contributed or expended, directly or indirectly, by him or through any other person, on account of or in respect to his election. Candidates for office to be filled by the electors of the entire State, or any subdivision or district thereof, greater than a county, and candidates for either House of the General Assembly, and for judge, other than county and probate judge, and for State's attorney, shall file their statements in the office of the Secretary of State; and candidates for town and city offices shall file their statements in the office of the town or city clerk respectively, and candidates for county offices and for all other offices not otherwise above expressly provided for shall file their statements in the office of the clerk of the county wherein such election is held.

" 'Within thirty days after each election, the chairman and secretary of the State committee and of each county central committee of each and every political party presenting candidates, shall make and file a statement under oath, setting forth in detail all sums of money and other things of value

received, and from whom received by their respective committees, and to and for what purpose the same were expended during the preceding election. Certificates of the State chairman and secretary shall be filed with the Secretary of State, and certificates of each county chairman and secretary shall be filed with the clerk of their county. The certificates so filed shall be carefully preserved by the officers with whom the same and any candidate for office who refuses or neglects to file a statement as prescribed in this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and shall forfeit his office if elected; and shall be ineligible to election to any office for a period of five years from the date of such election.'

"You will note that in these provisions there is no limitation as to the amount of the expenditures. Although the English act makes a limitation upon the expenses I am not a believer in any limitation. A larger amount may be required for legitimate expenses in one election than in another. One question may require a larger expenditure in educational literature than another, and owing to these and other differences of conditions, a larger amount may, it seems to me, be legitimately required at one election than at another. For these reasons I am in favor of leaving the amount unlimited, so long as it is devoted to legitimate purposes and of a law requiring the statement to show in detail the sources from which the money comes and how it is spent is rigidly enforced. If a violation of the law is followed by the loss of office and the disfranchisement of the successful candidate I believe that the law will work effectively, for it will then not be necessary to rely solely upon public sentiment for its enforcement. The defeated candidate and his party can be depended upon to scrutinize the statement carefully, to take advantage of any violation of law disclosed by it, and to oust the successful candidate if they can.

Not Easy to Obtain Such Legislation

"Now, gentlemen, in conclusion, I want to say just one word upon the method of bringing about the enactment of the law. I am very glad an organization of this kind has become interested in this subject. Such legislation can be secured only through the operation of public sentiment. A bill of this kind can never be passed by merely having it presented to the Legislature. It would simply be met with a smile and buried in

committee. When we were drafting this bill, one of the questions that arose was whether we should make it drastic or moderate. We all agreed that it would probably pass in one form as well as in the other, feeling, of course, that it would not pass in either form.

"Our only hope of obtaining a bill of this kind, it seems to me, is to force candidates to commit themselves to it before the votes are cast on election day. That can probably best be done through the newspapers and the efforts of such organizations as the City Club." (Applause.)

Merritt Starr

"At the start, I want especially to emphasize the proposition that this matter of corrupt practices legislation is a basic question. It concerns the freedom, the equality and the purity of the ballot, of the exercise of the elective franchise.

"Our whole government is based on the proposition that the voice of the people, freely, fairly, fully and equally expressed will give us honest, intelligent and safe government. Now, if so small a fraction as 10 per cent of the electorate should divide the parties upon a great question and so small a fraction as 6 per cent of the vote should be purchasable, should be capable of being influenced by corrupt political practices at the elections, a full, fair, equal and honest expression of the public will is not obtained. It is of vital importance that such practices as will make the vote of the people unfair, unequal and dishonest be prevented.

"It is a trite old saying that society outruns her laws, that the growth of the people keeps ahead of that of the institutions and that the institutions keep ahead of the laws which define and regulate them. Society is not a building, finished and completed and left to stand; it is a vital organism like a tree, putting forth a branch here, leaves and twigs there, lying in one part while growing in another. It is of the greatest importance that the regulations which organized society embodies in law, shall keep account of the lines where death and decay are setting in and the lines where undue growth is being put forth.

"In Europe, formerly, the government was divided into three estates. In Eng-

land, it was the King, the Lords and the Commons; in France, it was the King, the Nobles and the Third Estate. Yet, in each case, there used to be found an undefined Fourth Estate, which controlled the Third Estate, which divided the Second Estate, and which combined with the King to get the results either that he wanted, or that they, the Fourth Estate wanted.

"We have a Fourth Estate in this country. You may call the national government, for convenience, the First Estate, the state government, the Second Estate and the sovereign people, the Third Estate. The political party organizations of the country are the Fourth Estate, which, today and for a generation, have been the strong, controlling factor in the development of the public policy of the country. It is not laid down in any constitution nor in any statute that there shall be a Republican party, or that there shall be a Democratic party, or what their powers or functions shall be. Thus do institutions outrun legislation, and the organizing powers of the people outrun their institutions.

"The majority of the people themselves are likely to be oblivious to the growth of the power which may, by and by, become stronger than its creator. The people have been so long used to having election expenses paid by the unknowns, administered and handled by the unknowns and for the unknowns, that they do not know how large these expenses are or for what they are used.

Corporations in Politics

"In 1906 Andrew Hamilton testified in New York that in the campaign of 1904 a voucher had passed from the New York Life Insurance Company for \$148,000 to one political party, and he took pains to say, just as in the case of the English committeeman spoken of by Mr. O'Connor, that the voucher was for far less than the actual amount and that another large and unnamed amount had been given by the New York Life Insurance Company to the other political party, so that in case it should prove successful at the election, the New York Life would not be without friends.

"The late Mr. E. H. Harriman claimed in 1906 that he personally had raised the

sum of \$200,000, giving \$50,000 of it himself, for use in that same campaign. President Roosevelt contended, and in all probability in all truth and correctness, that this sum was used, not in the national campaign for him, but in the state campaign for the governorship between Higgins and Herrick.

"In 1908, in the month of August, Secretary Sheldon, of the National Republican Committee, stated that his committee stood in immediate and urgent need of between four hundred thousand and five hundred thousand dollars for use in paying the expenses of halls and speakers and campaign literature.

"In that same campaign of 1908 it was only the strenuous activity of Mayor Busse that prevented what amounted to a campaign assessment levied by force upon the treasuries of the traction companies of Chicago to help finance the National Republican Campaign.

"I remember well, twenty-five years ago, being told that there was a certain precinct in the city of Chicago, in a certain election, at which every voter in the precinct had been employed and paid for his time to act as a watcher or a challenger at the polls.

"It was in the month of August, 1908, that Mr. Bryan publicly brought about the official pledge of the Democratic National Committee that it would not receive a contribution of more than \$10,000 from any one contributor and that it would make public *in advance of the election* a list of all contributions that they received and the names of the contributors, where the amounts contributed were more than one hundred dollars. Mr. Taft had already in that campaign, by a letter to Senator Burrows of Michigan, committed himself essentially to the same position, the difference between the two platforms being that Mr. Taft recommended the publication of the amounts received and expended after the election was over, while Mr. Bryan recommended their publication before the election was held.

Campaign Contributors Expect Return

"Now, contributors do not give money in such sums as these for nothing or out of pure, unselfish patriotism. The New York Life was not indulging in any

outburst of patriotism when it gave \$148,000, by published voucher, to one party, and an unnamed, additional sum to the other political party in the campaign of 1904. Corporations do not vote. Corporations are not political citizens. Their interest in elections is an interest in securing legislative and administrative favors from the persons to be elected. That is what the corporations are after.

"These abuses have become so glaring that it is no longer possible for the people of the United States to shut their eyes and ears against them. The political leaders themselves are heartily disgusted with the whole system. I believe that if President Taft and his old Cincinnati neighbor, Governor Harmon, Governor Deneen of Illinois, Roger Sullivan of Cook county and Alton B. Parker of New York, could be shut up together in a room to deal with this question, they would frame a corrupt practices act that would be enacted and enforced both for the nation and for the state, because the political leaders have had enough of the old system. It is a nuisance to them; they are not the men that we have to fear.

Political Leaders Want Change

"Political sagacity has sometimes been defined as consisting in the ability to distinguish between a band wagon and a hearse. Now, the political leaders have seen this movement for a corrupt practices act coming along and they know it is a band wagon. They want to get in and they *are* getting in. The men who do not want it, are the men who get the profits and the emoluments of the present system. They are neither the givers on the one side nor the leaders and managers of the political parties on the other. They are the men who are in between, the unnamed committee management; I do not refer to the regular committee management.

"I say that this is a great and growing movement. I have here a pamphlet published in 1906 by the Legislative Reference Department of the Wisconsin Free Library Commission which contains a little digest of corrupt practices acts that were then in force. It says that seventeen of the states of the Union had enacted corrupt practices acts that are mod-

eled more or less closely upon the English corrupt practices act described by Mr. O'Connor. It says that statutes having about the same scope were also to be found in such countries as Canada, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Norway and Sweden. Is it not about time that Illinois politicians were getting into the band wagon?

"I agree with my good friend Mr. O'Connor in most of what he has had to say. The point where I perhaps would differ with him is this: I would limit the amount of money that can be expended at an election. The English act does so. The Minnesota act, the Massachusetts act and the Oregon act do so and I think they are wise in making such a provision. I think that conviction for the breach and violation of the statute will be infinitely easier if we have a hard and fast limit to expenditures clearly and plainly set forth.

Corrupt Practices Act and Direct Primaries

"But I will go further. I regard a corrupt practices act as a necessary corollary to the direct primary law. The direct primary law makes it necessary for a candidate to go through two elections successfully to get one office. The man who now is to succeed in holding office must first run his preliminary campaign in order to get a place upon the primary ticket; he must run his political primary campaign to get the nomination. Then he must carry on his party campaign against the fellow on the other ticket in order to get elected. The result is that the amount of money to be expended is multiplied by two. A man who has spent what used to be more than the salary of the office in getting the nomination, is compelled to spend an additional like amount in carrying on his campaign against the nominee of the other party. The result is that the getting of nominations to offices and of carrying on campaigns for elections is becoming the game of expert political gladiators and the candidates must either be men who are rich themselves and able to afford expenditures of this kind, or else they must be the favorites of some organization which is able to back them with money. And the organizations won't back them with money for nothing.

"The net result is that the average American citizen is deprived of his free and equal right to compete for a place in the public service and for an office in which he may seek to carry out what he believes to be the public policy of the country for the welfare of the people. I am therefore in favor of limiting the amount of expenditures absolutely, just as they do in England, and just as they do in the states which I have named.

"I maintain that the limitation of expenditures and publicity in accounting for those expenditures, both by candidates and by parties, will put an end to undue influence by large contributors. It will reduce the amount of expenditures to a point which will be within the reach of the honest, average candidate, and give him a fair chance in the election. It will eliminate waste, for the ordinary political campaign, carried on with bands and music and printing and banners and carriages and the great expeditions and excursions to all parts of the country, involve a simply infinite waste. It will eliminate bribery. It will increase the number of small contributors and small contributions, and will thus diffuse an increased average interest in politics. It will put an end to the 'slush fund' assessments upon those who now hold office. It will restore free elections to the people.

Party Platforms Favor Act

"Now, I have not been guessing when I have been saying that the real political managers and leaders want a corrupt practices act. Here is a part of the Democratic Cook County platform adopted on the 19th of last September:

"We favor the direct election of United States Senators by the people, and the passage of a Corrupt Practices Act."

"The platform of the Republican party of Cook county, adopted September 19th, says:

"To guarantee to the people control of nominations and elections, we insist upon the prompt enactment and rigid enforcement of a statute defining, forbidding and punishing corrupt practices and other crimes and offenses against the elective franchises exercised by the people and their representatives — by which it will be made unlawful for any person or association to pay, give or promise any money or thing of value to aid or promote the nomination or election of him-

self or any one else to a public office or position of public employment beyond reasonable and definitely limited personal expenses and contribution to the party committees for campaign expenses and by which all such contributions received and expenditures made shall be required to be made public by sworn statements both before and after the election, by the candidate and responsible representatives of the party committees, and which statute shall be rendered effective by invalidating elections in which unlawful expenditures or other such corrupt practices are shown to occur.'

"Here is the State Republican platform, adopted September 23d:

" 'We favor the enactment of an effective corrupt practices act.'

"The Democratic state platform, adopted the same date at East St. Louis, reads:

" 'We favor clean and upright politics and the abolition of the use of money in campaigns, except for the legitimate purposes of the same, and to this end we favor the passage by the next General Assembly of an anti-corrupt practices act, limiting the amount a candidate may spend in seeking office, and providing for an itemized statement under oath showing expenditures so made, for what purpose made, and from what sources received, thus preventing the corrupt use of money at elections. We favor the publication of such accounts both before and after the election.'

Act Should Limit Expenses

"You see, the political parties, both of them, have already come to the point, so far as their public declarations and platforms are concerned, of favoring a corrupt practices act which shall definitely limit the amount that may be expended. When we have got them both pledged to a measure going that far, I ask you, gentlemen, not to lower the standard by failing to insist upon a definitely fixed limit to expenditures.

"The danger to this proposed reform comes not from the managers of the parties; it comes from men who are really interested. The danger is that they will go out and secretly knife this ballot and vote against it. The other danger, which is greater, is that our friends, who should be counted upon to support the measure will forget all about it and in general apathy fail to vote for the proposition on the 'Little Ballot.' So I ask you, one and all, from now on until the day of election, to say to every man to whom you have a right to speak in a political way: 'Vote for the corrupt practices act that you will find on the "Little Ballot."' " (Applause.)



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"LITTLE BALLOT" QUESTION No. 1—INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

The third and last of the "Little Ballot" luncheons, devoted to a consideration of the public policy questions proposed by the Committee of Seven to be voted upon at the November election, was held at the City Club on Tuesday, the 1st instant. The question under consideration was "Little Ballot" proposition No. 1, providing for the initiative and referendum. The proposed question is as follows: *Shall the next General Assembly submit to the voters of the State of Illinois at the next following state election an amendment to the state constitution, providing for the control of legislation by the people, by means of the initiative and referendum; said amendment to provide for the initiation of legislation upon a petition of eight per cent. of the voters, and for the reference of legislation, upon a petition of five per cent. of the voters, the action of the majority of the electors voting to be final; thus restoring to the people the power they once held, but which they delegated to the General Assembly by the constitution?"*

The meeting was addressed by Mr. Fletcher Dobyns, a member of the Committee of Seven, who has been active in the support of the proposed measure during the present political campaign. Mr. Dobyns was introduced by Mr. Walter L. Fisher.

Walter L. Fisher

"There doubtless are advocates of the initiative and referendum who believe in the application of the principle without limitations and from conviction as to the propriety of pure democracy. But the significance of the movement in the state of Illinois and the movement which

has spread throughout the entire country is, that it is essentially, in my judgment, a conservative movement. At all events, the men who are principally concerned in advocating the measure throughout the country and who are conspicuously identified with it, are men who would be naturally classified as conservatives. That, I think, would apply even to the most conspicuous exponent in the United States today, Senator Bourne of Oregon, who, by birth, education and tradition and through the possession of more than the average amount of property, would hardly be counted among the radicals. The reason is that the movement emphasizes the necessity for sane and effective safeguards quite as much as it emphasizes the need of some method by which the people can effectively control that legislation which they are enabled to secure through their elected representatives. The movement as a whole has been due to the recognition that, under existing methods, representative democracy has not been what it should be, has not effectually carried out what is the underlying purpose of the great body of the people. And that is quite the situation in Illinois.

A Conservative Movement

"When the conference at Peoria was called to discuss the failure of representative institutions in this state, the people who were most conspicuous in that movement were, as a whole, not radical, but conservative, belonging, perhaps, to that branch of conservatives that can be called progressive conservatives. The unique and significant thing about the movement that was started there, and about the declaration of prin-

ciples adopted—which, of course, was not confined to the initiative and referendum, but which did embrace a declaration in favor of that proposition—was that many of the men who attended the conference were at first opposed to the proposition and even continued to be opposed to it for some time after the resolutions were passed and the campaign for the redemption of this state was effectively started. But, one by one, men such as have already spoken to this Club, Mr. Edgar Bancroft, Mr. Merritt Starr and a number of others, have come to the conclusion that the initiative and referendum are important and necessary factors in the restoration of representative government in this state. The situation is much the same as that which existed in the charter convention of this city, when, after the discussion of very many of the principles involved in direct legislation and the defeat of some proposed sections providing for the initiative—the referendum had had such a wide application in this state and city for so long and that the general doctrine was accepted by the body of thinking people—the convention, in its closing sessions, with the support and concurrence of such men as Mr. Byron Lathrop and Judge Rinaker, passed a resolution in favor of the principle of the recall in our municipal government.

"I understand that today, as we meet here, the more popular side of this particular movement has been going on over on the corner of Halsted and Madison streets, where three members of this Club were engaged in addressing a popular audience of the curbstone, from the automobile which has been used on other occasions for that purpose. I am told by Mr. Herbert Fleming that some forty-eight signatures were obtained from people in that crowd who were sufficiently interested to want to get literature on the subject and who asked to have the various publications sent to them." (Applause.)

The chairman introduced Mr. Fletcher Dobyns, who spoke as follows:

Fletcher Dobyns

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the City Club: The initiative and referendum has now been adopted by seven

states of the Union. In no state, so far as I am aware, has there been an attempt on the part of those who have advocated the initiative and referendum to abolish the legislature or to alter its functions or to substitute in the place of representative government a pure democracy through the enactment of all legislation by the direct vote of the people. Nor has the development been in that direction. These measures have been adopted on the theory that they would give to the people the power of controlling the action of their legislature, to place the people at every moment in a position to control the course of legislation and to compel their public servants to represent them faithfully and truly. Although it may be a somewhat early hour to generalize from the experience of other states, and although any opinion expressed upon that experience must, of course, be subject to revision, I believe it is safe to say that their experience teaches us that the initiative and referendum, giving the people the power to pass laws which they want and to defeat laws which they do not want, when their representatives in the legislature prove faithless, has reduced and will reduce the lobbyist and his check book to a state of impotency in our state legislatures. It will result in restoring representative government wherever it is applied.

"In a number of states in the Union, the dominant political parties, in their recent platforms, have declared in favor of the initiative and referendum and, unless all signs fail, I think it is certain that in the near future the people of the various states are going to reserve to themselves the right to control legislation and to compel their representatives to represent them.

A Popular Movement

"Most of you will remember that eight years ago, in 1902, the question of the initiative and referendum was submitted to the people of this state on the 'Little Ballot,' and that it received a majority of five to one. In every county of this state there was a majority in favor of submitting a constitutional amendment to the people providing for the initiative and referendum. When

the Committee of Seven of the Peoria conference circulated its petition to put these propositions upon the little ballot, 137,000 voters signed that petition. The platforms of both the dominant political parties have declared in favor of them. The press of the state is practically a unit in advocating the success of the measures, and wherever we have gone throughout the state in the last few months we have found that the people are deeply interested in this movement, and that they want to see some such machinery as the initiative and referendum placed in their hands, not for the purpose of passing laws but for the purpose of controlling the course of legislation. I believe that it is but a question of a short time when the people of Illinois are going to be in a position to do something more than complain and express their indignation when our lawmakers erect the legislative auction block in the capitol at Springfield.

"It is evident, therefore, that this is not an academic question. It is a question of vital, of immediate, of practical importance to the people of the state of Illinois. It is a question that we are going to vote on one week from today. So I take it that it would be profitless for me today to enter upon a statistical review of the history of the referendum movement. What we are interested in is the question of the evils that are sought to be removed by the initiative and referendum and the way in which those measures will enable us to accomplish that removal.

A Practical Question

"I personally have not approached the initiative and referendum from the standpoint of the doctrinaire. I have not had a theory that we ought to have the initiative and referendum and tried to apply that theory to the evils that exist. I believe that the majority of the friends of these measures have reached the position which they now hold from looking at the actual evils that exist and trying to find some way in which they can be removed. They have reached the conclusion, approaching it from that standpoint, that the initiative and referendum would be the most effective and

perhaps the only effective means of accomplishing that end.

"In order to see this question with a true perspective, it is necessary to take into consideration certain past and present facts, which, isolated and by themselves, are perfectly familiar to us all, yet which we do not always group in such a way as to shed light upon this question. When this government was founded, the machinery of government was organized with reference to the conditions which then existed. So long as substantially those conditions prevailed, this system worked well, as shown by the first half century of our history. But during the period that has followed the civil war, conditions have arisen that the fathers of our republic did not foresee, and for which they did not provide.

"At the time of the constitutional convention there were fewer people in the country than there are now living in Greater New York. We were a rural people. Not more than three per cent of the people lived in cities; there were no great municipal undertakings; there were comparatively few people in the public service; the corporation was in its infancy; railroads, telegraphs and telephones were unknown; our industrial development was comparatively simple. There were then no great financial interests sending lobbyists to our local, state and national governments, to spend money for legislative favors or to influence the action of public officials. So, many of the popular safeguards of government that are now necessary were unnecessary then.

Lack of Political Safeguards

"No provision was made for a secret ballot, because there was no reason for anybody to endeavor to intimidate or embarrass voters. There was no provision for the registration and identification of voters, because there was no sufficient motive for an attempt to vote 'floaters' or 'repeaters.' The power to nominate candidates for office was not given directly to the rank and file of parties because there was no motive for an effort to thwart the public will by the manipulation of conventions and caucuses. The men in public service were comparatively few, and there was no

sufficient motive for politicians to endeavor to put their friends in office and to organize them into bands of mercenaries for the control of primaries and elections. There was no provision made for the undue use of money in political contests, because there was no motive for the collection and disbursement of large corruption funds for the purpose of determining the course of elections. No provision was made whereby the people could control the actions of their servants after they had elected them. Under the system that was then established, a man was elected for two or four or six years, as the case might be, no provision being made either to recall him or to control his action, because then no motive was apparent that would lead men to endeavor to influence his action by bribery or induce him from other unworthy motives to betray the people.

Increasing Importance of Governmental Functions

"During the first half century of the history of our government, no particularly evil results of the lack of proper safeguards showed themselves, because conditions remained substantially as they had been. But in the period of our history that has followed the civil war, the conditions have entirely changed. Since that time our population has greatly increased and spread to the Pacific Ocean. Our natural resources that were then abundant and cheap have now become very much more valuable, because they have become scarcer. We have seen rapidly growing cities spring up all over the country. It has been necessary for those cities to construct streets and alleys and highways and sewers and waterways and public buildings, to establish penal and reformatory institutions, to grant franchises to traction companies, to gas and electric lighting companies, and to other public service corporations. Our county governments have had to build roads and bridges and courthouses and to provide the machinery for the collection of taxes and the enforcement of our civil and criminal laws. Our states have had to dispose of a public domain. They have had to erect their public buildings, to establish charitable and penal institutions, charter corporations and

exercise the police power. Our national government has had to dispose of a public domain of fabulous value, to spend hundreds of millions of dollars in connection with the development of rivers and harbors, to control our interstate railways and the enterprises engaged in interstate commerce, to establish currency systems and to pass tariff laws, the changes in the schedules of which would mean fortunes to private parties.

"What has been the significance of this growing importance of governmental functions? It has been this: Our various governments, local, state and national, have, during this period, had to deal with problems that involved literally billions of dollars annually. Men who held official positions were able to grant franchises, to award contracts, to pass laws and to engage in many activities that touch the great financial interests of the country very closely. This has been a commercial and highly competitive age and men and firms and corporations who have desired to obtain public contracts and franchises and court decisions and laws and immunity from obedience to the law have been willing to spend very large sums of money to accomplish their ends. They have been willing to contribute largely to campaign funds; they have been willing to go into politics; they have been willing, after election, to pay money to political bosses and to men holding the power to grant these contracts and franchises and to distribute the other favors at the disposal of public officials. This has afforded an opportunity whereby men going into politics and gaining political power could make money easily and quickly. I think it is safe to say that not since the days when the nations of the world were farmed out as provinces to the corrupt politicians of Rome, has there been such an opportunity for men to make money easily and quickly and corruptly through politics as has existed in this country during the last forty or fifty years.

Politics for Profit

"What was the result? Shrewd and resourceful men saw the opportunity for making money by going into politics. They saw that if they could be elected

to office they could obtain money by the sale of their votes and their influence. The political boss saw that if he could build up a machine, if he could get the power to nominate men for office, he could control their action after they were elected, and that, so doing, he could control the letting of contracts, the granting of franchises and the passing of legislation. And so men entered politics for the purpose of making money easily and quickly.

"When politicians of this stamp sought to take advantage of their opportunities for money making, what was the situation that confronted us? They found all the bars were down and all they needed to do was to walk in. There was an open ballot; voters could be coerced and intimidated. There was no registration and identification of voters, and 'floaters' and 'repeaters' could be used. There was no provision whereby the people could nominate candidates for office and these politicians could nominate their own henchmen by the manipulation of conventions and caucuses. The number of men in the public service had increased rapidly, and they found that, under the law, they could fill all those places and load the public service down with political heelers and organize them into gangs of mercenaries who would act as their private armies for the control of primaries and elections. They found that there was no provision against the corrupt use of money in politics and that they could collect large sums of money from men who desired public favors and that they could use that money to corrupt and deceive the people. Furthermore, they found—and this is of equal importance—that after they had succeeded by those means in getting their henchmen into office, they were in a position to exercise irresponsible power. If a man was elected to office for two, four or six years, he was there to do as he pleased during his term of office. He could let contracts, give franchises or make tariff schedules for the benefit of the men who had given the campaign funds. He could deliver the goods to 'the boys' and the private interests all along the line and then he could start in and make money

for himself from men who wanted still further legislation.

Political Machines Control Government

"What has been the result throughout the country? At the close of the last century, political machines based primarily upon public plunder practically controlled this country from one end to the other. Bands of marauding bosses in alliance with job holders and special interests had reached the point where they controlled all the entrances to public life, chose all public servants and determined how our government should be run. The people were practically disfranchised and reduced to a state of helplessness.

"Illinois furnishes a perfect illustration of the result of these conditions. For Instead of witnessing struggles for principle the last twenty years our political contests have been upon the lowest plane. Principles, we have seen only sordid scrambles for jobs and for graft. Instead of listening to the voice of statesmen and leaders, we have listened to the crack of the boss's whip. Instead of celebrating the triumph of great principles, we have spent our time in complaining and expressing our disgust at political machines and bosses and the prostitution of the public service, at 'slush funds' and corporate blackmail, bribery, 'jack-pots,' graft and senatorial auction blocks. Instead of going forward to work out the great ends for which governments are established, we have been engaged in a running fight with bands of thieves who have sought to enter every door and window of our political household, and then we have gone on the assumption that we had no right to put them out, or even to go in to stop their work of plunder. The result has been that we have had corrupt government in Illinois. We have had misrepresentative government in Illinois. And we have been without leadership.

Illinois Without Leadership

"Why have we not had leaders? Why do we see editorials in the papers of our city, day after day, lamenting the fact that in the state of Lincoln and Douglas there has been no leadership for a generation? It is because men having the

qualifications for true leadership will not descend to become patronage brokers, to prostitute the public service, to accumulate and to disburse corruption funds, to make deals with political bosses and to act as spokesmen for corrupt political machines. The result of all this has been that Illinois has sunk gradually deeper and deeper into the political mire until today every citizen of Illinois has to hang his head in shame at the conditions that exist in this state.

"This is the condition that has been brought about by the fact that the fathers did not foresee the conditions that now prevail in this country—by the fact that they necessarily had to leave something for us to do.

"About the beginning of this century a countermovement set in. Leaders began to appear to challenge the supremacy of the bosses. The people began to demand that these conditions should be overthrown, and during the ensuing period the movement has gradually grown stronger until today it is nation wide and the people of this country are demanding that representative government shall be restored, that bosses and machines shall be substituted by leaders and organizations. This great struggle is now at its very height, and it is one of the greatest struggles in the long history of human liberty, for if the people of this country should prove themselves unable to secure the ends for which the governments were established, while working under free institutions, I believe it would set back the cause of popular government throughout the world for an indefinite length of time.

Political Safeguards Necessary

"During this fierce struggle for the overthrow of the conditions that have sprung up in this country during the last thirty or forty years, a number of great truths have emerged and the friends of decent, representative government, have reached the conclusion that certain measures are necessary, if boss rule and rule by special interests are to be overthrown and true representative government re-established. I think it is the consensus of opinion of those who have come to closest quarters with the actual evils that exist and who have

fought most successfully for their overthrow, that certain political safeguards are necessary:

"*First*, the secret ballot, so that voters cannot be coerced.

"*Second*, proper registration and identification of voters, so that floaters cannot be voted.

"*Third*, a direct primary law, so that the people can nominate their own candidates for office directly.

"*Fourth*, a comprehensive civil service law that will provide that men shall be chosen to public office on the basis of merit rather than of political service and that they shall be chosen by examinations open to men of all parties. This would restore these men to their independence and to their self-respect as citizens and would take from the boss his army of mercenaries.

"*Fifth*, a corrupt practices act which will effectually stop the corrupt use of money at elections and limit the use of money strictly to the amount that is necessary to place the candidate and his principles before the people.

"These measures are necessary if the power of the bosses and the machines to control the election of public officials and to control the course of our government is ever to be overthrown in this country, and if the people are to have the power of choosing their own officials without the interference of persons who wish to control those officials from corrupt and selfish motives.

Initiative and Referendum a Check on Misgovernment

"This, however, is only half the battle. After we have chosen our own public officials we must then be in a position to say to them: 'You must represent us.' When you choose a man in your business, you are in a position to discharge him and to disavow his acts if he is faithless. So it should be in the public service. The second part of this great movement is as important as the first. We must be in a position to control the action of our legislators. We must be in position to compel them to represent us faithfully after they have been chosen, as well as to have the power to choose them. The best means, in fact, the only means to this end that has been

wrought out by the experience of the period through which we have passed is the initiative and the referendum.

"If such a measure as this is put into operation, it is not going to pay special interests to send their lobbyists with their check books to the state capitol and to purchase legislation, when, as Mr. Bancroft so well said in his speech here the other day, they cannot be sure of their purchases. Men are not going to spend large sums of money either to buy legislation when the people may veto that legislation or to prevent the passage of good laws when the people may pass them themselves. It would not be a paying investment.

"There is another side to this same question. When a member of the legislature knows that if he votes against the public welfare, because he has been bribed to do so, the people do not have to remain quiet, but may, under the initiative and referendum undo his work, he will know that his conduct will then come under public scrutiny and the result will be that the faithless public official will be discredited. He will be much more likely to represent the people faithfully when he knows that if he fails so to do, the people can achieve the same ends themselves. The system works both ways. It will prevent men from endeavoring to bribe legislators, and it will also prevent members of the legislature from succumbing to such an influence.

To Retain Control of Men in Office

"I think it is perfectly clear to everyone, that, even if we secure such measures as the corrupt practices act, the state-wide civil service law, the direct primary and all these other measures that are so essential to good government, we still cannot be sure of good government, because the great interests that now gather at our state legislatures and seek to influence the action of our public servants will be willing to spend such amounts of money and do the work in such devious ways that even the men whom we choose with the greatest of care may succumb to the temptations offered. Where the legislature might be equally divided, or almost equally divided, the power of money to control the course of

legislation would be very large and might defeat the popular will and result in a betrayal of the public. So that we cannot be sure that representative government is re-established and that it is on safe and enduring foundations until we have placed the people in such a position that they can at all times control the action of the legislature and make its members responsible to them.

"Some people say that there are certain dangers in the initiative and referendum and that this, that or the other evil might result from their adoption. That, of course, is true; there is no system of government that is not capable of abuse. It is true of the government under which we are living today. What we need in this state is to have measures of this sort and then to have the vigilance and the wisdom and the courage to use them in such a way that we will get the benefit from them and not permit any evil results to follow.

"It is not my intention today to answer all the objections that are sometimes urged to the initiative and referendum, but there is one that I wish to consider for a moment in closing. The objection is often made, that the people are incapable of understanding the laws that will be submitted to them, that they are incapable of handling important legislative measures in a way that would be satisfactory and that the system would simply result in bungling and ill-considered legislation.

Will Encourage Leadership

"It seems to me that those who take that position fail to think the question through. They seem to assume that the moment the initiative and referendum are put in force the elevator man would go out and draw up an employers' liability act and proceed to put it through. That is not the case. If we are to have the initiative and referendum, we will need leadership then just as we need it now. Our hope is that we will have a different class of leadership under the initiative and referendum. For instance, suppose that a law were to be passed by means of the initiative or to be defeated by means of the referendum. There would have to be leadership. Some man or men would have to

appear and demand that such a law be passed or that it be defeated. What would be the next step? It would be necessary to circulate a petition. Those of us who were engaged in circulating the petition of the Peoria Committee are satisfied now that that requires money and labor and that it is a very thankless job. When such a work is undertaken there must be leadership. When the petition has been circulated and the signatures have been obtained, the leaders must go before the people and discuss the question in the light of open day. The strength of any such movement is going to depend upon the kind of leadership that is developed. It is going to depend upon the kind of arguments that are advanced in support of such action. In other words, we will have to have leadership and open discussion. The success of the movement will be no greater than will be the confidence of the people in their leaders and the reasons advanced for their action.

"When a man is elected to the legislature under our present system, he has arbitrary power for a definite period of time in dealing with the problems of legislation. He can frame bills and introduce them, and if he can secure a majority he can pass them. The people have nothing to say about what he shall do or what laws shall pass. He has his power for a definite length of time by virtue of his election, and his power is irresponsible.

"Under the initiative and referendum, however, we would have a leadership that would have to appeal to the public, that would have to come out into the light of day and that could not retain its power for one moment longer than the people believed in the leadership and in the arguments which the leaders advance. So it simply means a substitution of leaders

in fact for leaders in name only. It puts us in a position where it would be impossible for men of great wealth to raise 'jack-pots,' to concentrate on a few men in the legislature and to secure their vote by the distribution of money in the secrecy of bathrooms. Whatever money is spent, instead of being spent to corrupt and defraud the people, will have to be spent in the light of day to enlighten and instruct the people.

Will Stimulate Popular Interest in Government

"It seems perfectly clear to me that the establishment of the initiative and referendum will result in a deepening of the interest of the people in public questions. It will tend to produce enlightenment on the part of the public. Instead of the people feeling apathetic and helpless and sinking back and doing nothing because they are powerless, it will cause them to take an interest in public questions, and pride in their government and to see to it that it is properly run. It will mean that the people will be effective in their government, and when they become effective we may be sure that they will become interested and active in the affairs of their government.

"Some of the measures that experience has proven to be necessary for the re-establishment of representative government are already in operation in Illinois. On the 'Little Bailot' on next Tuesday will be these three propositions: State-wide civil service, a corrupt practices act and the initiative and referendum. The adoption of those three measures is absolutely necessary to complete the work already begun, to restore representative government to the people of this state and place it upon enduring foundations." (Applause.)

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COTTON CLOTH SCHEDULE OF THE TARIFF

On Friday, the 4th instant, Mr. Samuel M. Evans, who was a Washington correspondent at the time of the passage of the present tariff law, addressed the Club on the subject of "How Our Tariff Laws Are Written, as Illustrated by the Cotton Cloth Schedule." Mr. Clement L. Clapp presided.

Samuel M. Evans

"The late Senator Dolliver created quite a laugh in the Senate one day when he made the remark, 'The past year witnessed two events of unusual interest, the discovery of the North Pole by Dr. Cook and the revision of the tariff downward by the Senator from Rhode Island; each in its way a unique hoax, and both promptly presented to the favorable notice of the public with the highest official congratulations.' Senator Dolliver had seen the proofs submitted and, like the University of Copenhagen, had rendered the verdict, 'Not enough evidence.'

"It was my privilege to be in the press gallery in Washington during the passage of the tariff bill and there to witness the methods used in the revision of the tariff. I want to tell you something about how the tariff law was passed. I do not intend to discuss free trade vs.

protection; who gets the protection; the relation between prices and the tariff, or the cost of living and the tariff. I simply want to tell you how the tariff bill was passed as illustrated by one little part of the bill in which I was particularly interested, that is, the cotton goods schedule.

"To the newspaper man and observer in Washington the most impressive feature of a session of Congress—especially when the tariff is being considered—is the horde of lobbyists that sweeps down upon the national capital. Every interest in the United States that is affected by the tariff—and that means nearly every interest in the whole country—has a representative at Washington when the tariff is up for revision. No one questions the propriety of this. These special interests, if they are to be affected by the revision of the tariff, want to see that the adjustment is to their own advantage. So when it was announced that the tariff was to be revised, there was a sort of a game of 'grab bag,' like we used to have in church socials, played by the interests down at Washington, only in this game those who did the grabbing did not have bandages over their eyes. Everybody was for downward revision, but he wanted the revis-

ion to come out of the other fellow's pocket.

The Tariff Act

"The committee on Ways and Means of the House held hearings for several months which occupied some twelve or thirteen volumes; the Committee on Finance of the Senate held secret meetings of the Republican members, of which no record anywhere is available. As a result of these conferences bills were submitted to both Houses by the respective committees. After these bills had been submitted and passed they were sent to conference, but the bill that came out of conference was largely the Senate bill. The result of all this consideration and discussion was the tariff act, a little volume of about two hundred closely printed pages, a fearful and wonderful thing. About twenty pages of this act are devoted to the tariff on cotton, and it would take the proverbial Philadelphia lawyer to figure out what it means.

"The theory of the cotton cloth tariff is rather complicated. Under our tariff laws cotton cloth is divided into several classes according to the number of threads to the square inch in the goods. If a fabric has a great number of threads per square inch it is supposed to be of a finer quality and is therefore placed in a class bearing a higher rate of duty. Each of these classes is subdivided according to the weight of the goods. If there are a large number of pounds to the yard the fabric is supposed to be of a coarser quality, and therefore bears a lower rate of duty. Each sub-class is again divided into three parts, classified according to whether the goods are unbleached, bleached or colored, printed, stained or painted. The colored goods pay a higher duty than the bleached, and the bleached goods than unbleached. It is necessary to get this clearly in your minds before you will understand just what was done to the cotton cloth tariff.

"Senator Dolliver had among his papers a letter from Governor Dingley to one of his friends in which he made this statement: 'The cotton cloth manufacturers should have no fault to find with the Dingley tariff because I allowed

them to write the cotton cloth paragraphs as they pleased.' That statement has been questioned, but nevertheless under the operation of the Dingley tariff the cotton mills of the United States witnessed an era of unprecedented prosperity.

Dingley Tariff on Cotton Cloth

"But several disputes arose as to the meaning of the tariff bill. In addition to the specific duties that I have described in the tariff, at the end of each paragraph was an ad valorem duty, stating that bleached or unbleached goods should pay not less than a certain per cent of the value. That was a sort of a basket clause that covered and limited the amount of duties in each paragraph in each class. The ad valorem provisos of the Dingley tariff ranged from 30 to 50 per cent. In addition to that there was a clause providing that 'cotton cloth in which other than ordinary warp and filling threads had been introduced in the process of weaving' should bear an extra cumulative duty of one cent per yard, if valued at seven cents a yard or under, and two cents a yard if valued at over seven cents a yard. The object of that cumulative duty was to give an extra protection to cotton goods that are known as lappets and fancy weaves and voiles, largely used for women's dress goods, of which there were large importations from abroad.

"The Manville Company of Woonsocket and Providence, Rhode Island, manufactures a considerable amount of the goods known as curtain madras. It is woven of unbleached thread and has sort of a wall-paper figure in it. This class of goods became popular among the poorer classes for dress goods and for window curtains. The manufacturers decided that a raise in the duty on this class of goods would help eliminate importation. So they secured a ruling from the Board of Appraisers in New York that the figured goods should bear the extra cumulative duty of one cent per yard if valued at not over seven cents and two cents a yard if valued at over seven cents. This clause was originally put into the Dingley bill to cover only lappets and imitation embroideries. But the clause read, 'any thread other

than ordinary,' and so the appraisers held that these goods would have to bear the cumulative duty.

Colored Cloth Cases

"The figures in this cloth are put in by an attachment on the loom called the Jacquard attachment that throws the threads in as the shuttle moves back and forth and then clips them off. Previous to the decision of the Board of Appraisers in New York, all of this class of goods and even some of the finer fabrics, such as are used for women's shirt-waists, came in as colored cloth because the colored figures on them usually occupied such a large part of the surface. But when the importers were up against an extra duty of one or two cents a yard on account of those figures they went to the Board of Appraisers in New York and said, 'If you tax these figures with the cumulative duty, you cannot use them to determine whether the cloth is colored or uncolored. You will have to assess this cloth as unbleached.' That would make a difference of five per cent in the duty, as under the Dingley tariff the cloth bore a duty of 30 per cent if unbleached, and of 35 per cent if bleached or colored. The Board of Appraisers held this view and cotton cloth of this kind came in for several years as unbleached goods.

"Now in the summer of 1907, the importation of curtain madras had grown to such proportions that the manufacturers decided that they should be stopped. A suit was brought against Rusch & Co., importers in New York, to recover duty on this curtain madras as colored goods. Calling it colored goods would put it in a class bearing a higher duty. Mr. Marion de Vries of the Board of General Appraisers decided that the goods could come in as uncolored because the extra threads were already taxed under the extra-thread section. But the manufacturers kept at it and brought several more test cases, and in October, 1907, the officials of the New York custom house decided that these goods must come in as colored goods. Two New York importers entered suit against the new decision. These two suits, which were known as 'the colored cloth cases' were test suits for about five hundred

cases which had arisen in the New York customs house.

Findings of the Court

"On March 2, 1908, Judge Hough of the Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York decided that these goods could not be classed as colored. In reviewing the decisions of the Board of Appraisers the court said that the decisions of the Board which were under review were irreconcilable. To the suggestion of the manufacturers that a 'reasonable interpretation' should be given to the word 'colored,' the court said: 'This can only mean that some appraiser shall look at the cloth and judge whether it is or is not sufficiently covered with colored designs to be called "colored cotton cloth."' Such a method of decision does not recommend itself to the court.'

"Following this decision, the question was immediately taken to the Circuit Court of Appeals of the Second District, and argued before Judges Lacombe, Coxie and Ward. It was still in the hands of this court when the committee on Ways and Means met in Washington in December, 1908, to revise the tariff.

"On December 1, 1908, Henry F. Lippitt of Providence, Rhode Island, president of the Manville Company, the largest manufacturer of this sort of goods in the United States, and Mr. James R. MacColl, general manager of the Lorraine Company, situated, as was the Manville Company, near Providence, Rhode Island, appeared before the committee on Ways and Means. They signed themselves as members of the Arkwright Club of Boston, Massachusetts, which, they declared in their statement, contained in its membership the owners of more than three-fourths of the spindles of the United States. They therefore claimed to represent the cotton cloth industry of the country. The Arkwright Club contains in its membership a powerful group of mills represented by the American Thread Company, the New England Yarn Company and the William Whitman mills. The William Whitman mills are woolen mills. William Whitman is the author of schedule 'K' of the wool tariff, which President Taft described as 'indefensible.' His

brother, Clarence Whitman, and six Rhode Island families own or control the majority of the cotton spindles in New England. The three groups mentioned practically control the cotton yarn industry of the United States. Whether the Arkwright Club is merely a social club or not, I do not know, but, in any case, it sent its representatives to Washington when the tariff was under consideration.

Cotton Cloth Interests at Washington

"What did the representatives of the Arkwright Club say to the Committee on Ways and Means at Washington? I quote from Mr. Lippitt's testimony of December 1, 1908:

"I am not appearing here to ask for an increase in the duties on the cloth clauses of the cotton schedule. I think that while there are importations going on under them, it is reasonably regulative of the cotton trade. The importations are not so large that we feel justified in asking that the duties be increased, but we would not like to see them decreased. We ask, therefore, that the present schedule be not materially changed.' The word 'materially' is interesting to note.

"Further on in his testimony as to the form and classification of the cotton cloth schedules, Mr. Lippitt said: 'Some minor features are still in controversy and may need elucidation.' The 'minor features' referred to are the colored cloth disputes which were then before the New York court and in which employees of Mr. Lippitt's mills were witnesses for the Government's side of the case. Far from being 'minor features,' they would determine whether this cloth and every other figured cloth should be assessed as unbleached, bleached or colored. A change in the classification of these goods might mean a material increase in the duty.

"On January 12, 1909, a month after Messrs. Lippitt and MacColl had appeared before the Committee on Ways and Means, and after the public hearings of the tariff bill had been closed, the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second District unanimously upheld the lower court, declaring that these goods could not be assessed as colored goods,

because if they bore the cumulative duty for the figure in the goods, to assess them as colored goods would be to tax the threads in these figures twice. Following this decision the case was then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

A Series of "Elucidations"

"On January 15th, three days after the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals was handed down and a week before the decree was entered by the court, Messrs. Lippitt and MacColl wrote their now famous letter from Providence, Rhode Island, to the Committee on Ways and Means. They signed themselves as members of the Arkwright Club of Boston, and suggested some changes in the tariff bill. This letter was not printed in the hearings of the Committee on Ways and Means, but was subsequently found by Senator Dolliver tucked away in a volume marked 'Appendix.' Messrs. Lippitt and MacColl suggested the following changes:

"The terms bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, printed, or mercerized, wherever used in the paragraphs of this schedule, shall be held to include all cotton cloth having bleached, colored, dyed, stained, painted, printed or mercerized thread, threads, yarn or yarns, in any part of the fabric, and all fabrics which have, wholly or in part, prior, during or subsequent to fabrication been bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, printed or mercerized.'

"That was intended as one of the 'elucidations' of the 'minor features' of the schedule to make sure that, if there was a single colored thread in a given piece of cloth, the cloth should be classed as colored, no matter what the Supreme Court of the United States might decide in the case of the Dingley law.

"Messrs. Lippitt and MacColl also suggested the following amendment: 'The term thread or threads, as used in the paragraphs of this schedule, with reference to cotton cloth, shall be held to include all filaments of cotton, whether known as threads or yarns, or by any other name, whether in the warp or filling or otherwise. In determining the count of threads to the square inch in

the cotton cloth, all the threads, whether ordinary or other than ordinary, and whether clipped or unclipped, shall be counted.'

Taxation of Figured Goods

"The result of this change would have been to require that in counting the number of threads per square inch to determine in what general class any cloth should be placed, the figures should be counted. That had never been done. It had been tried under the Dingley law, but the Supreme Court of the United States held that if this figure were assessed under the extra cumulative tax, the threads of the figure should not be counted in determining the classification of the goods, as this would mean the taxing of the threads in the figure twice. It was that decision in the Supreme Court that Judge LaCombe cited in upholding the lower court in the 'colored cloth cases.'

"Messrs. Lippitt and MacColl suggested another paragraph: 'Cotton cloth, mercerized, or subjected to any similar process, shall pay one cent per square yard additional cumulative duty to that therein imposed upon such cotton cloth were the same not so mercerized or subjected to any similar process.' They argued that since the Dingley tariff bill had been passed the process of mercerization had come into vogue and that American manufacturers needed protection from mercerized goods from abroad.

"In the Dingley law there is a section that is familiarly called, down in Washington, the 'old curtain section.' It provides a duty of fifty per cent ad valorem on all goods used as tapestry. This was necessary because some goods used as tapestry, while very heavy and valuable, contained comparatively few threads to the square inch and would have borne a very small duty under the regular schedule of the Dingley bill. Messrs. Lippitt and MacColl suggested in their letter that the following be added to the curtain section: 'And Jacquard figured goods in the piece, or otherwise, suitable for use as upholstery goods, or as draperies, or as covers.' That would certainly protect the Jacquard woven goods even if the other paragraphs

should not go into the tariff. Tariff experts of the custom house looked up the meaning of the word 'draperies,' and discovered that many tradesmen called dress goods 'draperies' and that it would be a fine point for decision as to just what 'draperies' were.

To Clear Up Legal Doubts

"The letter from Providence says: 'The slight additional changes in the wording of the first paragraph as here presented are simply designed to meet legal questions which have been brought up in connection with it. Especial importance is attached to the second paragraph defining color.'

"The letter further vouchsafes the information that Mr. Marion de Vries approved the changes as suggested: 'The alterations in paragraphs 310 and 313 are substantially the same as contained in the recommendations of Mr. Marion de Vries of the Board of General Appraisers, so that the language and form have his approval. They are designed to make clear some disputed points in the present act, and have been drawn after consultations with people experienced in the details of the administration of the present act.' And then the letter adds naively: 'We hope they are so worded as to effectually accomplish the object desired.'

"Now you can see what a complicated thing the tariff law is. Very few people in Washington understood the tariff law. They did not have time. Very few members of the House had time to go into these matters. They looked at the tariff schedule, the cotton cloth schedule, saw references to the number of threads per square inch and the number of yards per pound and the Jacquard weave figures, and then did not have time to investigate them. The letter I have mentioned arrived in Washington when the Republican members of the Committee on Ways and Means were in secret session framing the tariff bill. The suggestions had Mr. De Vries' approval, and so the Committee on Ways and Means swallowed the 'little elucidations' whole and reported the bill to the House.

"Elucidations" Raise Duties

"Representative Irvine Lenroot of Wisconsin and some others had been investigating the cotton cloth schedule of the Dingley law and discovered that the operation of these 'little elucidations' would raise the duties uniformly on nearly every class of cotton goods used, by simply putting them into a different class where the duties were higher. Mr. Lenroot gave the House the benefit of his information. That afternoon, Mr. Payne, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, called a special meeting of the Republican members. I have it from a reliable member of the committee that the things he said there would not look well in print. He said that he had been fooled and that he did not intend that the tariff law should be written that way. The next day he got up in the House and on his own motion the 'little elucidations' allowing a single thread to determine the character as to color and requiring these threads to be counted in determining the classification of the goods were stricken from the bill. The tax of one cent for mercerization, and the joker behind the curtain schedule were, however, left in. They were not discovered. It was in this form that the bill went to the House.

"The House bill passed April 9th. Two days later the Committee on Finance of the Senate brought out the Aldrich bill. Snugly ensconced in the Aldrich bill were every one of the 'little elucidations' of 'minor features' that had been presented to the House by Messrs. Lippitt and MacColl.

"Further, when the Aldrich bill was examined, it was discovered that the ad valorem provisions at the end of each paragraph of the cotton goods schedule of the Dingley law were eliminated and that a new plan of specific duties had been put in force with an artificial step-ladder dividing line as to values. Some years ago the French tariff commission undertook to change their ad valorem duties to specific duties. It took the French commission six years to do it. The Committee of Finance of the Senate did it in less than six days. Senator Aldrich announced that the change was made for the mere sake of uniformity

and that the new specific duties were not greater than the old ad valorem duties. There were some members of the Senate at that time who had a disposition to check up the arguments advanced by the Finance Committee. These men got out their paper and pencils, changed the new specific duties to their ad valorem equivalents and then compared them with the Dingley duties. They found, by this process, that the duties had been increased by the amendment all the way from 25 per cent to 459.96 per cent.

Specific Duties Result in Increase

"When these results were announced Senator Aldrich said: 'You are mistaken; your arithmetic is wrong. This is simply a transformation from one duty to the other. It was presided over by the custom house experts and there have been no increases.' Senators Dolliver and LaFollette, who had done most of the figuring, sent their results over to the Bureau of Statistics in the Department of Commerce and Labor and had them checked up by the expert accountant of that bureau. Their original figures were confirmed. In only two instances did the new specific duties touch the old Dingley duties, and in every other case they were higher.

"Senator Aldrich still denied that the duties were increased. On May 4 he said in debate: 'I expect, before we are through with the consideration of this schedule, to satisfy the Senator from Iowa himself that these changes were all made in the interests of the American producer, and that there is no increase in the rates on cotton cloth.' Senator Dolliver afterward said he had no doubt as to the first part of that statement, but that he had never been convinced as to the second part.

Insurgents Denied Information

"The Committee on Finance at that time had at its disposal the experts from the New York Customs House. They occupied fourteen rooms in the marble palace of the Senate office building. By an executive order issued from the White House, all the information that the New York Customs House had on the tariff was to

go to the Committee on Finance alone. Several members of the United States Senate in the performance of their duties tried to get some information and were told that this information could go only to the Committee on Finance. Senator La Follette finally succeeded in having an executive order issued allowing Mr. Parkman of the New York Customs House to talk to him. There had to be an executive order from the White House before Mr. Parkman could talk to a United States Senator; and the executive order specifically stated that Mr. Parkman was not to bring any figures, but was to give Mr. La Follette the result of his best recollection.

"On May 24 the Supreme Court of the United States, by refusing to grant a writ of certiorari in the 'colored cloth cases,' said the last word in that dispute, and if the little 'elucidations' were to go into the law it was necessary that something should be done. Senator Aldrich took the floor and explained that the changes in the schedule were made to restore the original Dingley duties which, he said, had been emasculated by the courts. He thereupon quoted a decision known as the etamine decision made by Colonel Hartshorne in 1904 in the New York Customs House. Etamines are linens and are provided for in schedule J of the tariff bill, but Colonel Hartshorne by making the remarkable decision that 'etamine is a cloth with a hole in it' put all these goods which I have been describing into the etamine class, which carried a 60 per cent ad valorem duty. The court, of course, knocked that out. Colonel Hartshorne was afterward removed from the service because, contrary to the law, he had an interest in some linen mills.

"Senator Aldrich also cited the 'colored cloth cases.' Millions of dollars, he said, had been lost to the United States through this litigation. The Dingley law had been emasculated by the courts and he was simply putting the duties back to the old Dingley schedule. When Senator Aldrich was asked how many millions the United States government had lost as a result of the 'colored cloth cases' he sent

up to the Senate desk a newspaper clipping in which it was said that several million dollars had been lost. Senator Dolliver tried to find out from the New York Customs House how many millions of dollars had been lost, but met with a curt refusal and the announcement that the information of the New York Customs House was for the Committee on Finance only. Senator Borah sent over to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for the information and received a letter stating that he figured that about \$400,000 was involved in the cases. Senator Dolliver made inquiries at the Bureau of Statistics and found out that in the year of greatest importation only \$356,000 worth of this cloth had been imported and that the amount in dispute was 5 per cent of that. Finally Senator Hughes went over to the Supreme Court and looked up the petition for the writ of certiorari in this case, and he found that the government itself only claimed that \$260,000 was involved, and the attorneys for the side that won the case declared: 'We frankly believe that not more than \$20,000 is involved in the entire litigation, or not more than \$5,000 a year.'

Data Meager and Unreliable

"I mention these things to show you how hard it was to get any information on the tariff. All avenues of information were shut off. One department of the government had one bit of information and another department had another bit of information totally at variance with it. Thus the men who were trying to find out the facts about the tariff were put to all sorts of unnecessary labor.

"For instance, there was talk about the great cost of labor, but there were no definite comparisons as to the cost of labor abroad and here. Senator La Follette asked Senator Aldrich if he knew what the cotton mill operatives in this country were getting. Senator Aldrich replied that it would require six months and the expenditure of \$250,000 for a commission to get that information. Major John M. Carson, who was at that time head of the Bureau of Manufactures of the Depart-

ment of Commerce and Labor, happened to be sitting in the Senate gallery when this statement was made. He sent a note down to Senator La Follette saying: 'If you want that information I can get it for you in nine hours and it won't cost you anything.' So Senator La Follette got the information he wanted. The latest figures collected by the government showed that the average weekly wage of all cotton mill operatives in the United States, including the highest salaried employes, was \$6.47; for the children, less than \$5.00, and for the women, less than \$6.00.

Tax on Mercerized Cottons

"Senators Dolliver and La Follette next attacked the mercerization tax. Why, they asked, was it necessary to have a tax of one cent a yard on mercerized cotton? What was mercerization, and did it cost this much to mercerize goods? No member of the Finance Committee knew exactly what mercerization was and finally Senator Dolliver solved the problem by finding out that it was a washing of the cloth in a caustic solution which gave the cloth a gloss. Senator Smoot declared that the cloth lost considerable weight in the process. Senator Dolliver replied: 'Certainly; just as you lose weight when you wash your hands.' And then one night telegrams were sent out by the Committee on Finance to over one hundred and fifty manufacturers in the United States asking how much it cost to mercerize cloth. Imagine the committee bringing in a bill providing a tax on a process the cost of which they knew absolutely nothing, and then sending out telegrams to the manufacturers virtually saying: 'Explain to us what our bill means, please.' The telegrams showing the cost of mercerization came in, but Senator Aldrich did not read any of them to the Senate. Senator La Follette managed to secure a couple of them, however, and read them to the Senate. They showed that mercerization is cheaper in the United States than in any other country in the world, the cost being, on the average, from seven-one hundredths to less

than a quarter of a cent a yard, and that goods were sent to this country from abroad to be mercerized.

"Joker" in the Curtain Schedule

"Then Senator Dolliver began to look behind the curtain schedule and he found out that Jacquard weave goods suitable for draperies, tapestries and covers were included in this schedule. Then, with the men who were with him, he made an attack upon it. The debate in the Senate resulted in the correction of the curtain schedule, so as to limit its application to tapestry goods only, and in the elimination of the provision that would enable one thread to determine the character of the goods as to color or mercerization. The Senate retained in the bill, however, the proviso requiring all of the threads to be counted and also the extra tax on mercerized goods.

"On Mr. Payne's motion, as I have already said, the House had knocked out the proviso that one thread should determine the classification of the cloth. The proviso had also been knocked out in the Senate, but when the bill came back from conference it was in the bill. The conferees of both houses had deliberately violated the expressed will of both houses with regard to that particular clause of the cotton cloth schedule. The only way to beat a conference report is to beat the whole bill, and so it went through.

"One important provision that was added to the tariff bill was that providing for a special customs court. This was done on the theory that the common courts do not know enough about tariff matters to decide tariff questions. The President afterward appointed Mr. Marion de Vries, to whom Senator Aldrich always referred as Judge de Vries, as a member of this court. He will no longer suffer the humiliation of having his decisions branded as 'irreconcilable.'

"I have told you this rather technical story about the passing of the cotton cloth schedules to illustrate two points—one point, really—that the tariff is such a complicated thing that no one can master it, and that the present system of passing tariff bills based

upon *ex parte* information given by the people who are interested it naturally results in 'little elucidations' and jokers such as I have described.

Need of Tariff Commission

"It has one other result. It puts labor on our members of Congress that should be done by a tariff commission or by experts of the government. There is no doubt in my mind at all that the work of the cotton schedule hastened, if it was not responsible for, the death of Senator Dolliver, and that it weakened the resistance of Senator La Follette to the disease for which he has recently undergone an operation. Those in the Senate and House who worked on the tariff bill, particularly Senator Dolliver, Senator La Follette and Senator Cummins, spent days and nights studying the cotton tariff schedule. I was in Senator Dolliver's office at one time when he was discussing the cotton tariff. Mrs. Dolliver, who was present, asked him not to talk tariff so much. 'You know,' she said, 'the doctors have told you that you must not work so hard.' The doctors had given Senator Dolliver notice that if he continued to work day and night as he had done his days would be numbered. But he said: 'Some one must get the information; the information is not available, and I have to get it.'

"The increases in the duty on cotton goods run all the way from 23 per cent up to 84 per cent. These increases were brought about first by the change from the ad valorem to the specific duties, which I have described, and second by the three little "elucidations' that took goods out of one class and put them in another.

"I have here a piece of curtain madras made by the Manville Company, of which Mr. Lippitt is president. There is less than a thousand dollars' worth of this imported into the United States in any year, because the tariff is so high that it can not be imported. It is sold to the retail trade for 35 cents a yard and is used by poor people for curtains. There are seventy-two threads to the square inch in this cloth. Under the Ding-

ley law it paid a 30 per cent duty, or 3.96 cents a square yard. As the law was originally administered, it was classed as colored goods. As it was administered after the importers got their decision from the courts, it paid 30 per cent of its value plus 2 cents per yard on account of the figure in the goods, a total of 5.96 cents. Under the present law, there are 102 threads to the square inch in this cloth, because you have to count the threads in the figure. The goods are thus taken out of the old 50 to 100 thread class and placed in the 100 to 150 thread class, which bears a higher rate of duty. The law provides that, if it has a single colored thread in it, it is colored cloth, and it is therefore so classified. Colored goods of this class, valued at from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 cents per square yard, pays $5\frac{1}{4}$ cents a square yard duty, which on its face is 1.29 cents higher than the Dingley ad valorem duty of 30 per cent. Then it pays an additional duty of 2 cents a yard because of the figure and an additional duty of 1 cent because there are a few mercerized threads put in the center of the figure to brighten it. Added together, these figures make a total duty of 8.25 cents per yard, an increase of $62\frac{1}{2}$ per cent over the duty under the Dingley law. That illustrates how the 'little elucidations' work out.

Tariff-Making a Task for Experts

"Since I have been looking into this tariff question people on all sides have told me that the tariff has not increased the price of cotton goods, and that the cotton mills are not making exorbitant profits. The report of the American Association of Cotton Manufacturers shows that every cotton mill in New England has paid for itself in twelve years, and that most of them have paid for themselves in eight. Perhaps it is right that they should do so. I am not quarreling about prices or profits. What I want to make plain is that our present method leaves the door open for trickery, treachery in conference and hidden 'jokers' in the tariff laws of the nation, the laws that we all ought to

understand and that ought to be made in the open and on the floors of both houses instead of behind the closed doors of committee rooms; and that the present system calls upon our

members of Congress to perform the stupendous task of gathering information that ought to be supplied to them by a board that carefully investigates the industries affected." (Applause.)

THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN MUNICIPAL LIFE

On Tuesday, the 8th instant, the Club listened to an address on "The Recent Development of German Municipal Life" by Dr. Albert Suedekum of Berlin, social economist, a member of the German Reichstag and editor of the *Kommunales Jahrbuch*, a year book of the German cities which is perhaps the most comprehensive work of its kind in existence. Dr. Suedekum, although he resides in Berlin, is the representative of the great industrial city of Nürnberg. Judge Julian W. Mack presided and introduced the speaker.

Dr. Albert Suedekum

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: When I came to your shores a fortnight ago, a stranger in a strange country, just five minutes after my arrival I was asked by one of your able but sometimes rather atrocious newspaper reporters: 'What strikes you most in America?' It was a rather curious and unanswerable question at that moment and I did not answer it because, in fairness, I could not give any answer. But now, after a stay of several weeks and after having met a good many people of different social and economic positions and of different political faith, I often ask myself what strikes me most in America, and it is perhaps this: That the character of this country and, especially, of its city life, is not yet settled. It is a young country and has a young civic and municipal life.

"In our country it is different. We are an old people, settled for hundreds of years; our municipalities are old, some of them dating back a thousand or fifteen hundred years. Our municipal life is therefore more settled and more definite than yours. But there

have been many changes in our country in the last few decades, as a result of which the whole aspect of our municipal life has been modified.

Growth of Cities

"I think I must first give you at least a hasty review of the internal migration of population in our country, so that you may be in a position to understand the development of our municipal affairs. The growth of our German cities goes hand in hand with the flourishing condition of our trade and industry. For example, while, in 1871, 68 per cent of our population were engaged in agriculture, in 1907 we find the proportion reduced to only 28 per cent. On the other hand, the population engaged in industry shows an increase from 33 per cent in 1871 to more than 43 per cent in 1907. The entire increase of population in the last forty years, which is estimated to be something like 24,000,000 of people, was added to trade and industry, in other words to the city population.

"The larger cities and towns had the most pronounced increase of population. The towns above 100,000 show an increase in the last three decades of more than 300 per cent in some cases. This growth of the larger cities is even faster than that of your eastern cities in America. In our country we are always told that the American cities today show the most rapid increase of population, but that is not true at all. Many German cities are of faster growth than the older American cities, except, of course, New York, and especially Chicago. Chicago is rather an exception, I think, even in America. As a matter of fact, every fifth German is today an inhabitant of a large city. We are entitled, as a promi-

gent Englishman, Mr. John Burns, said one day, 'to call Germany the country of cities and the country of city life.'

Housing Question is Serious

"Now, the material conditions of great parts of our town population are not good. For instance, three-fourths of the inhabitants of Berlin live in rear houses. The ideal of human ownership is less possible of attainment there than it is anywhere else, since not even one per cent of the population of Berlin own their own homes. To this must be added the fact that there are still 25,000 basement dwellings and more than 30,000 living apartments or dwellings consisting of only two rooms each.

"The result of those conditions is, of course, a deterioration of race, a fact which is clearly demonstrated by the reports of our military surgeons. According to these reports, out of each 100 conscripts from the larger towns, 35 are rejected as physically unfit. The moral deterioration is furthermore indicated by the frightfully increasing proportion of juvenile criminality. Finally, the mental conditions of the people living in large cities may be inferred from the constantly rising percentage of the inmates of our insane asylums.

"Most of the faults and dangers described above are due to the apparent lack of democracy in Prussian city government. I say Prussian because there are differences between Prussia and the southern states of Germany. In Prussia municipal self-government does not exist, or rather it exists in only homeopathic quantities. The state is omnipotent. The self-governed municipal corporations and their leaders possess their authority by delegation. They are not only responsible to the state—that is obvious—but they are, at least in the majority of cases, confirmed by the state authorities. Municipal government in Germany lies within the sphere of state jurisdiction. The imperial constitution, like the constitution of the United States, makes no provision regarding local administration. Each kingdom, dukedom or municipality regulates its own plan of municipal rule in its own way. But, due to the overwhelming influence of the great Prussian state, there

is perhaps a closer approach to a uniform system of municipal government in Germany than there is in the United States. The Prussian system therefore is very often taken as the German type of municipal government. This may be done legitimately if it is made clear that it is so taken because of the preponderating number of Prussian towns, and that in all the other states there are important deviations from the Prussian model. We must remember that the development of municipal life in South Germany is having its influence on the future development even of the Prussian system.

Prussian Town Administration

"Let me try now to give you an idea of that Prussian system which I believe is in a high degree responsible for the wretched conditions I have referred to above. The municipalities in Prussia, with some exceptions in the west, are administered by two bodies, the 'magistrat' and the town council. The word 'magistrat' has a very different meaning than your word 'magistrate.' The 'magistrat' is a body, as is the town council. It is elected by the town council, but the appointment must be confirmed by the state authorities.

"The underlying principles of the franchise laws in Prussia are as follows: The franchise is direct throughout the whole kingdom, but it is nowhere general. It is equal only in a few parts of the country, and secret in Frankfort-on-Main and in the diminutive state or province of Hohenzollern, South Germany. Every one of the no less than sixteen laws governing the franchise limits or completely removes it as far as many classes of the community are concerned. That there is no such thing as woman suffrage in Prussia is obvious and requires no mention. But still more significant are the statutes which define the conditions for the exercise of the franchise, such as that prescribing a minimum of taxable property, a comparatively high age limit, a considerable length of residence, etc.

The Three-Class System

"The franchise is most seriously affected, however, by the so-called 'three-

class' system, the principal features of which, in Prussia, are as follows: The electors are divided into three groups or classes according to the direct rates which are levied upon them. Each of these classes elects one-third of the total number of councilors. The division of the electorate into classes is accomplished as follows: The rates paid by all the electors are tabulated, beginning with the highest amount. The total is then divided by three and those persons, beginning from the top of the list, whose rates together make up one-third of the total constitute the first class. Those who come next on the list and whose rates make up the second third constitute the second class and the rest, who are obviously the large bulk of electors paying lower rates, form the third class.

"The legal limitations, however, affect not only what we call the active but also the passive franchise, by which is meant the right to be elected. The most important of these limitations is the privilege of the householders. In most provinces of Prussia at least one-half of the total number of the councilors must be householders. In the rural communities in most provinces at least two-thirds of the councilors must be householders, and where the three-class system exists at least half of the representatives of each class must be householders. But bear in mind that only one per cent of the whole population of Berlin own their own homes. These conditions mean much more in Germany than in England, where although a part of the councilors must be householders, the situation is modified by the fact that the separate or single house, which in Germany is rather the exception, is the rule in England.

Operation of the System in Berlin

"The example of Berlin will make clear how these limitations affect the municipal franchise. The electoral roll of Germany for the year 1909 contained the names of 351,000 electors. For every elector of the first class there are 21 electors of the second and 214 of the third class. There are 144 seats in the Council, 48 seats for each class. The result is that, on an average, 34 electors have the disposal of each seat in the first class; 693 electors have the

disposal of each seat in the second class; while 7,212 electors have the same right in the third class.

"The city of Berlin is divided for the elections of the first and second classes into 16 wards for each class; for the elections of the third class it is divided into 48 wards. Each of the wards for the first and second classes has the right of electing three councilors; the 48 wards of the third class elect only one councilor each. Of the wards of the first class, the largest has at present 191 electors and the smallest only 51 electors. The number of electors in the wards of the second class varies from 900 to about 5,000. The smallest ward of the third class has more than 3,000 electors; the largest 23,000. The 51 electors of the smallest ward of the first class elect three councilors, which means there are 17 electors for each seat. The largest ward of the third class, containing about 23,000 electors, has only one representative to elect. That means that 17 members of the first class have the same electoral rights as 23,000 members of the third class. I think that illustrates the condition under which the elective franchise is exercised in Berlin.

"The natural and inevitable outcome of such a system is a class government, a class government in the truest meaning of the word. But though in former years, say twenty years ago, there were a good many of the faults and dangers of class government, there is now a conspicuous change. The former conception of town government was that it was an opportunity of making profits out of the pockets of the citizens, but there is now a very surprising development of good citizenship in Germany. And why is it? Why is it possible that, under such conditions as I have described, there can be a development of good citizenship in Germany—or let me say in Prussia, because of the different conditions in South Germany to which I have already referred? It is due, first, to the fact that there is a strong public opinion at work for the betterment of our town and municipal administration.

Advertising for Experts

"There is a second reason for this development, namely, that our mayors and the heads of our different departments

are experts; they are officials appointed, not from one election to another, perhaps two years later, but for six or twelve years and often for a lifetime. When they have finished their service, we grant them old-age pensions equal to at least two-thirds of their income, so they are in a secure position. Now, it is clear, under our system, that the mayor of a comparatively small community cannot expect to become the mayor of a large city unless he administers this small city well. If he is a good official, if he knows the most efficient method of town administration, he makes that fact known. If he is clever and able, and if his administration is conspicuously good, he has a chance to be promoted to the mayorship of a larger city in the event of a vacancy. For instance, the mayor of Magdeburg, one of the largest industrial and commercial cities in Prussia, lately became minister of finance in Prussia, leaving a vacancy to be filled. You can now find in many German newspapers large advertisements that the position of mayor in Magdeburg is vacant and people are invited to send in their applications. The councilors of Magdeburg have the responsibility of choosing the best man available for the place. That, I think, is a good system, although I do not overlook the fact that there are certain dangers in it. It gives to the town experienced and efficient officials. Our mayors are trained men—well trained—and the current business goes on without any waste of time and without any interruption.

Politics in City Government

"There is a third reason for the development of good citizenship in Germany. You Americans, as I am told, are rather likely to decry politics in town administration. It would show the uttermost lack of tact on my part if I should utter an opinion about your politicians. But in my own country we are promoting political influence in town administration. In Bavaria, for instance, five years ago, a new kind of franchise was inaugurated, a proportional franchise, under which the town councilors were to be elected by political parties according to their voting strength. Thus we are trying to get politics into the town and municipal administration.

"Why do we do that? We do it because we know that there is but one way to fix public opinion, and that is by means of forming large parties among the citizens. The party is the vehicle of public life in every country. We try to see that our councilors are backed by and are responsible to great political parties. This is a circumstance which, I think, contributes to the better government of our towns.

"From a technical point, the results of our system of town administration are, I dare say, mostly magnificent, excepting in one branch of town administration, namely, housing. The housing question is not yet solved except in one or two German towns. As a rule, there is a bad lack of municipal activity in this field of administration. In all other departments, however, such as the departments of health, education, parks, public baths, street cleaning and paving, etc., most of the German towns are well administered.

Taxation System Better

"The German taxation system is, in my opinion, better than the American. It allows the cities to tax not only the assessed value of the land, but also the income derived from other sources than the ownership of land. In a German city a man who does not own any land but who earns perhaps millions of income yearly is subject to taxation.

"From the more technical point of view our town management is, I say, a good one. There is no open bribery, there is no conspicuous blackmail, in a German town; it is quite unknown. Only one great instance of bribery and blackmail has come to my knowledge in the last ten years.

"When I say that there is a strong public opinion aiming at the betterment of town administration in Germany, I mean that there is a development of the spirit of citizenship. Twenty years ago the business man did not take part at all in the town councils. He said, 'Let me out. You know I am busy. I have to look after my business. I own a great factory or a great shop. I do not have time or leisure to study municipal problems and to devote myself to the service of the town.' But now there is

a change. The spirit of citizenship, the feeling that every citizen is personally responsible for good town administration, is widespread in the whole country. In many cities and villages the prominent business men of the town sit side by side with the workers in the town council. In spite of the faults and dangers of the three-class system, it has one merit. It insures a good representation of working people in the town council, for the rank and file of the population are working men and generally do not like to send up to the town council a man not of their class. So the business man on the one hand and the workingman on the other can freely and fairly discuss the conditions of the population and the means of promoting a better town administration.

Improvement of Labor Conditions

"In town administration the most conspicuous feature with us is the betterment of labor conditions in the municipal service. Our cities generally pay higher wages and promote better living conditions than do the private employers. Even if we are not in a position to grant higher wages, at least we give

a secure position to our city employees. We do that in order to set a good example to private enterprise. Our policy is not without influence on our general working conditions. The large cities are the largest single employers of labor within their boundaries. Berlin, for instance, has more than 19,000 employees; Hamburg about 16,000; Munich about 6,000; Cologne about 8,000. Many of our city administrations recognize the fact that it is better to pay high wages and shorten the hours of labor than to pay charity at the end of the working man's life, destroying the self-respect and responsibility, not only of the worker himself, but of his sons and daughters as well.

"I am of the opinion that we are now upon the eve of a great reorganization of society, and I am convinced that this reorganization cannot be accomplished unless it is accomplished first and primarily by the work of the cities. It is not so much a state or an imperial affair as it is an affair of the community, of the city, of the towns and villages. I am sure that out of a better city government will come a reorganization of our social and our economic life to the benefit of humanity." (Applause.)

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GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE—BASIS OF SETTLEMENT IN NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA

**Report of City Club Committee on Labor Conditions to the Directors
of the City Club, November 23, 1910**

NOVEMBER 23, 1910.

To the Directors of the City Club:

GENTLEMEN—Chicago is at present the scene of a serious industrial disturbance in which some 35,000 workers are involved, together with many thousand others who are dependent upon them. Efforts to bring the two sides together have thus far failed. This strike is especially serious owing to the economic weakness of the workers involved, and the heavy loss to the general industrial life of the city, owing to the inability of the Chicago houses to meet the seasonal demands of the trade.

Two important strikes in the garment industry have occurred within the present year, one in the cloakmaking trade in New York City and one in the shirtwaist industry in Philadelphia. Both were prolonged for weeks, and both, largely through the pressure of public sentiment, were finally settled in certain mutual agreements reached between the opposing sides.

While the situation in the garment industry in Chicago may not be on all fours with the situation in the cloakmaking industry in New York City and the shirtwaist manufacture in Philadelphia, the terms of settlement which were found satisfactory in those two strikes will naturally be of interest to the public and may be of service in the effort to find a basis for negotiations in Chicago.

The City Club Committee on Labor Conditions has procured copies of the agreements which terminated these two strikes and submits these agreements below, with the recommendation that, for

the information of the public, they be published in the City Club Bulletin and given to the press.

The Philadelphia Settlement

The strike of the shirtwaist makers of Philadelphia was settled on February 6 of this year at a conference between duly accredited representatives of the manufacturers' association and representatives of the Ladies' Shirt Waist Makers' Union, Local No. 15, at which it was unanimously agreed to leave all differences to a Board of Arbitration consisting of four men who were named. This agreement, as published in the *Philadelphia Ledger* of February 7, 1910, read as follows:

Agreement entered into this day between A. J. Margolin and B. Bickovsky, parties of the first part, under authority as presented by them and honored by Messrs. Samuel Epstein, Samuel Schlein, George M. Haney and Leo Becker, parties of the second part, under authority which they presented to the above mentioned two gentlemen, witnesses that the differences now existing between the manufacturers of waists and dresses and their employes now out on strike shall be left to a Board of Arbitration consisting of William Abraham of S. Abraham & Company, Moses L. Bloch of the Bloch Go-Cart Company, William Silverman of M. Silverman & Son and Louis H. Schnyer. It being understood that these four gentlemen will agree to act as arbitrators, otherwise new ones shall be appointed. These four to have the power to appoint a fifth in case of disagreement, who shall decide any agreement that cannot be arrived at by the above mentioned four arbitrators.

These four arbiters were present at that conference, accepted their commissions and thereupon adopted a statement

which they tendered to both sides as a "basis for settlement." Both sides formally adopted at subsequent meetings this so-called "basis," and the strike was at an end. This settlement provided that the specific grievances at issue in the various shops would be taken up by "shop committees" appointed from the "returning employees" and laid before their respective individual employers. If this procedure should prove unproductive, then it was agreed that the grievances should be referred to the Board of Arbitration, whose decisions would be binding. Future questions arising should be settled the same way. The settlement also provided that all striking employees should be re-employed without discrimination by their respective employers within varying periods therein specified. Nothing was said about hiring union employees exclusively in the future. The full text of this "basis for settlement" (*Philadelphia Ledger*, February 7, 1910) reads as follows:

That the Arbitration Board shall arbitrate the various questions at issue, and that the agreement shall be in effect between the Manufacturers' Association and the Ladies' Shirt Waist Makers' Union No. 15.

Article 1. All employees now striking are to be employed at their respective shops without discrimination, it being agreed, however, that one week's time be given to thirty-four of the manufacturers and four weeks' time be given to eleven of the manufacturers to so adjust their factory facilities as to enable them to receive the employees.

As soon as a majority shall have re-employed their returning employees a committee of three is to be appointed by the so returning employees, who will confer with their respective employers to settle all questions of the wage scale. In case of no settlement being reached, both manufacturers and committee of three shall request the Board of Arbitration to decide the question at issue. The decision of the above mentioned Board of Arbitration shall be final and binding on both sides.

No charges are to be made for power, straps, needles or any other part of the machines unless willfully broken by the operator. It is also understood that all operators must leave their machines in their original complete condition, ordinary wear and tear excepted. It is further understood that any missing part of said machine must be replaced by any operator so leaving.

The hours of labor shall be fifty-two and a half hours per week; schedule to be arranged between committee of employees and employers. It is further understood that no factory shall work after 1 o'clock on Satur-

day unless otherwise agreed to by the committee of three and the employer.

All future grievances hereafter arising in regard to prices or any other condition shall be settled by a committee of three selected from the body of employees and their respective employers. It is further understood that in case of disagreement between the committee of employees and their respective employers the matter shall be brought before a committee of two gentlemen, one representing the manufacturers and the other representing the employees. In case of no agreement being arrived at, then the entire matter shall be referred to the original Board of Arbitration, whose decision shall be final and binding to all parties concerned.

It is further understood and agreed that the decisions of this Board of Arbitration shall be in force from February 9, 1910, until May 1, 1911.

WILLIAM ABRAHAM,
LOUIS A. SCHNYER,
MOSES L. BLOCH,
WILLIAM SILVERMAN.

The New York Settlement

On September 2 of this year the striking ladies' garment workers of New York City reached a settlement in their dispute with the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association of that city. The chief feature of that agreement, looking toward permanent peace in the industry, was the provision establishing the "preferential shop." That agreement, as published in the *Survey* of September 17, 1910, reads in full as follows:

Protocol of an arrangement entered into this day of September, 1910, between the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association, hereinafter called the manufacturers, and the following locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, namely: Cloak Operators' Union No. 1; Cloak and Suit Tailors, No. 9; Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Association No. 10; Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union, of Brownsville, No. 11; New York Reefer Makers' Union No. 17; Skirt Makers' Union No. 23; Cloak and Skirt Pressers' Union No. 35; Buttonhole Makers' Union, of New York, Local No. 64; Cloak and Suit Pressers of Brownsville No. 68, hereinafter called the unions.

Whereas, Differences have arisen between the manufacturers and their employees who are members of the unions with regard to various matters, which have resulted in a strike, and it is now desired by the parties hereto to terminate said strike and to arrive at an understanding with regard to the future relations between the manufacturers and their employees, it is therefore stipulated as follows:

First, So far as practicable, and by December 31, 1910, electric power shall be in-

stalled for the operation of machines, and that no charge for power be made against any of the employees of the manufacturers.

Second. No charge shall be made against any employe of the manufacturers for material except in the event of the negligence or wrongful act of the employes resulting in loss or injury to the employer.

Third. A uniform deposit system, with uniform deposit receipts, shall be adopted by the manufacturers, and the manufacturers will adopt rules and regulations for enforcing the prompt return of all deposits to employes entitled thereto. The amount of deposit shall be one dollar.

Fourth. No work shall be given to or taken to employes to be performed at their homes.

Fifth. In the future there shall be no time contracts with individual shop employes, except foremen, designers and pattern graders.

Sixth. The manufacturers will discipline any member thereof proven guilty of unfair discrimination among his employes.

Seventh. Employees shall not be required to work during the ten (10) legal holidays established by the laws of the State of New York; and no employe shall be permitted to work more than six (6) days in each week, those observing Saturday to be permitted to work Sunday in lieu thereof; all week workers to receive pay for legal holidays.

Eighth. The manufacturers will establish a regular weekly pay day and they will pay for labor in cash, and each piece worker will be paid for all work delivered as soon as his work is inspected and approved, which shall be within a reasonable time.

Ninth. All sub-contracting within shops shall be abolished.

Tenth. The following schedule of the standard minimum weekly scale of wages shall be observed:

Machine cutters	\$25.00
Regular cutters	25.00
Canvas cutters	12.00
Skirt cutters	21.00
Jacket pressers	21.00
Under pressers	18.00
Skirt pressers	19.00
Skirt under pressers.....	15.00
Part pressers	13.00
Reefer pressers	18.00
Reefer under pressers.....	14.00
Sample makers	22.00
Sample skirt makers	22.00
Skirt basters	14.00
Skirt finishers	10.00

Buttonhole makers—

Class A, a minimum of \$1.20 per 100 buttonholes.

Class B, a minimum of 80c per 100 buttonholes.

As to piece work, the price to be paid is to be agreed upon by a committee of the employes in each shop and their employer. The chairman of said price committee of the employes shall act as the representative of

the employes in their dealings with the employer.

The weekly hours of labor shall consist of fifty (50) hours in six (6) working days, to-wit, nine hours on all days except the sixth day, which shall consist of five hours only.

Eleventh. No overtime work shall be permitted between the fifteenth day of November and the fifteenth day of January, or during the months of June and July, except upon samples.

Twelfth. No overtime work shall be permitted on Saturdays except to workers not working on Saturdays, nor on any day for more than two and one-half hours, nor before 8 a. m. nor after 8:30 p. m.

Thirteenth. For overtime work all week workers shall receive double the usual pay.

Fourteenth. Each member of the manufacturers is to maintain a union shop, a "union shop" being understood to refer to a shop where union standards as to working conditions, hours of labor and rates of wages as herein stipulated prevail, and where, when hiring help, union men are preferred; it being recognized that, since there are differences in degrees of skill among those employed in the trade, employers shall have freedom of selection as between one union man and another, and shall not be confined to any list nor bound to follow any prescribed order whatever.

It is further understood that all existing agreements and obligations of the employer, including those to present employes, shall be respected; the manufacturers, however, declare their belief in the union, and that all who desire its benefits should share in its burdens.

Fifteenth. The parties hereby establish a joint Board of Sanitary Control to consist of seven (7) members composed of two nominees of the manufacturers, two nominees of the unions and three who are to represent the public, the latter to be named by Meyer London, Esq., and Julius Henry Cohen, Esq., and, in the event of their inability to agree, by Louis Marshall, Esq.

Said board is empowered to establish standards of sanitary conditions, to which the manufacturers and the unions obligate themselves to maintain such standards to the best of their ability and to the full extent of their power.

Sixteenth. The parties hereby establish a Board of Arbitration to consist of three (3) members, composed of one nominee of the manufacturers, one nominee of the unions and one representative of the public, the latter to be named by Meyer London, Esq., and Julius Henry Cohen, Esq., and, in the event of their inability to agree, by Louis Marshall, Esq.

To such board shall be submitted any differences hereafter arising between the parties hereto, or between any of the members of the manufacturers and any of the members of the unions, and the decision of such Board

of Arbitration shall be accepted as final and conclusive between the parties to such controversy.

Seventeenth. In the event of any dispute arising between the manufacturers and the unions, or between any members of the manufacturers and any members of the unions, the parties to this protocol agree that there shall be no strike or lockout concerning such matters in controversy until full opportunity shall have been given for the submission of such matters to said Board of Arbitration, and in the event of a determination of said controversies by said Board of Arbitration only in the event of a failure to accede to the determination of said board.

Eighteenth. The parties hereby establish a committee on grievances consisting of four (4) members, composed as follows: Two to be named by the manufacturers, and two by the unions. To said committee shall be submitted all minor grievances arising in connection with the business relations between the manufacturers and their employees.

Nineteenth. In the event of any vacancy in the aforesaid boards, or in the aforesaid committee, by reason of death, resignation, or disability of any of the members thereof, such vacancy in respect to any appointee by the manufacturers and unions, respectively, shall be filled by the body originally designating the person with respect to whom such vacancy shall occur. In the event that such

vacancy shall occur among the representatives of the public on such boards, such vacancy shall be filled by the remaining members representing the public in the case of the Board of Sanitary Control, and in the case of the Board of Arbitration both parties shall agree on a third arbitrator and, in case of their inability to agree, said arbitrator shall be selected by the Governor of the State of New York.

The extent and detail of this New York agreement indicate how numerous are the possible points of friction in this industry and the need for some recognized and adequate procedure for dealing with them. The committee would point out that the essential feature in both the Philadelphia and the New York settlements is the recognition, in different forms, of the principle of collective bargaining, although in neither of these cases did this involve the so-called "closed shop."

CITY CLUB COMMITTEE ON LABOR CONDITIONS.

H. F. WARD, Chairman.

C. T. HALLINAN, *Secretary*.

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PRESENT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN TURKEY

On Monday, the 21st instant, Dr. Howard S. Bliss of Beirut, Syria, addressed the City Club on the subject of "Present Political and Social Conditions in Turkey." Dr. Bliss has been President of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut since 1902. His address dealt particularly with the revolution of 1908 in Turkey and the political consequences thereof. He dwelt particularly upon the need for increased educational facilities in Turkey and urged the strengthening of those American institutions of learning already established in the Turkish empire. Mr. Wyllys W. Baird presided.

Dr. Howard S. Bliss

"Gentlemen of the City Club: It is indeed a far cry from Chicago to Turkey, and yet it is not as far a cry as it was only a few years ago. The wonderful interchange of commerce, the marvelous achievements of the telegraph, the postoffice, the telephone and now of the wireless, make it no longer true that there are any distant parts of the earth. The concern of every nation is now the concern of every other nation, not simply from the broad standpoint of human brotherhood, but even from the more selfish standpoint of commercial prosperity. Years ago Carlyle wrote in *Sartor Resartus* that an Indian could not quarrel with his wife upon the banks of Lake Ontario without affecting the prices of certain commodities in the London market. Certainly it is true today that no nation can make a mistake which will not work injury of some sort to the whole world.

"A little over two years ago the atten-

tion of the world was directed to Turkey. That for which we had been long hoping and working came; it came so suddenly that few of us believed at first that it had come. But the manner of its coming has convinced those of us who lived in Turkey that, in spite of possible future obstacles, reaction or delay, the revolution has effected permanent and necessary reforms.

"I wish I had time to tell you some of the picturesque details of those days of revolution, especially of the delirious, the hysterical joy of the people when, after their years and decades and centuries of oppression, their oppressors were swept from power. For example, in the provinces outside of the capital, when the news came, one morning in July, that now the people might use the word 'liberty' that they might meet in groups, and that they might have newspapers published without being subject to the censorship of the government, the people could scarcely believe it.

Censorship of the Press

"I have a friend, who is the editor and proprietor of a newspaper in Beirut, whose journal was suppressed for three months because inadvertently into its columns there had crept the word 'association.' 'Association' was one of the tabooed words, for 'association' means the gathering together of two or three, or a dozen or more, men. Such a word was therefore suspicious in the eyes of the Turkish government; it sounded altogether too much like conspiracy to be allowed to appear in print.

"My own copy of Shakespeare was threatened with confiscation in the customs house because it contained the play

'Macbeth,' which described the putting to death of a king. If kings can be put to death in plays, they may be put to death in reality, so the play was, by order of the Sultan, forbidden and copies of Shakespeare, because they contained that play, were made subject to confiscation.

"Our geographies and Bibles which contained maps of the Kingdom of Israel and the Kingdom of Judea were confiscated. The officials said: 'This will never do to admit that there is anything except the empire of the Sultan in those regions.' We replied: 'That is not a modern map; that relates to events which happened hundreds and thousands of years ago.' By way of answer they triumphantly pointed to the date of that particular edition of the Bible, 1902 or 1903, and said: 'Why do you talk to us about this being ancient history? There is your date; that date clearly proves that you are wrong.' So it was with the geographies that we took out for my children; they were all confiscated.

"Of course, 'revolution' was a terrible word. Some of you may have heard the story of the German engineer in the city of Beirut, who, having sent to Germany for a certain engine and being compelled, on account of some uncertainty in connection with his order, to follow it with a cablegram, indicating the number of revolutions he wanted that engine to perform in a certain time, wrote briefly, 'Thirty revolutions.' It was not long before the police had sent up a set of constables to surround his house and arrest him. One revolution would cause consternation, but think of thirty revolutions! That, of course, seems laughable. But, gentlemen, you have no conception of the tyranny that prevailed in the empire previous to the revolution.

Turkish Despotism

"We complain, and properly, of the tyranny and the despotism which are of our own making, which are due to our own carelessness, in connection with our city and state affairs. We talk about bosses, about rings and demagogues. But there is a vast difference between submitting to your own boss,

following your own demagogue, or permitting the establishment of your own ring, through your indifference, carelessness, or perhaps even selfishness, and the situation which prevailed in Turkey for decades and for centuries, where men have been born, have lived and died under the heel of a despot. That we can not understand.

"If those of you who have visited Constantinople even as lately as three years ago and were to visit it now under the new regime you would see a change in the whole political atmosphere. Formerly there were spies everywhere, no one was free from suspicion, the people were hedged about by a multitude of prohibitions and restrictions. Every year the Sultan of Turkey sends an imperial commission to our college to examine our medical students. The commission is made up of scholars and men of affairs, yet, under the old regime, they were not allowed to pass from one side of the Bosphorus to another, to go to Beirut or to Damascus, which is about seventy miles from Beirut, or Jerusalem, about a hundred and fifty miles away, without an imperial *irade*, without the personal permission of the Sultan of Turkey. They were not even allowed to leave the city of Beirut without that authority, because they were forbidden to do anything except that which was expressly provided for them in the imperial *irade*. It was pitiful to the last degree to see these men, scholars, graduates of the Imperial College of Constantinople, men, some of them, who had studied in Europe, subjected to such puerile regulations. This being typical of conditions throughout the country, it is no wonder that there was a bitter country-wide revolt against such a system of things.

SPREAD of Revolutionary Sentiment—

Spread of Revolutionary Sentiment

"The revolt was a secret one; it had to be carried on with a great deal of circumspection. There was always the danger from spies. The revolt was promoted to a very large extent through the agency of women, who, because of their secluded position, became the powerful means of spreading revolutionary literature. From time to time, we used to receive this revolutionary literature

by mail from committees in Paris, or in London. Secret committees were working all the time not only among the officials, but among private citizens.

"It is said—and this is almost incredible—that during the thirty years that elapsed between the first Constitution and the last Constitution no less than 42,000 people were exiled from Constantinople by the Sultan because they were suspected of being involved in acts of sedition and treason. A great many of these exiles were sent to Europe. A still larger number, however, were distributed in different parts of the country. Through this distribution they became one of the most potent factors for spreading revolutionary sentiment. It is remarkable that the Sultan should have made such a stupid mistake, for he is an exceedingly shrewd man.

Abdul-Hamid an Able Man

"This picture of Abdul-Hamid as an anæmic or effeminate old man is not true. Abdul-Hamid is one of the ablest men now living, and there are many people who would heave a sigh of relief if he were safely deposited at least six feet below the surface of the ground. He is very much above the surface yet, being held a prisoner on the second and third floors of one of the palaces at Salonica, while his former friends, the police, safely guard the first floor. Abdul-Hamid is a man of prodigious acumen, industry and ability, a man who sat before the political chess board while on the other side were ranged all the sharpest diplomatic wits of Europe. Silent and secretive, he played that game with marvelous success for thirty years.

"Just here I may say that one of the hopeful things about the situation in Turkey is that, divided though the people are into many different nationalities and races, those races are inherently composed of able men. Those of you who know your history and have traced the history of the Ottoman race will not dispute me when I say that the Turk is a very able man. Most able of all, I believe, is the Arab. We know little about the Arabs. No one knows whether there are five millions or fifteen millions of them. Hidden away in Arabia, the Arab is perfectly indifferent to your civ-

ilization, perfectly careless about modern machinery, without any interest in the things that interest us. Some day he is going to emerge from Arabia. As Meredith Townsend says, he 'prefers the sand to mold, has no sort of interest in your daily newspaper, or your modern civilization, and yet this is the man who has thrown off such trifles as the Psalms, and the Gospels, and the Koran, and the Epic of Antar.' The Syrians and the Macedonians, too, are men of ability. I believe, therefore, that one of the hopeful features for the permanence of the new movement in Turkey is the able and intelligent character of its population.

"I have not the time to rehearse the story of the way in which the revolution in Turkey was brought about. It had been expected that the movement would come to a head in October of 1908, but the news that Abdul-Hamid was sending a specially large contingent of spies into Macedonia made it necessary for the leaders to take action at once. Somewhat in the spirit of a 'bluff,' knowing that the time was short, they sent word to Constantinople that in three days the Sultan must grant the Constitution or they would march an army corps against him. During the week that followed, in July, there were hours of very serious consultation between the ministers and the Sultan. At last they yielded. The army marched up, not to coerce the Sultan, but to clinch the declaration of the Sultan that he would grant a Constitution. In the presence of the army and the populace, and in the presence of Sheik-ul-Islam—who is the head of the religious community—and with his approval, the Sultan reiterated his statement that he proposed to grant a Constitution.

Success of the Revolution

"When the news came to Beirut the joy of the people was simply unbounded. The people, naturally emotional, wept with joy; they fell upon each other's necks, Moslems and Jews and Druses. For a period at least there was a perfectly genuine and unadulterated expression of the spirit of fraternity. For many years in Beirut we were troubled with two sets of rowdy gangs, one Moslem, the other Christian—you know, in

Turkey the word 'Christian' is a purely political term. These two gangs had kept certain districts of the town terrorized with their constant attacks upon one another. That sort of thing, however, entirely disappeared during the days of fraternity following the revolution, and Beirut was surprised to see the Moslem gang come down the street, knives, daggers and revolvers thrown away, to invite the Christian gang to a banquet in the park. The Christian gang accepted the invitation and they were served at the tables by the Moslem gang. I think that perhaps some of them had a little suspicion about the coffee or the food, but no deaths resulted and, shortly after, the Christian gang turned around and feasted the Moslem gang. So all over the city and through the provinces the spirit of liberty, fraternity and equality prevailed.

"The government was conducted during the early days of the revolution by the Committee of Union and Progress. The Constitution provided there should be a parliament. In due time parliament was called and has since met regularly. The Turkish parliament is a very commendable body of men. You can at once see by looking at them that they are serious and intelligent, but also that they are inexperienced.

The Turkish Parliament

"When I visited the parliament two years ago, soon after it had been assembled, it was so solemn that it resembled a New England prayer meeting more than anything else. Shortly before that visit to Constantinople I had been visiting the House of Representatives in our enlightened land. Marvelous was the contrast between the somewhat disturbed decorum of the House of Representatives and the sedate and quiet atmosphere of the Turkish parliament. Great was the discrepancy between the size of the gavel wielded by Speaker Cannon of our House of Representatives—I believe it has been somewhat reduced in size since that date—and the delicate little bell with which Ahmed Riza Bey, the distinguished leader in the Turkish parliament, who won the honor that has come to him through the long, bitter years of exile in Paris, secured the per-

fect attention of the diversified and heterogeneous mass of men which made up the Turkish parliament. The sound of that bell was so faint that it required absolute silence in order to hear it; yet the tone was heard. It was amusing to see some Greek, some turbaned Arabian, or some Duranian with high cheek bones, almost blushing like a girl because he had been detected by the speaker whispering where absolute decorum was supposed to exist. But they are learning civilized methods and once in a while relax their decorum and raise some noise.

"The members of parliament are still inexperienced; they are still handicapped by the lack of a common medium of communication due to the great variety of races represented. In fact, the government is largely being carried on by the Committee of Union and Progress. No one knows exactly what that committee is. I believe it to be patriotic, intelligent and disinterested, but, on the other hand, inexperienced. And who can wonder at the inexperience? For thirty years these men have been exiled; they have been in opposition; they have been in revolution; they have been clamoring for a great ideal. And they are finding, as you find it here in Chicago, that there is a very great difference between oratory, however sincere and genuine, and the actual cleaning of streets or administration of justice. They are realizing that they have started upon a long, tortuous and painful road, the reduction of theoretical liberty to the orderly progress of statute regulation.

Present Sultan a Figurehead

"The government understands its position perfectly. The present Sultan of Turkey understands that he is to say nothing, do nothing and be nothing, except as the party in power directs. In the meantime, he exists, and his existence is a very useful factor in the development of liberty in that country. He symbolizes to the people their new government. He says: 'I ought to know how to sympathize with you people who have been oppressed by Abdul-Hamid, because for thirty years I was imprisoned and oppressed by my brother.' And

so he goes on in his innocuous, gentle way, serving as a figurehead for the real force, which is the Committee of Union and Progress. That committee has its sub-committees throughout the different provinces. Members of the cabinet are in some cases members of this committee, but not always. It is well understood that the Grand Vizier and the ministers are under its general influence.

"Little by little parties are developing. There will probably be a strong party in favor of a centralized government in Constantinople; that form of government will be encouraged by the Turkish element in the population. Another party, which has not yet emerged so clearly and definitely as the other, will probably contend for a decentralized form of government on the ground that where Arabic is spoken, where Armenian is spoken, there can be no hope for the establishment of a permanent political status until the divergent elements in the population are recognized and governors are appointed over certain federated districts or states. It is too soon, however, to predict just what will be the lines of cleavage between the parties. The parties have not yet emerged, as, of course they must do if any constitutional government is to have a successful career.

"In the meantime, what has been accomplished? Many things. I sometimes have to tell our discontented Syrian students that they must be patient, and that the very fact that they are allowed to criticise so freely the slow progress of liberty is a measure of the liberty which they have received. Public security is being achieved. The courts are being reformed. The censorship of books has been removed. A person may now go from one part of the empire to the other without the taint of suspicion and without the expensive and long delays with which he was formerly confronted. I maintain that these are solid results.

Educational Needs of Turkey

"Of course, Turkey needs something more than those reforms which I have mentioned. Turkey needs education. From every town and city there comes the cry, 'Give us schools, give us colleges, give us universities.' I had a most

interesting visit with the Minister of Public Instruction some months ago when I came through Constantinople. He told me his plans for a national system of education. I visited the great Imperial School of Medicine, and saw there the enthusiasm of the professors—such a contrast to my visit of five years before—as they spoke of their plans for improving this laboratory and that hospital.

"But, gentlemen, though Turkey sees clearly that educational development and reform are the great fundamental needs of the empire, she is unable to expend the money needed for that improvement. And why? Because the 'Christian' powers of Europe have maintained such a menacing attitude toward Turkey, have played in such a contemptible way with the Cretan question, the Bosnian question, the question of Herzegovina and of Bulgaria, that Turkey, eager to be ranged among the civilized nations, has been obliged to devote her attention and her money to the strengthening of her army and her navy. You know the horrid crop that always grows out of such efforts as that. I shall not be surprised to see developed in young Turkey a spirit of war and of jingoism, just because she has been forced by the attitude of these so-called 'Christian' powers to maintain this position with reference to her army and her navy. Now, Turkey does not care so much about Herzegovina or Bulgaria or Crete; but she does care—and you will respect her for it—about the new Turkey, and about her prestige. The government knows that there are thousands of reactionaries ready in a moment to start up and say: 'Is this what liberty means? Is this what your new Constitution means—the loss of Bosnia, the loss of Herzegovina, the loss of Bulgaria, the loss of Crete?' And young Turkey is sensitive, and properly sensitive, to such a charge.

American Educational Institutions in Turkey

"I would like, in closing, to tell you of the way in which I think we ought to show our interest in Turkey's career as a free state. We should strengthen the educational enterprises now established in the Turkish empire by Americans. I

happen to be connected with a college there upon the shores of the Mediterranean. It is one of eight or nine Christian missionary colleges that have been established in Turkey for the advancement of the interests of Turkey. I assure you, gentlemen, that I speak out of a full conviction when I say that Turkey needs those educational institutions.

"We are not there to cram religion down the throats of the men who attend our college. We are not there to show any disrespect to the honest convictions of any man, whether he be Armenian, Moslem, Jew, Druse, Babbite, agnostic or atheist. Every man there knows that he has nothing to gain or nothing to lose, so far as class favor is concerned, by saying, 'I wish to be a Christian' or 'I wish to be a protestant.' I assure you that those men, when they come to college, do not want to be Christians. Do you wonder at it? There is the Moslem, full of haughtiness and pride over his religion; he has received his idea of Christianity from the degraded type which Mohamammed knew.

"And the Jews? Do you suppose the Jews come to college to become Christians? Not at all. Some of them are ready to curse the very name 'Jesus.' Do you wonder at it? I wish you could see them as they come down from Russia, hated, persecuted, not allowed to attend the schools or the universities of that great empire if they happen to get beyond the four or five per cent of the school population. I am speaking as a Christian missionary, as a clergyman in the Christian church; but I ask, Do you wonder that these Jews do not care to have the Christianity that has meant to them such barbarism, such depravity as that?

"Just here is our opportunity. We try to help these men. We believe that education is not complete unless it touches the religious and the moral side of a

man's nature. As Christians, without any purpose to proselytize, but with the desire of sharing with our students the best things we have—and the best thing that we have, we believe, is our Christian ideal—we gladly welcome the chance to tell them of this Christian ideal in its simplicity and purity. These men come to chapel, and to prayers, and they study the Bible; we do not force them to bow the head or to sing the hymns. We try to remember that every man is made in the image of God, whether he be a sun-worshiper or an idol-worshiper.

"I wish I could tell you what happens to these men. Do not expect too much. They do not change their names. They do not join the church. They do not become Christians—these Moslems or these Jews. But I wish I could tell you the story of their lives after they leave college. Just before I left Beirut I asked a young Moslem graduate who had just received his doctor's diploma, what he proposed to do. 'Why,' he answered me, 'I propose to put my life where it will tell most for the benefit of my fellow men.' He had been making inquiries and had learned from an old Moslem sheik who is a great traveler in Russia that away down between Tibet and Turkestan there was a large company of Moslems without doctors, without education, and this young surgeon proposed to go there and expend his life in order that he might extend a helping hand to those in need.

"That, I say, is the way in which Americans can help Turkey, by extending her the helping hand, by sympathizing with her in her deep need of education, and in the spirit of chivalry, charity and love, by strengthening the educational institutions that we have there and thus sending out men of clear minds and warm hearts and strong and resolute wills to serve God and their fellow men." (Applause.)

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HONEST GOVERNMENT AND HOW TO OBTAIN IT

Hon. Robert L. Owen, United States Senator from Oklahoma, addressed the City Club on the 10th instant on the subject of "Honest Government and How to Obtain it," his remarks dealing particularly with certain phases of the progressive movement, notably the initiative and referendum, the commission form of government and the direct election of United States Senators. Mr. Charles R. Crane presided.

Charles R. Crane

"Four years ago, when Senator La Follette arrived in Washington, he was put on the Committee on the Potomac River, one of the lonesome roads committees of the Senate. The main work of this committee was to watch the Potomac river and see that it went by every day, and if it went back, to report to Congress. I saw Senator La Follette about that time and was with him a good deal. He was not only put down on the last round of the Senate ladder, but socially everything was arranged against him. The President would have nothing to do with him. He was just a little man, without money, without friends, living in a boarding house upon the hill. He said to me at the time: 'I cannot do anything now; I am alone here in Wash-

ington. But next year there will be three or four of us; two years from now there will be eight or ten of us; three years from now there will be twelve or fifteen of us; then they will have to come to see *us*. But this year all I can do is to ask for an occasional roll call.'

"Washington is the last place in the world to get information or knowledge as to the extent of the insurgent movement. Last spring a very distinguished senator from Massachusetts was sent out here to Chicago, to see what was the trouble with the West. This distinguished senator spent three days on La Salle street and then went back to make his report about the condition of the West and the insurgent movement. We don't know the exact nature of his report, but I imagine it was very much in the line of the speech of old Nasr E Tenn Hodja, who lived in Central Asia. Nasr E Tenn Hodja went into the market place one day to make a speech. He looked around at his audience, and said, 'Do you know anything about this subject about which I am to speak?' 'No,' they said, 'We don't know anything about it.' 'Oh, well,' said Nasr E Tenn Hodja, 'how can I talk to you about a subject you don't know anything about?' So he got down and went away.

The next day he went into the market place again and said, 'Do you know anything about this subject I am to speak to you about?' 'Oh, yes, we know about it,' they said. 'Oh, well,' replied Nasr E Tenn Hodja, 'if you know about it, I cannot tell you anything about it.' So he went away. The third day he was in the market place again and he said to the people gathered there, 'Do you know anything about the subject which I am going to talk to you about?' 'Some of us know about it,' they answered, 'and some of us do not.' 'Well,' said Nasr E Tenn Hodja, 'those of you who know about it can tell the rest of you who do not.' I imagine that that is about the sort of a report that went back from La Salle street about the state of the insurgent movement. In any event, we soon after had the famous letter in which it was indicated that the main trouble with the insurgent movement was the matter of patronage and that this was going to be straightened out very quickly.

Illinois An Insurgent State

"The great success of the Committee of Seven this year in its work throughout the state of Illinois, indicates that there is a very strong insurgent movement in Illinois. It is probably just as strong as in any other state in the Union, but it has not had any means of expressing itself. Illinois ought to be the key-stone of this whole insurgent movement. But in this great state there is not a single official from top to bottom who seems to know anything about the insurgent movement or who takes any solid interest in it. In order to learn about the movement, therefore, we must go to remote parts of the country and bring distinguished men here to tell us about it. No one knows more about it than the Honorable Robert L. Owen, United States Senator from Oklahoma, who speaks to us today."

Hon. Robert L. Owen

"About four years ago I heard Mr. La Follette in the Senate of the United States deliver his speech on the control of railway rates, on railway discriminations, and on the physical valuation of railroads as a basis for intelligent rate-making. I sat in the gallery of the Senate

as an interested spectator, and there I witnessed a very remarkable scene. The senator's Republican colleagues, one by one, vacated the floor and left him speaking to practically empty benches. He made a comment, then, which I now recall, 'that the seats which were voluntarily vacated then by gentlemen unwilling to hear the discussion of a great public question would be vacated later involuntarily by the gentlemen who did not seem to appreciate the value of their seats in the United States Senate.'

Honest Government and Honest Business

"La Follette is one of the great exemplars of this so-called 'progressive movement.' This movement was first called the 'insurgent movement' out of a spirit of derision; it is now called the 'progressive movement' out of a spirit of respect. It is not a partisan movement; it is neither Democratic nor Republican; it is simply a movement of good citizenship, a movement of men determined to have honest government. It is inspired by men who also believe in honest business in this country and who realize that the honest business method is the best method for business men; that the honest business method will pay better dividends and will afford a better return to the clients, stock holders, and business customers. It is not a good thing for the Illinois Central Railroad to have its leading officers stealing through the repair shops of that institution. It is not good for the stockholders of that road, for the men who have to pay the freight rates, for the men who use the goods upon which the freight is paid, because at last the citizenship of this country pays for every piece of business dishonesty from one end of the country to the other.

"This country has determined to put an end to the 'jack-pot' legislation. 'Jack-pot' legislation is not altogether peculiar to Illinois. It is found wherever men have authority and power, unrestrained and uncontrolled by a master. The legislature of Illinois is and ought to be the servant of the people of Illinois, not their master. There is only one way to make the Illinois legislature the servant of the people and that is to reserve to the people the right of control over its

members by the initiative, referendum and recall which will make the representatives truly represent the people who give them authority. This is the one known way to control the people's official servants. This method was discovered and developed long since—over fifty years ago—by the mountain people of Switzerland, descendants of the Helvetians, speaking three languages but united as one people by common love of liberty, a love of liberty that in their ancestors would not bow to the Roman Eagle in the days of Caesar and that, since that day, has been a guiding star to liberty-loving men throughout the whole world.

"The Swiss system of the initiative and referendum was adopted by the Australian states and New Zealand. In New Zealand some great results have been achieved by the rule of the people, results that are great in human happiness, in integrity and honesty and chastity of life. In New Zealand, where, under this rule of the people, the unfair practices of monopoly have been controlled, and where an opportunity has been afforded to every human being to earn an honest livelihood, the degradation of woman has ceased. There is no professional prostitution in New Zealand. Another result equally important has followed: The preservation of human life. In New Zealand the death rate is only 9.5 to the thousand; in the United States, it is 16.5 to the thousand. We thus lose seven persons to the thousand in excess to the New Zealand rate.

The Initiative and Referendum

"I frequently use the term 'code of the people's rule' in speaking of the progressive movement because this is a system. The progressives of this country stand for a system of government. They stand first, for the initiative and referendum, an open door to every governmental reform. I congratulate Illinois on the Committee of Seven and its splendid work in promoting the cause of the initiative and referendum and I congratulate it upon the patriotic citizenship which, by a vote of four to one, has declared in favor of a government by the people of this state. By the initiative the people can submit any law to a popular vote and by the referendum they

can veto a law they do not want. It has been said that under the initiative all sorts of strange and curious doctrines are likely to be brought up for a vote and that the state will be agitated and disturbed by numerous unreasonable and unsound suggestions brought up by the initiative.

"It has been said that the people of the state would not have intelligence enough to frame the legislative provisions to be voted upon or to decide with wisdom, with conservatism and with high intelligence the questions submitted to them. I call your attention to the fact that the people of Oregon have never failed yet to decide with wisdom upon any of the propositions submitted to them under the initiative and referendum. A poll was once taken of the professors of the Oregon University on thirty-two provisions submitted to the people of Oregon for their approval or rejection, and the vote of the professors of the university was found to be in exact accord with the vote of the people of Oregon on every question but one; in one case the professors voted for woman's suffrage, and the people voted against it by a small vote. It may be a question with you, if the people were not right all the time; on this question, however, I stand with the professors.

People Are Intelligent

"It is a mistake to believe that the legislature is more intelligent than the people. That is not true. I want to tell you a little story. I was in the Committee on Indian Affairs several years ago when a Quapaw Indian, named Abrams—he was half Jew—was urging Senator Dawes to agree that the Quapaws might allot their land in severalty. Dawes said he could not agree to it because the Quapaws were not sufficiently advanced in civilization to manage their property individually. Finally Abrams said, with some indignation, 'Senator Dawes, do you mean to say, you do not think I have sense enough to manage my own business?' 'Oh, no, Mr. Abrams,' said Senator Dawes, 'I am only speaking of the average Quapaw.' 'Senator, I am an average Quapaw,' Abrams replied. 'Why, Mr. Abrams,' said the senator, 'the Quapaws would not send an average man here to represent them; they

would naturally send the smartest man they had,' Abrams replied: 'Senator Dawes, the Quapaws are just like the people of the United States: they never do send their smartest men to Congress.'

"I think you will bear me out in the belief that Chicago has thousands of men who are as intelligent and very many who are more intelligent than the average member of the legislature. Your legislation is characterized throughout the United States as having for a long time been under the domination of a bipartisan corrupt machine. That is not any peculiar reproach to you nor to your state. Your state is one of the greatest and most splendid republics in the world; Chicago and its masterful spirit is a beacon light to the whole world. But we have fallen heir to a system of government not quite suited to modern times, to modern shrewdness and to modern methods. The time has come to perfect our state and national governments, so that they shall be truly representative.

A Representative System

"Those who oppose the initiative and referendum say that this system interferes with representative government. We deny it. It will perfect representative government; it will make the representative truly represent those who send him. Would you give an agent in your private business a blanket commission to represent you for a period of two years and not retain in your hands the right to recall him if unfaithful and treacherous? If you think that is good business, then continue to apply it to the management of your state, as you have been doing. Under the old system we trusted to the legislature all the legislative power; under the initiative and referendum we still delegate legislative power to them, but we retain in the hands of the people the right to pass laws for the benefit of the people if the legislature fails to discharge its proper function.

"This 'code of the people's rule' involves not only the initiative and referendum, but also the direct primary, the right of the people to nominate their own public servants. The direct primary alone is not enough, because if the machine can control the election machinery and put dead men upon the registration

list and vote them, what chance do the live men have? You must have an honest registration law and an honest election law, and in order to have these you must have a thorough-going corrupt practices act—a *thorough-going* corrupt practices act, not a corrupt practices act passed for the purpose of meeting the demand of the people and made worthless by some joker that robs it of its meaning. You must have a corrupt practices act such as the Huntley law of Oregon. The people of Oregon never were able to get a thorough-going corrupt practices act until they had the initiative and referendum, and then they had to pass it by an initiative petition over the legislature of the state of Oregon elected on a direct primary. What is the matter? The everlasting, unceasing, ever-vigilant, never-sleeping commercial interest in its thousands of diversified forms, always wanting legislative favors, always wanting legislative immunity is always at the elbow of the legislator. That is the trouble. There is only one power in this country strong enough to deal with that mischievous force, and that is the power of the people speaking through the direct primary and the initiative and referendum under a corrupt practices act that will put an end to the bribing of voters, that will put an end to the coercion of employees and to the other thousands of crafty, dishonest and unfair methods that are used for perverting the judgment and conscience and votes of the people.

A Broad Movement

"This is a broad movement, my friends. It is not confined to this country. It started in Switzerland, went from there to Australia and New Zealand and finally reached this country. Seven states have adopted it: South Dakota, Oregon, Montana, Oklahoma, Missouri, Maine and Arkansas. Montana adopted it after a long, hard fight and it is not well established there yet. Maine adopted it two years ago over the violent opposition of the Republican machine; it is always the machine in power—whether Democratic or Republican—that opposes the initiative and referendum. Arizona has provided for the initiative and referendum in its constitution. In New Mexico, a majority of the constitutional delegates were in favor of it until the

interests got after them and changed a few of the votes. At the last election it was an issue in almost every state in the Union. Eighteen hundred thousand copies of the Senate speech of Senator Jonathan Bourne, explaining its demonstrated success in Oregon were distributed during and since the last election and the demand is still heavy; I don't think Daniel Webster's speeches ever reached an edition of over 50,000 copies.

"This movement for the people's rule is spreading across the continent. Governors Johnson, of California, and Foss, of Massachusetts, are to make it an issue in their inaugural addresses. It put Hale out of business in Maine; it will put Lodge out of business in Massachusetts. Spooner retired in time and Hale and Aldrich followed in decent and respectable order. It is going to make a change in Illinois. It has carried practically every state west of the Mississippi river, except the states controlled by the Mormon Church. Oregon has it. California and Washington are in lively action and will have it soon. In Washington, Miles Poin-dexter, who urged this in his campaign, was elected by a majority of 40,000. Idaho is full of it. Montana has adopted it. Carey in Wyoming won upon the issue. Kansas and Nebraska are going to adopt it. Minnesota is nearly ready. In Colorado and North Dakota both of the parties are committed to it. In Wisconsin the necessary constitutional amendment is now being drawn and will undoubtedly be adopted; Robert M. La Follette, its great exponent, carried his state by a majority of 100,000.

Insurgency in Pennsylvania

"Let me tell you what happened in Pennsylvania. They have a bi-partisan system of corruption in Pennsylvania. I disclose no secret in that. It is no longer scandalous nor secret; it is historical. It certainly is not a secret to say that in Pittsburg recently one hundred and sixteen men, including a number of the city's leading bankers, were indicted for municipal rascalities. That is an illustration of how needful in Pennsylvania is a new method of government. In Pennsylvania, Tener, with the Republican machine behind him, which had 275,000 majority on the last election, would have lost this election by 80,000

votes if the Democrats and progressive elements had stood together. Berry, who ran for the governorship of Pennsylvania on the 'people's rule' program got 314,000 votes on a short campaign without any money. The Democratic candidate, Mr. Grim, nominated and financed with the money of the liquor interests, got about 116,000 votes. It was a pity he got any under the circumstances. Whenever mercenaries seize the standards of the Republican party, whenever mercenaries seize the standards of the Democratic party, they do not deserve to be followed by members of either party. That is the meaning and that is the essence of this progressive movement, if I understand it correctly. It is a determination on the part of the upright men of both parties to demand of their leadership, integrity of government, and, if they cannot get it from their own leaders or from the leaders of the opposite party, to put both of them out and put in a party that will stand for integrity of government as the 'Keystone' attempted to do in Pennsylvania. The time has passed in this country when any party, under the reputation of Thomas Jefferson, will be allowed to steal anything—and they can no longer do it in the name of Abraham Lincoln.

"Townsend was elected over Burroughs in Michigan chiefly on the ground that he claimed to be an insurgent. I hope he is. I think it must always be generously remembered that men can change their opinions; many men who did not understand the initiative and referendum and who opposed it have changed their opinions. We must be ready to take by the hand those who learn for the first time what is meant by the people's rule; those who are willing to share in the movement for honest government ought to be welcomed into the ranks. We should follow what was generously the rule in early Oklahoma, not to ask a gentleman where he was from.

A Conservative Movement

"This is not a radical movement; it is a movement of conservation and conservatism. No one has a more sincere desire to preserve the rights of legitimate property than I. I worked diligently to acquire property for the decent support

of my family and I propose to maintain and protect it. I established the first national bank which Oklahoma had, and was president of it for ten years. I am not a radical but a conservative, constructive democrat, when I demand that the rights of the people shall be maintained. The establishment of the rule of the people is essential to the stability of property in this country.

"I was interested to find Rudolph Spreckels of San Francisco, a millionaire, busily engaged in promoting this doctrine with all his energy. For what purpose? For the purpose of preserving the millions he had. Have you forgotten the French Revolution and what caused it? Millions of men were walking the roads of France, unable to make a living because they were barred from every opportunity in life. That was what caused the French Revolution, and those who had the millions and all the opportunities of life before the French Revolution did not have even heads afterwards. Fortunately for this country we have the most intelligent people in the world, and I think we have the best people in the world. There is a spirit of widespread brotherhood in this country, and even our multi-millionaires, men like Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, have shown a sincere love and appreciation of their fellow men in the distribution of some of their surplus.

The People Are Trustworthy

"This great world of ours, filled with productive energies and with ingenious inventions, harnessing the powers of nature and pouring out a flood of things that men desire, can and will furnish all of the children of men with everything needful for their comfort and their happiness. All that we need is a government administered sanely, wisely and judiciously, which will give to every man abundant opportunity to live in comfort and in happiness. We need not be afraid of the people. They will never do anything radical or unsound or unsafe when a great question is left to their decision by popular vote. The great majority of men are property owners; the great majority desire to have homes, to raise children, to have wives whose lives are peaceful, content and happy. And the body of the people are always going to

vote 'sanely and safely,' if I may use such a profane expression.

"A part of the people's rule program is a commission form of government for municipalities. One hundred cities in the last two years have adopted the commission form of government, from Seattle, on the Pacific coast, as far east as Buffalo, N. Y. But Buffalo, with a population of 400,000 people, a center of commerce, finance and literature and of everything modern, has to go down to Albany and ask permission to have a bill passed permitting its people to manage their own affairs. That condition of things is not going to remain forever in this country. Our people are going to govern themselves, from one end of the country to the other. I think it is a hopeful sign to see the old state of Maine adopt the initiative and referendum.

Commission Government and the People's Rule

"Through the commission form of government, people can exercise a discriminating care in selecting men of integrity and ability who will manage their affairs efficiently and honestly. With the right of recall, if the people should make a mistake in selecting the wrong officials, they can easily displace them and put in better men. The system is as simple as the selection of officers for a bank and is about as efficient. The janitor can be appointed by the directors of the bank.

"The Des Moines plan of commission government is described very fully by John J. Hamilton in his book called the 'Dethronement of the City Boss.' The book is almost like a novel; I recommend it to any students who wish light upon the subject. More than 45,000 copies of the Des Moines plan of city government have been issued by the city of Des Moines in answer to inquiries."

MORTON D. HULL: "Do I understand you to make the short ballot a part of this program? That seems to me almost essential to the satisfactory working of such a system."

SENATOR OWEN: "It is. Some of the towns under the commission form of government will elect two members one year and three members the next year, so the people are required to pass upon

only two or three of their commissioners at a single election.

"One of the new methods of the commission form of government is the Colorado Springs plan, which requires a candidate for the commissionership to make oath before his name goes on the ballot that he is not the candidate of any political party. What do you think of that?"

"Another improvement is to give a second and third choice to each citizen, so that instead of having a nominating primary the citizen elects by one vote. By dropping the man with the lowest number of ballots and distributing his vote among the other candidates you can always get a majority. The nominating convention or primary and the subsequent race between the two highest candidates is thus done away with. The possibility of the candidates or their friends scandalizing each other is done away with, for so long as a man may expect to be the second or third choice he will not be inclined to say anything offensive of the men who might be the first choice."

A MEMBER: "Senator, I would like to know about the provisions in the Oregon system for campaign publicity."

Campaign Publicity in Oregon

SENATOR OWEN: "In Oregon there is a splendid system by which a candidate is required to spend only a small amount of money to carry on his campaign. A publicity pamphlet is issued by the Secretary of State and sent to every citizen of the state, fifty-five days before the election. Each candidate for state office is allowed not to exceed four pages in this publicity pamphlet at \$100 a page. Upon those four pages, he can write the most flattering description of himself, and picture himself as all that is excellent and fitting for public service and those who do not like him, can have four pages to say why he should not be elected. By the publicity pamphlet, each citizen is furnished with the argument for or against each candidate for state offices and the argument for or against each measure submitted by the initiative or the referendum for popular suffrage. In that way the citizen has before him a full knowledge of that upon which he votes.

"I saw a remarkable objection recently to the initiative and referendum. It was said that a citizen did not have time to read the law or the intelligence to pass upon it with wisdom. I asked the gentleman who made this objection: 'Does the law recognize ignorance of the law when a man is on trial for violation of the law?' Every citizen is required by the law of the land to know the law of the land. The law presumes that he knows the law. To say that he shall not have the opportunity of reading it is utterly inharmonious with our theory of government. There is no common sense in that. I think the ordinary citizen is intelligent enough to pass with reasonably good judgment upon any law that is submitted to him. There are some people who won't read the laws submitted to them and some people who won't vote upon them, but the body of the people have intelligence to pass with wisdom upon any law submitted, and their views can be relied upon as more reliable than the decision of the representatives in the legislature. I believe in the Abraham Lincoln doctrine that 'all of the people know more than some of the people.'"

The Party Circle and the Ignorant Vote

Replying to a question as to the elimination of the party circle from the ballot in local and state elections, Senator Owen said: "Personally I believe that the party emblem ought to be omitted from the ballot, because it gives an opportunity to the man who is so grossly ignorant that he cannot read to vote a party ticket. I believe that the grossly ignorant vote ought to be eliminated by the form of the ticket requiring the citizen to read it."

Senator Owen was also questioned as to the direct election of United States senators by the people.

SENATOR OWEN: "I think United States senators ought to be elected by popular vote, because in that way no man can buy his place in the Senate. I do not suppose that you, living in Illinois, have ever heard of such a thing, but it has happened.

"The Senate of the United States is very much the same as a packed jury. I say that as respectfully as

I can; it cannot sound altogether respectful. I say it because I believe it to be the truth, and I am going to speak the truth, as I understand it, as long as I am in public life. I do not care whether I meet with the approval of the Senate of the United States or not. I delivered a speech on the tariff in the Senate; I wrote a book on the tariff. It took sixty-six pages of the record. I did not expect it to have any weight in the Senate. I told my friends to go about their business, that I was perfectly willing to speak to empty benches. I didn't ask anybody to attend; I didn't care whether they attended or not; I knew the horse was dead and his eyes were fixed. But I put a speech there that is for the benefit of students and men of good conscience and it will only serve their purpose and none other.

Direct Election of Senators

"Now, I understood when I first entered the Senate that the Senate was a packed jury, but the first thing I did was to propose a Sixteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, providing for the election of senators by a direct vote of the people. I had two reasons for that: One was that I wanted to change the jury before which I was to debate public questions. The other was that my state felt the same way and had instructed me upon the question. I am one of the senators that take instructions from my state. I am glad to do it. So I called the attention of the Senate to the fact that the House of Representatives had four times passed that provision, the last time almost unanimously. I called attention to the fact that the direct election of senators would put an end to one important source of corruption in the legislatures, that it would put an end to the buying of seats on the floor of the Senate by buying up the legislatures, that it would put an end to waste of time by the legislatures in electing senators when they should be giving their attention to affairs of state. I pointed out that it would make the Senate more responsive to the people of the United States. I gave other good reasons, among them that twenty-six states of the Union had passed resolutions asking that an amendment to the constitution of the United States, provid-

ing for the direct election of senators, be submitted to the people. I reminded them that the Democratic party had approved it and that the People's party and the Prohibition party, and, in some states, the Republican party were on record as in favor of it. I then appealed to the different members of the Senate who represented those states whose legislatures had acted in favor of the measure. I first called on the Pennsylvania senators, and said to them, 'Your state on such and such a day passed the following resolution. Will you respond to the will of the people of your state and help me pass this provision?' I appealed to the senators from Indiana, the senators from Wisconsin, from Michigan, from Minnesota, from Illinois—I received no response from Illinois either—and from Iowa.

"When I got down to Iowa, Senator Hale of Maine, who was the leader of the Senate, arose in his place and asked to interrupt me. I yielded to the interruption, and, with an air of great severity, a deep frown on his face, and a voice almost sepulchral, he said: 'I should like the senator from Oklahoma to point out the measure of the delinquency of those senators on this floor who have been here much longer than the senator from Oklahoma.' I made him a profound bow. I said, 'I acknowledge the rebuke of the senator from Maine and in response to him I will say that I am not called on to determine the measure of the delinquency of any senator on the floor. I have discharged my full duty when I have responded to the will of the people of my state and have presented this proposed amendment to the constitution and when I have furnished good and sufficient reasons why the Senate ought to act. And I will say more to the senator from Maine, that he is not called on to rebuke the senator from Oklahoma for not having arrived sooner. He came as soon as he could.'

A Government by Committee

"The Senate, with Senator Burrows at the head of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, has buried that Sixteenth Amendment in committee. It has been buried there for over two years, and will never be acted upon so long as the present powers control the Senate of

the United States. Bryce's description of the United States Congress, in which he says that this is a government by committees, is substantially sound. It is a government by committee, and Hale is the chairman of the committee on committees, and names the committee on committees. But, thanks to the people's rule and the initiative and referendum, Hale will soon be in control no more and there may come a reorganization of the Senate before very many years have passed. This people's rule is sweeping the country; it will sweep the Senate of the United States. In 1912 there will be a new deal and it will be for the better; it will be for the promotion of good government, for the stability of business, for the prosperity of business."

Senator Owen spoke as follows with reference to the banking and commercial interests of the country: "I want to say to you business men that whenever it comes to pass that a few men can control the great credit system of this country and contract credits at their will, you are in jeopardy, no matter what the character of your business or how strong you

think you are today. The banking fraternity of the United States might properly be called the purveyors of credits; the amount of cash they have on hand is one-tenth the amount of money they owe; that ratio has existed for over thirty years. That is the reason why it is not difficult to create a panic or a near panic. That made valuable the emergency currency bill by which currency withdrawn for hoarding, can be quickly replaced. But there are a few men in this country who could so constrict credits as to close the doors of every bank in the United States inside of two days if they chose. Why is it that no restraining hand of government has been put upon those who can exercise such a potent influence? I tried to do it, but the jury was not right.

"The reserves of the banks of this country ought to be kept for the use of legitimate commerce, and ought not to be kept for pure gambling speculative purposes. They are very largely used in that way now. I think they ought to be subject to closer public control." (Applause.)

THE FUNCTION OF THE JUDICIARY IN OUR NATIONAL SYSTEM

On December 3, 1910, the City Club listened to an address by Mr. Charles Frederick Adams, of New York, formerly Secretary of the Borough of Brooklyn, and member under several administrations of the law board of the Department of the Interior. The subject of Mr. Adams' address was, "The Function of the Judiciary in our National System." Mr. Sigmund Zeisler presided.

Charles Frederick Adams

"A brilliant lawyer and orator, recently wrote a very ironical letter to the New York World, rebuking the World for having charged him with saying that the Supreme Court judges knew more law than Mr. Roosevelt. He professed to think that that was a little too daring for him to say categorically and insisted that all he had said or intended to say was that possibly the judges of the Su-

preme Court had had opportunities and sufficient capacity to know the constitutionality of the questions raised possibly better than Mr. Roosevelt. He ended by protesting in categorical terms to the criticism of the courts by any but judges themselves. His position was something like this: 'Whether the court be right or wrong, it is at any rate the living voice of the constitution, and no one, especially no one who has the ear of the common people, should venture to attack its opinions until the court itself is ready to revise those opinions and possibly to overrule them.' The question which I shall put up to you to-day is simply how far that is a strictly accurate statement of the truth upon the subject.

"To elucidate that matter, I will refer to the historic decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*. On the afternoon

of the day when President John Adams, overwhelmingly defeated by Jefferson, was about to retire from office, Mr. Marshall being his Secretary of State, the President, signed a bill just passed through Congress, creating a very great proportion of the places in the federal judiciary. The retiring President and his friends were eager to safeguard, as they felt in all sincerity they should, the destinies of the country against the revolutionary wave of what they considered the anarchism and the free thinking of Jefferson and his friends. This they expected to do by securing for the Federalist party the possession of the federal judiciary. There was, therefore, great haste to complete and perfect the appointment of the proposed federal judges before the beginning of the new administration. As the time was going fast, they resorted to the device of turning back the hands of the clock, continuing in the meantime to sign and seal as many of the judicial commissions as possible. The work was interrupted, however, before it was entirely complete and a number of commissions, including that of an old gentleman named Marbury, who was to be appointed justice of the peace in the District of Columbia were left incomplete.

A Constitutional Dilemma

"Mr. Marshall, who had been the Secretary of State, now became the Chief Justice of the United States. Through some fortuitous circumstance it was before him that application was made by eminent counsel for a writ of mandamus directed to Madison, the new Secretary of State under Jefferson, to complete the issuance of the commission to Marbury. In his decision upon this case Marshall delivered one of his most celebrated and far-reaching opinions. After a logical and convincing argument tending to show why in this case a writ of mandamus should issue, he continued that the constitution made no specific provision for the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in mandamus proceedings. On the other hand, a statute of Congress provided that mandamus proceedings should be within the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The court was therefore face to face with a dilemma. Should the court follow the

act of Congress or the clear and distinct implication of the constitution to the contrary—under the familiar rule of construction that the expression of some items in a law is an implication that items not mentioned are excluded? It is not credible, he said, that any department of the United States government should or could act legally and legitimately in a manner inconsistent with the constitution. He cited the provision of the constitution which requires that judges should be sworn to uphold the constitution. He then proceeded to point out that it is the duty of the court in a case where in good faith and without escape it perceives an irreconcilable conflict between an enactment and the constitution, to refer to the constitution as the fundamental law, that it would be an absurdity to have a written constitution which should be ignored by the legislative body in the enactment of legislation.

"Now Marshall's argument that judges are expressly and individually sworn to support and defend the constitution applies also to the President. The President is sworn to enforce the law—and the law includes the constitution. He is called upon constantly to decide constitutional questions. The same is true of the legislative body. Marshall points out the absurdity of allowing a mere act of Congress to amend the constitution; it is just as logical to say that it would be absurd for the opinion of a judge to amend the constitution. My suggestion is that the logic of Marshall's opinion—and Marshall himself claimed no more for the court than for other departments—is that the court as much as other departments, is bound to follow the fundamental laws.

"Mr. Roosevelt has implied in his so-called criticisms, which were in a sense outbursts of indignation, that in his opinion courts of last resort, at least, should consider questions of statesmanship, questions of the development of industry and of the new forms of social needs. In his mind, at least,—not unnaturally, perhaps, because he has had absolutely no experience, no direct, continuous connection with the administration of law as such—he has gone to the extreme of claiming that courts should be really wise statesmanship bodies rather than tribun-

als to announce the law, whether good or bad. In the interest of more or less radical reform which he has come to approve in certain moods—though he is apparently doubtful about it in others—he has gone to the extreme of claiming that the court should co-operate with him and with other statesmen in the solution of these problems. That extreme, of course, is not consistent with the organization of our institutions.

The Dartmouth College Case

"There has been talk more than once of the packing of the court in the interest of some great national policy. President Grant was said to have purposely appointed justices Bradley and Strong, because of their well-known views upon the greenback question. Senator Lodge openly boasts of the fact, as one of the great achievements of his hero, Daniel Webster, that he managed to stir the bias and the prejudice of Chief Justice Marshall in his old age, to feel that the controversy in the Dartmouth College case was really a fight between the Federalists and religious elements of the country on the one hand and the Jeffersonian anarchists and free thinkers on the other, and to make him an active champion and defender of one of the sides, irrespective of what appeared to be the technical presumption.

"There is no question that the Dartmouth College case, for the first time in the history of jurisprudence, civil or common law, recognized a sovereign act, granting a franchise and a privilege, as a contract. There can be no doubt that the constitutional convention intended that the provision preventing the states from impairing the obligation of contracts should refer merely to commercial contracts, which were constantly in danger, because of the commercial jealousy of the states. But because, as Lodge says, Webster was skillful and malicious enough to influence the mind of an old man with bias and prejudice, this decision contrary to all precedents, was handed down as the opinion of the court. The praise and the eulogy given to Webster by Lodge in that matter would now be considered an accusation of scandalous conduct.

Supreme Court Not an Infallible Body

"We cannot get away from human fallibility in the administration of justice. There is no particular facility that judges have for finding out the law. They have the same books, the same minds as other people. Some of them apply their minds in judicial hearings when they are losing their primal strength, when they no longer are competent to exercise this function efficiently. One distinguished judge of great ability held his place long after he should have retired because he did not wish an objectionable President to appoint his successor. There have been other judges on the bench who were ill—almost senile—and yet it is supposed popularly that their decisions, even though upon different lines of reasoning, must of themselves be conclusive upon other people—but not upon the court.

"Five times, at intervals, the Supreme Court decided that the income tax system was constitutional, in spite of scientific arguments as to the directness of the tax which would have barred it under the constitutional prohibition against a direct tax being levied otherwise than in proportion to population.

"During Mr. Cleveland's administration an income tax was proposed, and the President was advised by the Attorney-General, in the light of the decisions of the Supreme Court that the proposed measure was constitutional. Under those circumstances, the President recommended the enactment of an income tax law and Congress after a further investigation of the constitutionality of the measure, made it a law.

Testing the Income Tax

"The Wall Street interests to whom the income tax was very objectionable understood that they could not enjoin the government from collecting the revenue, though they could, of course, sue to recover any tax which had been wrongfully paid. They wished, however, to get an opinion from the court on the question and to that end, upon the advice of Mr. Choate, a meeting of the directors of the Farmers' Loan & Trust Company was called to consider a resolution for the voluntary payment of the income tax. The board of directors of

the Farmers' Loan & Trust Company, one of the orthodox, conservative, heavy financial institutions in New York, astonished the world by passing this resolution for the voluntary payment of a tax which was known to be seriously objected to by the financial interests of the country. The next step was for Mr. Pollock, a stockholder, to bring a suit enjoining the Farmers' Loan & Trust Company from paying the tax. I leave it to the lawyers here whether there was ever any more collusive case than that; both parties were on the same side of the question. It happened that as the President had been led to commit himself to recommending in an official message the income tax, and as he felt injured and mortified at the situation, the Attorney-General was instructed to appear in court and make a real argument in favor of the tax. The case in favor of the constitutionality of the tax was therefore earnestly and ably argued by Attorney-General Olney and his assistant, Mr. Whitney. Four judges of the Supreme Court, among them some of the oldest upon the bench, in their dissenting opinion, insisted upon the government's view of the case that the court should, in the light of its precedents in the court, adhere to its announced opinion and maintain the constitutionality of this statute.

"There was, on the other hand, a very able argument, maintaining that the tax was distinctly a direct tax, which under the constitution must be apportioned according to population. There was nothing new, however, in the arguments that were advanced, but in spite of the fact that the court had five times, at long intervals, approved the principle of the income tax, the former decisions of the court were reversed. In the course of the argument Mr. Choate brought up precedents to prove that the court did not have to follow precedents. That is absolutely true, because the point of the whole matter, my friends, is that the opinions of the court are no part of the decree.

Opinions of Court Not Binding

"I have myself been repeatedly reminded by the Appellate Court of New York, and in one case by the Supreme Court itself, that it made no

difference how full of error the court's opinion was if the decree was all right. If the decision is within the jurisdiction of the court and is properly decided, the remarks of the judges—I do not mean merely *obiter dicta*, but the opinions expressed—are not of binding force. The opinions are, of course, persuasive and educational; they are, of course, of such weight and prestige that any official would prefer to follow them; but they are no part of the decree. What follows from that, my friends? If the opinions of the court are not binding on the judges, why are they binding on anybody else? I say either the propositions announced in the opinions are law or they are not law. If they are law, they are binding on the court itself and must be followed by the court itself; or else they are not law; they are mere arguments, suggestions and persuasions, not binding upon anybody.

"Many conservative men have been alarmed as to the possible tendencies and possible achievements of the mob spirit in these modern times and have feared men who might be put upon the bench who would not be restrained by conservative instincts—especially as they are not bound by precedents—from deciding that certain dangerous doctrines are constitutional.

"It is a question as to whether, under our system, tribunals can be more than arbitrators to decide upon matters in dispute, not because they are infallible, but because they represent a third party, which is presumably somewhat disinterested. There is, my friends, no infallible court. It is not true that there is any tribunal or any person that is above criticism. Even the Pope of Rome claims infallibility only as to certain kinds of propositions when he is technically acting and speaking to the universal church *ex cathedra*. I believe that the policies decided upon by the American people will be carried out in spite of any oracle of alleged infallibility, and that any institution that persistently attempts to block the way of these policies will lose the love and the support and the honor which it has so splendidly won and so long maintained. The true duty of patriotic statesmen and citizens is to remember that we are a democratic country, and that no ceremony of con-

firmation by politicians in the Senate, many of whom we consider anything but sacred or infallible, on the nomination of another politician, whom half the nation may be bitterly abusing and criticising, can transform a fallible and more or less suspicious American citizen into an infallible oracle, whose utterances and motives are above suspicion.

Judiciary Not Above Criticism

"The judiciary should be criticized, but they should be criticized respectfully, with dignity and in good faith and carefully, not as Mr. Roosevelt is said to have done, on memory of what somebody had told him about the views and personal animus of individual judges. Even some of the judges of the court have spoken critically about the decisions of the court.

"Mr. Justice Field of California said in the case of *Central Pacific Railroad vs. California*: 'It seems to me an extravagant if not absurd position, in the face of the specific legislation by the state, abrogating the franchises of the Central Pacific Railroad Company, and substituting the federal franchises in their place, to contend that the state franchises still exist and can be enforced and be made the subject of estimate in the valuation of the railroad for taxation.' It was thus an extravagant position which the court took.

"Mr. Justice Harlan has said: 'There is a dangerous tendency in these latter days to enlarge the functions of the courts by means of judicial interference with the will of the people as expressed by the Legislature. Our institutions have the distinguishing characteristic that the three departments of government are co-ordinate and separate. Each must keep within the limits defined by the Constitution, and the courts best discharge their duty by executing the will of the lawmaking power, constitutionally expressed, leaving the results of legislation to be dealt with by the people through their representatives. Statutes must always have a reasonable construction. Sometimes they are to be construed strictly, sometimes liberally, in order to carry out the legislative will. But, however construed, the intent of the Legislature is to be respected, if the particular statute in question is valid, although

the court, looking at the public interests, conceives the statute to be both unreasonable and impolitic. If the power exists to enact a statute, that ends the matter so far as the courts are concerned. It is to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion embodied in the opinion of the majority. In my opinion, the judgment, if they render it, will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott* case. The present decision, it may well be apprehended, will not only stimulate aggressions more or less brutal and irritating upon the admitted rights of citizens, but will encourage the belief that it is possible, by means of state enactments, to defeat the beneficent purposes which the people of the United States had in view when they adopted the recent amendments of the Constitution. That argument, if it can be properly regarded as one, is scarcely worthy of consideration.' I would like to have any one show me anything that Roosevelt has said that is more savage than that.

Justice Harlan on the Judiciary

"Mr. Justice Harlan on one occasion at a banquet in Cincinnati, speaking on 'The Supreme Court and Its Work,' had the following to say: 'There is a tendency in some quarters to look to the Supreme Court of the United States for relief against legislation which is admittedly free from constitutional objection, and which therefore is not liable to criticism except upon grounds of public policy. But that court has itself said that the judiciary has nothing to do with the expediency of legislation, and cannot, with safety to our institutions, intrench upon the domain of another department of the government. The remedy for evils arising from impolitic and unjust legislation, not in conflict with the fundamental law, is with the people at the ballot box. If we should ever come to that condition of things when the courts, acting simply upon their own view as to the wisdom of legislation, habitually interfere with the new course of public affairs, as ordained by the representatives of the people, we may look for the downfall of

our government and the substitution of a government of men in the place of a government of laws.

Supreme Court Should Maintain Fundamental Law

"No more imperative or sacred duty rests upon the judiciary than to sustain in its integrity the fundamental law of the land. An act of legislation inconsistent with that law cannot be regarded as binding; other wise, as Chief Justice Marshall has declared, written constitutions are absurd attempts on the part of the people to limit a power in its nature illimitable. But equally imperative and equally sacred is its duty to respect legislative enactments, except where their incompatibility with the Constitution is so manifest that a contrary view cannot for a moment be entertained. If an act of legislation, whether of Congress or of the states, be of doubtful constitutionality, let the will of the people as expressed by their legislative department have full operation until the people themselves, in the designated mode, shall otherwise ordain. No line of public policy can long be maintained in this country against the will of those who establish it, and who can change the Constitution."

"That is the essential point of the whole matter. We must get away from the idea that by some accident we have obtained a guaranty against human fallibility. The people made the Constitution and the people can change it, and the people, after all, are the fundamental authority, and they are the supreme court. As the celebrated Chicago 'Mr. Dooley' has said: 'Whether the Constitution follows the flag or not, the court will follow the election returns.' We must remember that the court and the Constitution were made by the people, and that if any changes are to be made it is bet-

ter that the people should make them than that they should be made under influences which sometimes are not beneficial."

A Judge on Tap

"While I am talking on this point, I will tell you a story in regard to the Gould estate. I went with Mr. Choate and an agent of the Von Hoffmans to register eighteen thousand shares of Erie. We had foolishly notified the president of the company, Col. James Fisk, that we were coming and we were received with all honors. Finally he turned and picked up the bundle of securities on the table and walked with them back into the next room. As he pushed aside the portieres I saw Mr. Justice Barnard of the Supreme Court of the State of New York sitting in the next room; he was on tap in his judicial function. In five minutes Mr. Fisk came back and served Mr. Choate and Mr. Von Hoffman's agent with a notice on which the ink was still wet, signed 'Barnard, J. S. C.' forbidding them to claim the certificates which they had bought to vote at the approaching election. They had to wait three years to get those certificates back. We could not have secured them even then if we had not transferred the cases to the federal courts. This incident illustrates how it is possible for the bench to be abused. Therefore, we must not assume for a moment that we can make any exceptions to our right to criticize, to our right to govern and control, and while, of course, the presumption will be overwhelmingly for harmony and for uniformity and for respecting those decisions of the tribunals which are apparently in good faith, we must be on our guard against blindly following decisions when the wrong men are placed upon the bench." (Applause.)

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